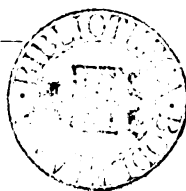


THE
CHURCH MISSIONARY
INTELLIGENCER,
A MONTHLY JOURNAL
OF
MISSIONARY INFORMATION.
VOL. IX. NEW SERIES.

“AND IT SHALL COME TO PASS, THAT EVERY THING THAT LIVETH, WHICH
MOVETH, WHITHERSOEVER THE RIVERS SHALL COME, SHALL LIVE: AND
THERE SHALL BE A VERY GREAT MULTITUDE OF FISH, BECAUSE THESE
WATERS SHALL COME THITHER: FOR THEY SHALL BE HEALED; AND
EVERY THING SHALL LIVE WHITHER THE RIVER COMETH.”—*EZEKIEL*
xlvii. 9.



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THE

CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER.

THE DAY OF PRAYER AND MISSIONARY EFFORT.

FAMILIARITY with a subject begets a tendency to overlook first principles. This is true of individuals and of Societies, and bears equally upon religious and secular questions.

In England, some, even of those who are Christians indeed, are not exempt from this danger. Born and educated under Christian influences, surrounded from infancy by a Christian atmosphere, and gradually instructed through life in Christian truth, they have not the evidence of their senses that heathenism exists, and hence the temptation practically to forget the fundamentals of the faith they profess. Many others, although nominally members of "Christ's Church Militant, here upon earth"—pledged "manfully to fight under His banner"—admitting that He demands entire consecration, absolute devotion, and complete self-sacrifice in His service—often uniting in the declaration, "We offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee," yet practically remain passive, and do nothing which involves the least effort to carry on the warfare with "the power of darkness" in the outer world.

Ignorance is the parent of indifference, and it may be that many have not realized the work of the Church of Christ in the world. Absorbed in the present, and entangled in the countless activities around them, they confound means with ends, and find a selfish enjoyment in the exercise.

Never was this danger greater than in the year which has just closed upon us. Work and haste might be given as its characteristics. The heathen world, and Christ, and His glory, apparently by the many forgotten. Science exploring new fields with untiring energy, and, aided by steam and electricity, has been summoning all nations to co-operate in work—Intellect supplying a literature, varied and voluminous, until the land seemed to be flooded with speculation and doubt—Commerce trafficking with all the nations of the earth with an insatiable greed unprecedented in history;—all labouring as though the present were eternal, Mammon our God, and man immortal.

But still the retrospect is not all dark. The 20th of December was bright, for on that day Bishops and Clergy and people, in many parishes throughout the land, bent their knees in prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit upon God's people, that men and means might be provided for carrying on the conflict with Satan and sin in the outer heathen world. It was a day to be remembered. Such an acknowledgment of past unfaithfulness and of neglected duty was never before so made in England. There was a cause. For years we had been cultivating political relations with the heathen; we had opened up their resources for our commerce; we had gained wealth by our intercourse with them; we had given them our literature, our science, our manufactures, but we had neglected to make adequate provision for giving them the greatest of all gifts, the Gospel of the grace of God. There was something humiliating in the services of

the day, but there was also something noble. Conscious of neglect of duty, we confessed it, and realizing our sins in this particular, we prayed for pardon, and sought, in earnest supplication, for grace to rise to our responsibilities as witnesses for Christ to the outer world. Remembering that the voice of earnest prayer rose on that day from so many hearts, surely we may hope that it was the dawn of better things, and that there is the prospect of a brighter future.

It is unnecessary to prove that, as a Church and people, we have neglected to provide for the evangelization of the world. The most casual observer will admit, that, compared with the efforts we are accustomed to make in our political or commercial enterprises, our arrangements for preaching the Gospel to the heathen have been lamentably disproportionate.

Basking as we are in the sunshine of Christian privileges, and professing to be valiant for the honour of Christ our Master, we may well hide our faces in shame when we think of the past, and note that, for any of the secular services in the heathen world, whether civil or military, offering either gain or glory as a reward, there is no lack of candidates, and that competent men are ready to undertake any risk, even to the sacrifice of life, if necessary, in accomplishing the object set before them, but that for carrying on the warfare for Christ with Satan in his strongholds men are not found ready to enlist in His service.

The Bishop of Bombay, in his recent letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, much as we are constrained to differ from many of the statements contained in it, and from the plans which he propounds, argues this powerfully with regard to India. He says, page 22: "There millions—180 millions, for I cannot too often remind you that we have here to answer for about a fifth portion of the earth's inhabitants—men like yourselves, in whom the blood of Adam runs, where are your hearts, when your eyes fall on them, and see them at the foot of your armies, and governed by your own sons, brothers, countrymen? Soldiers flow into the country and give up their lives in war to duty when it calls them, and even in peace to the more terrible demands of a climate which wears them out, and to disease which occasionally breaks out in fierceness, and cuts them off by tens and hundreds in a day. Civilians flow in also, eager for employment, until now the stream is checked because it is superabounding. Merchants and men of business add themselves to the gathering waters, peopling the Presidential towns, and directing the whole course of trade, which, in remote corners of the land, feels everywhere their presiding influence. Barristers and solicitors succeed, and reap from a litigious people harvests of gold, which, after a few years of strenuous work, they carry back with them to your native soil, there in comfort and in rest to end their days. Engineers and artisans follow on the track of the railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph, making locomotion easy, and distributing with swiftness and precision the produce which the land yields, and the intelligence which interests all nations.

"We rule the land; upon the whole unselfishly and wisely. We restrain throughout the land such evil as an honest love of right and truth can put down, by instruments far from perfect, but the best which the land furnishes. We diffuse intelligence by education, the best among us thinking that such light as intellect alone can give is better than none, and hoping that a time may come when that better light of conscience and the heart, which the true God only can bestow, may be added to it. And we cover the land with a coating of Western civilization, spreading rapidly, and carrying far and wide obvious advantages. But when we look for the presence of those profounder influences, which, by giving new hearts, can alone communicate real and intrinsic vitality; when we look for the Church of Christ and her servants coming with the grace of God, and with the life, the power, the sacrifice, the knowledge, which

might bring down the fire of heaven, and add to this man of Western clay, and to all his works, that divine essence which alone can give virtue and value to them, then, alas! this stream, hitherto so ample that it needs to be determinedly checked rather than stimulated in its flow, changes into a faint dribble scarcely to be discerned, and now, of late, the few drops, which before rather trickled than ran, seem ceasing. Where, then, I have a right to ask the whole Church, where is your heart? These countless multitudes, what are they? Are they things to be ruled? to be used as a camp of active exercise for your armies? to provide for your sons the livelihood which your little island cannot yield them? to make cotton for your Lancashire manufactories and to consume your piece goods? to be made money of? to have the cream of their productions skimmed from them and carried home? Is this all? Is this what a fifth of the people of the earth was made for? And when it comes to that balancing of productions of which even commerce makes so much, and to a case of exchange, in which you can give them far more than you receive, treasures beyond estimation, the gifts of heaven in return for the productions of earth, are they to be 'things' still? a school for your soldiers? a provision for your children? feeders for your commerce? not souls, each one of whom is loved by our Father who is in heaven, and for whom Christ upon the cross shed, drop by drop, the blood of the Son of God?"

This extract from the Bishop's letter exhibits a dark picture; still something has been done, for which we may be devoutly thankful. The Church Missionary Society has endeavoured to extend its Missions, as men and means have been provided, and we hope it will commence this new year with renewed energy and steadfastness of purpose; but never, we trust, for one single moment overlooking or forgetting the distinctive evangelical principles upon which it was founded. An influx of men, or an increase of means, must not be sought, or accepted, if either involve a sacrifice of old principles.

The Society was established upon a distinct basis, for the purpose of carrying on a definite work. A few men who realized the power of the Gospel proposed to send it to the heathen, and they asked others who accepted the same great truths which they held to assist in this undertaking. Subscriptions were received and names were enrolled, and the Society grew upon this basis. From year to year it has elected its Officers, its Committees, and its Missionaries according to this standard, until now it has grown to be a representative body in the country. Strictly and decidedly, in all its action, in conformity with the teaching and discipline of the Church of England, and holding tenaciously the doctrines of the Prayer Book and Homilies as maintained by our Protestant Reformers, it has pursued its way for seventy-five years, and by God's grace its distinctiveness must be maintained.

It does not, and it never did, represent all schools of thought, but by maintaining its own distinctiveness, it does not disparage the efforts of other associated bodies. It claims the liberty it willingly concedes to them of independence of action.

Distinctive in its position at home, and equally so in its work abroad, it claims and merits the support of all Evangelical Churchmen. Adopting in all its fields of labour the apostolic method of preaching Christ and Him crucified, it seeks not to gather in adherents to a system merely, but to bring perishing sinners to Christ as believers in a person. As in England blessing has rested upon the Society, so in the heathen world have sinners been converted, in the various fields of its work, and now in all the older Missions evidences are before us of native congregations gathered together, having within themselves the elements of self-support, self-government, and self-extension. The Reports of the past few years have afforded many illustrations of this, and the testimony of men from all services, who have taken the trouble to examine for themselves, and have had the power of judging of spiritual work, is corroborative.

One of the most recent examples of impartial testimony to the reality and success of Protestant Missionary labour in a trying field will be found in "The Foreigner in Far Cathay."

Her Majesty's Consul at Shanghai, Mr. W. H. Medhurst, gives as the result of his experience of thirty years in the country. "I am not in a position to state definitely what are the results of Protestant Missionary labour amongst the Chinese so far. Their practice of only reckoning as converts those adults whom they conscientiously believe to have been brought to a saving knowledge of the truth, reduces their statistics of proselytism to a very material extent; but even with this check, and taking into consideration, on the one hand, the limited number of labourers, and on the other, the difficulty of bringing the Chinese mind to appreciate abstract religious truths independently of sensational influences, I think I am only doing the Protestant Missionaries simple justice when I state that their efforts have been attended with exceptional success, and this, although it is but a short while ago since they ceased to count their converts by mere hundreds."

There is, then, something to encourage us abroad as well as at home, and we may be thankful to God and take courage, although, if we reflect upon how much greater the results might have been had we, in past years, undertaken the work as vigorously as our opportunities and our responsibilities demanded, and the wealth of England ought to have enabled us, we may well be humbled.

But now, assuming that active effort is to follow earnest prayer, and in order that we may enter upon the work with a prospect of sustained interest, it will be well to see what is before us. The Church Missionary Society has at present an income, large it is true, but still barely sufficient to maintain its existing Missions, feeble as many of them are. Any great extension of its work among the heathen will not only require men, but also means, and these steadily supplied. There is no ground to suppose that these can be obtained by spasmodic efforts or special appeals. To be permanent, they must result from deepened interest in the hearts of those who support the Society.

There are many, no doubt, who could, without its involving them in any appreciable self-denial, increase their donations or subscriptions ten, twenty, or a hundredfold; but, regarding the country generally, we must look for an increase of givers as well as for larger gifts, and for these we must turn to the more effective working of our Parochial Associations. What these are capable of producing if all our friends could be induced to exert themselves may easily be ascertained. Assuming as the standard of a well-worked parish, that its contributions, from various sources, for preaching the Gospel to the heathen, may be raised, without extraordinary effort, to ten times the amount contributed in the Church after the Annual Sermons, we shall arrive at an income considerably more than double that which the Society has at present. But then, such a result could only follow as the fruit of labour and of love. Christ, in His work and offices must be a reality and a power. That each believer, rich and poor, is to be actively a sharer in the work of Christ among the heathen, must be an accepted truth; and wherever this is the case none will remain passive spectators waiting to be entreated or coaxed to assist. From the interest which was manifested on Dec. 20th, we are encouraged to hope that a more general effort for the evangelization of the heathen will be made, and that as a work, paramount and imperative, it will occupy its proper place, and not be considered as simply one of the many claims which our own home circumstances render necessary. Apart from all Societies and organizations the work remains to be done, and the Master's command to do it will be binding upon all, until the last idol be abolished and the last victory be won.

The extent to which the organization of Societies has grown no doubt, in some cases, in past years, has led to inactivity, and become an element of weakness, but we may

now hope our friends will assist us in remedying this defect in regard to the Church Missionary Society, by hearty co-operation, one with the other, in the work in their respective parishes.

The primary intention of the visit of a Secretary or a Missionary, to assist in the formation of an Association in a parish, and to endeavour to arouse the attention of the parishioners to a sense of the perishing state of the heathen, as well as of their duty in regard to them, has, in many cases, been so overlooked, that now the presence of a Deputation from the Parent Society, as he is designated, is regarded as absolutely necessary, and in some cases the Sermons and Meetings are made to hinge upon his visits, as though the Society existed for interests of its own.

But we would fain hope that this is now past, and that earnest efforts will be made to relieve the Church Missionary Society of much of the expenses of Deputations. It is no doubt advantageous for every parish to have a visit from a Missionary occasionally; but the real work of leading men to consecrate themselves or their money to the work of Christ among the heathen must be done by the parochial clergy themselves.

No amount of extraneous help will supersede this. Eloquent appeals, fervent addresses, illustrated lectures, and all the usual appliances of organization, may be useful in their way; but the longing for the salvation of the perishing heathen must result from an individual realization of the love of Christ, and that must permeate the whole of the ministerial labour of the Parish Clergyman, if, humanly speaking, the parishioners are to be expected cordially to devote themselves to the work.

The stranger-preacher, once a year, and that sometimes during the absence of the Parish Clergyman, in his sermons for the Society, may stimulate inquiry, but he can never expect to cultivate an abiding interest, especially if, as too often has been the case, no reference is made to the work for the whole year afterwards.

If, then, our Church Missionary Society is to go forward, and our efforts are to be at all commensurate with our prayers (and there is a relation between the two which cannot be ignored, if we seek a blessing), there must be a more sustained endeavour to deepen the interest in our work. The due use of the opportunities afforded by our Church Services, so essentially Missionary, would greatly assist both clergy and people; Advent and Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and Whitsuntide, open out before us so distinctively Missionary duties, that, prior to experience, it would appear to be impossible for any one to evade them. Not only, moreover, would this constant reference to the labours of the Church of Christ among the millions of the Heathen world excite interest, but it would cultivate a healthy spirit in any congregation.

Assuredly the parishes in which there is the greatest evidence of self-denying liberality for the work among the heathen abroad will be found to be most alive to spiritual things at home, and it is to be feared that the converse also could be proved to be true. What we long for, then, and what we really need, is that Missionary activity should quicken through all ranks of society, and that there should be an entire consecration of all the elements of power, material and spiritual, to the Saviour's glory. Never until the brain and heart—the personal energies and influence of each believer—the gold and silver—all business and all callings—even life itself, be consecrated to His work, can we expect to see the manifestation of the glory of His power in the evangelization of the world.

JAPAN AS A MISSION FIELD.

IN our volume of last year there will be found an article on "Christianity in Japan." In it we attempted a review of the lamentable events attending the introduction of what professed to be Christianity into that most singular country three hundred years ago. Proof, too, was afforded of the undying hatred still smouldering in the breasts of the Japanese, and ready at any moment to burst forth in violent persecution. Prudence and caution were therefore earnestly recommended, and it would be folly to assert that they are not still most distinctly requisite. Progress, however, which is, except in Rome, the characteristic of our age, is probably more remarkable in Japan than in any other country with which we are acquainted. Since that article was written, England has received upon her shores an embassy from Japan, and in our islands of the far West we have welcomed the children of the Rising Sun. They have been going to and fro in our midst, and with greedy curiosity have been familiarizing themselves with our institutions, avowedly with the object of transplanting such as might promote the enlightenment and welfare of their fellow-countrymen. As, then, months are taking the place of years, it may be convenient to take this opportunity of furnishing some retrospect of such events as have recently occurred in Japan affecting the progress of Christian Missions, and also how far the way may be opening up for them.

Twenty years only have elapsed since Japan, which had been so long all but hermetically sealed against all the rest of mankind, once more resumed relations with them. Most persons are probably aware that this was due to American energy and enterprise. A few years earlier, in 1846, Sir Rutherford Alcock, then resident at Fuhchau, had striven in vain to get into communication with the natives who came over from the Loochoo islands, a dependency of Japan. But neither his official position nor his personal efforts had availed anything. Few things in history are more remarkable than the astonishing manner in which, without the shadow of an attempt at resistance, the Japanese, at the dictation of the Americans, submitted to the abrogation of their cherished policy, and threw open their ports. The success of Cæsar over Phraates was outdone, for they came and overcame before they had time to look about them. We must not, however, suppose that measures so unpalatable were accepted without seriously affecting the internal condition of the country. Minamoto Jejoshi, the then reigning Tycoon,* who consented to receive the American President's letter, was murdered. His death was first attempted by poison, but he threw the cup into the face of the attendant; the man then drew his sword and slew him. The Prime Minister, who had instigated the deed, performed the Hara Kiri. The successor to the Tycoon was of infirm mind, and when one of the Daimios placed his hand on his sword, exclaiming, "Rather than consent to enter into a treaty, it were better to die fighting!" he preserved a cold neutrality. A temporizing policy was resolved upon—we have seen with what result. It is a signal instance of the instability of human greatness that in so brief a period the whole government of the country of Tycoons and Daimios, which had existed for so many centuries, has been swept away, and, it may be said, has disappeared without a struggle. In 1863 Sir R. Alcock published a book, "The Capital of the Tycoon;" in 1873 there is no such personage in Japan.

It was in July, 1859, that the British flag was unfurled for the first time in Jeddo, in evidence of a permanent legation in the capital of the Tycoon. Although, however, the exclusive restrictions, which had so long proved a barrier to foreigners, fell down as promptly and as easily as did the walls of Jericho at the blast of the rams' horns, the illwill which was manifested in the murder of the Tycoon was persisted in, and found its vent in many other acts of violence and bloodshedding.

We cannot undertake to trace out here the course of events which for some years

* Tycoon, more properly Siogoon, is derived from the Chinese military title Ta-tsiang-kioon, generalissimo of the army.

rendered a life in Japan insecure to European strangers. However untoward such occurrences were, they did not seriously affect the condition of the nation. It is quite plain, however, that from the period of the treaty with the Americans the ancient state of things in the country was doomed. It was ominous that the blood of the Tycoon had inaugurated the coming change. His son, too, who signed the second American treaty, died, "with the aid of medicine," in 1858. In 1860, the Gotairo, or Regent, who held office during the minority of the young Tycoon, was murdered in broad daylight, on his way to the palace. The head was carried to Kioto, the capital of the Mikado, and on it was placed a placard, "This is the head of a traitor, who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan—those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country." Such acts, in conjunction with the violence perpetrated on foreigners, are plain indications, that although the barriers had been overthrown, there was twelve years ago a most antagonistic spirit to the reception of strangers still prevailing amongst influential personages throughout the country.

But a few days before the murder of the Regent the first Protestant service had been performed at Yedo. "An American Missionary officiated, and out of courtesy to the British Minister, our service was read. The members of the two Legations and the American Consul from Kanagawa, seven persons in all, formed the congregation, but where two or three are gathered together, we are assured that He in whose name they met in that Pagan city was in the midst with them, and in that faith they met in that Pagan city, teeming with hostile elements to them and the religion they professed."*

So far, therefore, and even up to a later period, it would be hardly possible to imagine circumstances more unfavourable for the free dissemination of the Word of God and the preaching of the Gospel, than Japan presented. The one unvarying tendency had been towards the isolation of foreigners, who were looked upon as a cross between barbarians and wild beasts, and the seclusion of the nation from all intercourse, save with the salaried officials of the Government and a few of the lowest classes.†

When, however, we cast our eyes upon Japan six or seven years later, it is as though the Lord of Hosts, the mighty One of Israel, had said, "Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies." A complete revolution had occurred in the government of the country. The Tycoon was no longer a mighty official overshadowing the presence and arrogating the authority of his Master. The Daimios, who had for centuries been the feudal aristocracy of the country, by a series of self-sacrificing ordinances, to which the early proceedings of the French National Assembly in 1789 afford but a feeble parallel, had surrendered all their most cherished prerogatives, and subsided into the rank of country gentlemen.‡ Simultaneously with this marvellous revolution there burst forth as eager an anxiety to cultivate social and friendly relations with foreigners as there had previously been hostility. It was in 1868 that this marvellous change of national feeling manifested itself, and it is now calculated that more than a thousand Japanese are to be found in America and Europe, while in Japan itself there has been most extensive relaxation of former exclusiveness. It would be an interesting question to speculate on the causes which have led to this sudden revolution of thought and feeling, more wonderful even than the political revolution which has occurred. An account has been attempted in a very able article which appeared in "Blackwood's Magazine" for September, 1872, and also in a letter of our Missionary, Mr. Ensor; but ingenious as are the suggestions which have been offered, and valuable as they are as contributions towards the solution of the mystery, we cannot help thinking that it is still but very imperfectly comprehended by outsiders. One thing is quite

* Sir R. Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon," vol. i. p. 345.

† Ibid.

‡ "The Leisure Hour" for 1872 gives a detailed account of this revolution; it is well worth perusal.

certain, that the system of Japanese government must have been as a bowing wall and as a tottering fence, to have collapsed as it did with hardly any effort at resistance.

But however obscure the causes may have been, there can be no misapprehension about the results. The Mikado, the ancient ruler of the country, who had been during so many centuries "*nominis umbra*," is now, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, sovereign. He has resumed, we will not say with absolute authority, the government of the people, but with power unhampered by a domineering aristocracy. The ancient religion of the country, also, the Shintoo, which had, like the ruler, been much jostled aside by foreign creeds of later importation, has resumed its former superiority. Buddhism and Confucianism have fallen into disfavour with those in authority, and active measures have been taken against the institutions of those who profess these strange religions. It would have seemed at one time as though there had been a determined intention to suppress them by forcible means.

In his very interesting communication, dated December 15, 1871, and published in our volume last year,* the Rev. G. Ensor informs us that—

This attitude has been induced by the strong desire of the party so lately come to power, to invest the person and throne of the Mikado with the halo and prestige of divinity, which, according to the state religion of Shintooism, he possesses by virtue of his lineal descent from the gods. Buddhism being associated, as some suppose, more with the rival authority of the Shogoon, has in consequence been discountenanced, while an attempt has been made to strengthen the power of the imperial party by the creation, or rather revival, of a superstitious reverence for the Son of Heaven. The anti-foreign feeling, as well, has also lent its influence to this movement, and the revival of the old conservative spirit of Japan has led to the viewing of Buddhism, and even Confucianism, although 1,500 years established in the land, as an alien and exotic faith. Now, wonderful to say, Buddhism is the only religious system in Japan which possesses, in a clearly defined moral code, and a distinct enunciation of the existence of a future retribution of happiness or misery, the elements of strength calculated to command the faith and the affections of the mass of the people. Shintooism is miserably deficient in these important characteristics, and is adapted only to content the feeblest and most ignorant aspirations of the rudest and most unlettered barbarians; and so, in spite of its patronage by the rulers, and the persecution, on the other hand, of Buddhism, very few real converts to the State religion have been gained: nevertheless, Buddhism is everywhere on the wane; temples have been disestablished and

disendowed with most sweeping severity; no new members are suffered to enter the priestly caste, saving under particular conditions and restrictions; and, more important than all, the innumerable idols erected at cross-roads and corners, have been broken down, and thus the props and remembrances of a sensuous religion have been demolished and removed. Thus, in the camp of our enemies, God has set every man's sword against his fellow, and when the hour of toleration comes, we shall find scarcely any enemy prepared or able to contend with us; for, in the third place, there are symptoms already appearing, that Shintooism itself is destined soon to perish. In God's providence it has fulfilled its mission, and, having done so, is likely at any time to be thrown aside. Used by the new government to bolster up the extravagant pretensions of the throne, and thus, in an hour of transition and consequent weakness, to consolidate and strengthen its power, now that the throne is firmly established it is felt to be no longer required, and, like a scaffolding in the initial stages of the edifice, all-important and indispensable, it is felt, when the construction is completed, to be but an unsightly source of weakness. The large increase of educational establishments under foreign supervision, throughout the country, and the consequent wide spread of knowledge and information, have rendered such pretensions on the part of the Sovereign to divinity absolutely untenable. Shintooism is so entirely interwoven with these, that the abandonment of the one necessarily entails the fall of the other.

It is, however, a very remarkable proof of the extremely unsettled state of affairs in Japan, that during the past year there has been a reaction, and while Shintooism is still in the ascendant, there seems a desire, most probably with political ends in view,

* Page 118, Vol. VIII., New Series.

to make all three creeds, if possible, subservient to the interests of the state. Degrees of rank, for instance, have recently been conferred on Buddhist priests by the authorities. We extract from the *Japan Weekly Mail* of June 29, 1872, a very curious exemplification of this. We insert it with the more readiness, as in itself it furnishes a very interesting insight into Japanese customs, and the mode by which religious propagandism may be effected, where the concurrence of the authorities can be obtained.

"From the 10th instant lecture-rooms will be opened at various (Shintô) shrines and (Buddhist) temples throughout the city, wherein the shrine-wardens and priests appointed by the Department of Religion for the religious instruction of the people, as well as other individuals licensed for the same purpose, will expound the principles of religion, and you will therefore announce this, in order that the people, without distinction of sex, may listen, as they may feel inclined.

"Dated 9th day, 5th month,
(14th June, 1872)."

The appearance of this notification in the streets of Yedo was followed immediately by the erection of wooden boards at the entrances of some of the principal shrines and temples, bearing the word *Sekkiô*, or "exposition of religion," in gigantic Chinese characters, with a slip of paper at the side announcing the day upon which the lectures would begin. A great many rumours had been circulated with reference to the unwonted activity of the *Kiôbushô*, or Department of Religion (*Ministère des Cultes*), which had summoned priests of the despised Buddhist faith to Yedo, to confer with it upon the best means of awaking the people of this country from their religious apathy, and of giving them a new creed calculated to strengthen the hands of the administration; for it is the avowed opinion of the ruling class that religion, though beneath the contempt of an educated man, is an absolutely necessary instrument for keeping the people in order. As the Department of Religion was merely the old *Jingishô*, or Shintô Board under a new name, and with rather extended aims, the propagation of Shintô was also provided for by the appointment of several learned Shintôists of the Hirata school to expound the new creed, after their lights, and it was a sermon delivered by one of these at the Shrine of Shimmei, the "Divine Brightness," that the writer was led by curiosity to attend.

The hour notified for the commencement of the proceedings, being noon, it seemed no very hazardous thing, judging from the usual punctuality observed by Japanese, to arrive at the shrine about one o'clock; but on approaching the steps at that hour, the only signs of a congregation were a few pairs of clogs, which turned out to belong to some

shock-headed students who had come there to idle away a spare hour or two. Placed close to the papered windows at one end of the long front chamber which is intended for the use of worshippers, was a table draped with camlet of an extremely gorgeous pattern, surmounted by a reading-desk of pure unpainted wood; and behind this were three men engaged, probably, in discussing the discourse to be delivered, since one of them afterwards took the first turn on the rostrum. The great advantage of being so early is that one can secure a seat in the immediate vicinity of the preacher; but this turned out to be a needless precaution, as the congregation, when it was *au grand complet*, did not exceed thirty persons at the outside, of whom several looked like municipal officials compelled to be present in order to set a good example. Every five minutes a couple of persons would ascend the steps, cast a few copper cash into the grating which occupies the centre of the floor in front of the actual shrine, then bend down on their knees with the head to the mats in profound silence, and, after remaining in that posture for ten seconds, turn their backs to the god and depart. The more knowing ones, amongst whom were the wardens of the shrine, repeated this ceremony on each side of the paper-crowned wand, clapping their hands twice, as if to call the attention of a sleeping deity, a practice which seems to be very ancient, and in much estimation. This sort of thing continued until two o'clock, when at last the preacher, who had been putting on his robes in a vestry, came in and mounted on to the table, squatting behind the reading-desk. He was dressed in flowing garments, such as are worn by the attendants about the Court, adorned with thick silken cords passed through the cuffs, and his head was surmounted by a high black cap, or *mortier*, of a material resembling paper. It was easy to see that he had not given way to the degenerate method of dressing the hair now so common, but had it tied into a bunch at the back, like a true patriot and believer in the gods. After bowing to his audience, who reciprocated the compliment, he communicated to us the gracious intentions of His Majesty to spread abroad amongst his people a true knowledge of religion; that he had to

that end caused certain articles of belief to be promulgated, and had committed to the speaker and other unworthy persons the glorious charge of expounding them to his people, who were now adjured to listen with reverence. After this exordium he unwrapped the paper on which the creed was written, lifted it respectfully to his forehead, and then read its contents in a loud and sonorous voice.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Thou shalt honour the gods and love thy country.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Thou shalt clearly understand the principles of heaven and the duty of man.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Thou shalt revere the Emperor as thy Sovereign and obey the will of his Court.

The preacher proceeded to say that the task of expounding the first half of Article the First, namely, 'honour the gods,' had fallen to him, and that he would be succeeded by more learned speakers, who would explain the remainder of what he had just read. In the first place, then, there were people who disputed the existence of the gods, because they could not see or feel them, but that was an idiot's argument. He should proceed to show, by three methods, the certainty that the gods exist. Firstly; reason showed us that our bodies, for instance, with their wonderful organization, must have been made by some one; they could not possibly have come into being spontaneously. At first sight we should be inclined to ascribe their production to our parents, but if we went backwards and inquired who made our parents and so on, we should arrive at the gods, who made us and every thing in the world. Secondly, there was documentary evidence, namely, in the ancient books called the "Kojiki" and "Nihonshoki," which contained undisputed facts showing beyond the possibility of a doubt that the gods existed. Thirdly, there were the miracles performed by the gods in answer to prayers offered at their shrines; in illustration of which point he told a long story about a little girl who had been exposed when quite an infant by an unfeeling stepmother. This little girl was discovered by the warden of the shrine of Kibi Daijin in Bizen, who took her to his bosom and adopted her. Unfortunately she lost her eyesight, and in order to place her above want, he taught her, at the expense of much pains, to play upon the harp; after which he died and

left her alone in the world, being then some fifteen years of age. The girl used constantly to pray to Kibi Daijin (the supposed inventor of the Katakana alphabet) to be restored to her natural parents—for she knew herself to be a castaway—and at last she was rewarded. One day it happened that her real father, being a pious man and full of veneration for the gods, came also to visit the shrine, and, pitying the wretched condition of the poor blind girl, took off his mantle and threw it to her; when, to his surprise, instead of uttering a few words of thanks, she burst into tears. On demanding the reason of her extraordinary behaviour, she told him her story from beginning to end, and finished by saying that her tears were caused by the joy she felt at the prospect of being able to offer up sacrifices to the gods with the proceeds of his gift. Upon which the father demanded her charm-case, and, finding a piece of paper with the inscription "Sayémon Nawoto's daughter" therein, became convinced of what he had already surmised, namely, that she was his long-lost child, and so they were re-united again after fifteen years of separation. This happy event was entirely due to the faith which had animated both, and to the diligence with which they had sought the help of the gods. After this, could any one venture to deny their existence?

This point having been thus proved to the entire satisfaction of the preacher, he proceeded to show what was meant by honouring the gods. It was not merely coming to the shrine daily with offerings and prostrating oneself before it that was intended. True reverence for the gods consisted in endeavouring to purify the heart so that no one stain might remain on it to offend them. Let no one suppose that his heart was pure and stainless because he discharged what he imagined to be his duties towards his neighbours. The best of us were liable to transgress, and the only means of attaining to perfect goodness consisted in constantly calling on the gods for their help in this matter, and in attending diligently to the expositions delivered by the teachers whom his Majesty had, out of his great goodness and mercy, appointed to lead his people in the right way. Gratitude to the gods was also a part of the reverence which was demanded from human beings. It was Ukémochino kami, for instance, who created for our use the rice, that king amongst the grains of the earth, which forms our daily food; but who ever thinks of this duty of gratitude? We all go out in spring time to gratify our senses by contem-

plating the cherry and the plum in blossom; but, alas! no one ever goes with a grateful heart to look upon the rice when it is in blossom. We merely say: Ah! this is fine weather for the rice blossom, without giving a thought to the beneficent deity who provides us with our daily sustenance. Having spoken in this strain for about an hour and a half, the lecturer stated that after a short interval another would take his plate and go on with the rest of the Three Articles. It is worthy of note that during the whole of this long oration, the audience listened with the most perfect gravity and deep interest, and with so little sign of fatigue that they remained for the second course. Their conduct was probably more decorous than that of many a Western congregation, and the words they heard went so deep to their hearts that several of them shed tears, especially during the pathetic history of the little blind foundling.

As a contrast to the Shintô sermon, the preaching of the Buddhists at Zôjôji, close to Shimmei's shrine, was worth visiting. Here the space allotted in the great central hill, called the Hondô, was much larger, and a correspondingly numerous congregation had assembled, chiefly composed of women, old men, and shaven-headed priests. At the sides of the dais, before the altar, were seated venerable bonzes in gorgeous robes with chaplets in their hands, and in front was the ottoman, occupied by the preacher, with a reading-desk and cushion in the orthodox style. A space enclosed by a red lacquer railing separated him from his audience, but he spoke so clearly that his words were distinctly heard throughout the building. His topics consisted chiefly of the reciprocal duties of parents and children, master and servant, treated in the style with which the public has been already made familiar by Mr. Mitford, in the pages of the *Cornhill Magazine*. A bland smile constantly hovered over his countenance, and the jokes with which he illustrated his doctrines were rewarded with repeated merriment, especially when he said that husbands were bound to give their wives a due proportion of tortoiseshell hair-pins, rice powder for their cheeks, and red dye for their lips. Some of his witticisms were so broad as to be quite

untranslatable into English. The gist of his discourse was, that above all things we ought constantly to call upon Buddha, and in illustration of this, when he came to the end, he bowed his head, repeating, "Namu Amida Butsu," over and over again, accompanied by all his hearers. The effect of his chant was extremely fine. After his descent from the pulpit this paternoster continued for at least five minutes, to the accompaniment of shrill gongs, beaten by the attendant priests. During the whole of his discourse children were playing about the steps of the temple; now and then a maid-servant would lounge in behind with a squalling infant on her back, and disturb the general serenity, and there was an air of irreverent levity about the whole of the proceedings which certainly gave the impression that people attended more for the sake of amusement than for instruction.

From the small number of hearers present on these two occasions, it may be inferred that the movement does not excite much interest among the hundreds of thousands who inhabit this city. Various explanations are given by natives of the objects contemplated by the Government. Some say that it is their intention to amalgamate Shintô, Buddhism, and the Confucian philosophy, as a bulwark against Christianity; but this measure would probably be attended with a good deal of difficulty, considering the contempt which the professors of these schools of doctrine entertain for each other. The Buddhists alone are split up into as many as eight recognized sects, which hate each other as only sectarians can do, condescending to quarrel about whether they shall say *Namu Amida Butsu* or *Nam-miô Hôrenge Kiô* when they call upon the Founder. Others think that the ruling powers, seeing that ere long these effete religions must be replaced by Christianity, wish to let them have a trial and a public failure before according tolerance to the creed hitherto so hated and despised, but which is every day making strides in the good opinion of many of the better educated and intelligent. It is coolly suggested by some that the present Buddhist *personnel* could easily be converted into priests and deacons by an Imperial fiat.

From information which has reached us we are not sure that the authorities may not be, ere long, willing to find room for Christianity also among the religions of Japan, provided they could see their way at all clearly to make it available as a means for disciplining those over whom the effete superstitions of the country are, as indicated in the foregoing extract, losing their control. We have now attempted to furnish some retrospect of the chief events which have occurred in Japan during the last few years, in

so far as they affect the progress of Christian Missions : there still remains the important question, how far, in consequence, the way may be open for establishing them throughout the country. When we look into the question it will be manifest that there are conditions, both favourable and unfavourable, but, upon the whole, that there is much reason to thank God, and to take courage. It is much to be feared that hitherto intercourse with Europeans has been by no means to the advantage of the Japanese. The country has been unscrupulously drained of her wealth by foreign adventurers and by foreign governments. What is the prospect, then, of communicating to Japan the pearl of great price, the wisdom whose price is far above rubies ?

The first favourable indication, then, that we would notice is the change of government which has occurred. Instead of the confused and conflicting authorities heretofore bewildering those who sought for justice and protection, there is now one definite authority whose rule is supreme, and who can be held responsible for acts of violence and oppression. This in itself is, as regards Missionary operations, no small gain. In China, for instance, how difficult and well nigh hopeless it is to fix responsibility : it is not even easy to ascertain when an *émeute* takes place, whether it is an ebullition of popular fury or a deliberate stroke of oppressive policy proceeding from those in authority. Whether the rule of the Mikado will be permanent it seems hard to say : each fresh turn of the kaleidoscope has, during the last few years, presented us with a fresh view of public affairs. So many time-honoured institutions have floated away like the drift of seaweed, that it would seem hazardous to assert that even the time-honoured influence of the Mikado will continue with undiminished prestige in the midst of the many novel complications with which it is brought into contact. We hope, upon the whole, that it may, for there is too much evidence all around us of the risk, if not the ruin, which results from rashly plucking up ancient institutions, root and branch, and replacing them by novelties uncongenial with the traditional and hereditary sentiments of the governed. Reverence for the Mikado would seem, during the recent commotions in the country, to have been the one thing which stood between the nation and anarchy. As, however, Mr. Ensor acutely remarks, it seems difficult to imagine how, in the face of rising intelligence among the Japanese, it will be possible for the Mikado much longer to assert the divine pretensions which hitherto have hedged him round. When they come into debate, if the condition of political or financial affairs were to happen to be unfavourable, and any crisis of national distress or difficulty were to arise, it might go hard with the temporal power, no longer hallowed with spiritual attributes. Where such claims have been asserted and rude divorce made, we have only to look to Rome, and the huge importance of the Papacy, to see how keenly the wound is felt. It is no use, however, forecasting evils which may not occur, and we may therefore be content to recognize the present power of the Mikado as upon the whole a factor for good in our calculations.

We need not advert further to the conflict between the rival forms of heathenism which has been taking place, as it is ably and sufficiently dwelt upon in Mr. Ensor's letter, which we have already quoted. We would rather advert to the document which has been recently put off by the Department of Religion at Yedo, looking towards the toleration of all believers of all creeds. At first sight this might seem to be all that is requisite, and that no Christian Missionary could possibly require more than the promulgation of such an edict. Past experience, however, in other countries, would teach a different lesson. There has been now for years an edict of somewhat similar character issued in Turkey : we will not say it has been hitherto practically a dead letter, but the results as yet have been infinitesimally small for the security of converts or the spread of the Gospel. Even where such edicts are put forth with most entire good faith on the part of the authorities, they have to be reinforced with some encouragement of

public opinion to be of much practical value ; still, they are most important as a recognition of principles to which appeal can be made. There are symptoms of such a favourable inclination in Japan, but not yet sufficient for much confidence to be placed in them. We doubt, however, how far religious freedom can be practically said to exist, although theoretically it may be the profession of the state. We fear that Sir Harry Parkes took too sanguine a view of the feelings of the Japanese authorities in the Memorandum which he read to the members of the Evangelical Alliance and the Missionary Societies who waited upon Earl Granville last year. He then stated that "Nothing is further from the intention of the Japanese Government than to punish their people on account of a difference of religion, unless this is followed by a mutinous and rebellious disposition shown by such actions as have lately taken place at Urakami." Further on he remarks, "When an ostentatious disregard of the fundamental laws of the country is openly indulged in, the Government is obliged, in support of the authority of his Majesty the Emperor, to adopt such measures as will bring his misguided subjects back to the established laws and institutions of the country." Such language is most fair and reasonable, and was, we doubt not, used in perfect good faith by Sir H. Parkes, whose kindly offices have been so often felt and acknowledged by those who are interested in the cause of Missions. But it becomes a question of anxious concern to ascertain clearly what may be comprehended by Japanese officials under "mutinous and rebellious dispositions," and by "ostentatious disregard to the fundamental laws of the country." It is a Japanese custom, that, in what we should call every parish, the residents should receive "new year's tickets," as evidences of their communion with the religion of the land. Almost about the time Sir H. Parkes was speaking, 69 Romanists, for not receiving these tickets, had been thrown into prison, from which they had only been released by the intervention of the English Chargé d'Affaires. Had these persons been guilty of mutinous and rebellious dispositions? Had they evinced ostentatious disregard for the fundamental laws of the country? We fear, notwithstanding Sir H. Parkes' disclaimer, that they had been guilty of acts which might have been construed in this sense. We have, moreover, strong doubts whether refusal to participate in the worship of the temples, especially on such occasions, might not bear a similar interpretation. In his recent Lectures on "Christian Life in the Second and Third Centuries," Canon Lightfoot has shadowed out what looks too much like the present position of Christianity in Japan. * The following passage seems only too pertinent. We would be most thankful for an authoritative statement, either from Sir H. Parkes or any other competent authority, that we are mistaken in our idea:—

On the downfall of the Republic all the chief offices were concentrated in the person of the Emperor. If not in theory, at least in practice, he was the State. Now, Roman religion, as they had seen, was the mere reflection of Roman politics. In its very nature, therefore, it would adapt itself to the altered circumstances of the time. Concentrated political power demanded a corresponding concentration in the object of religious worship. The person of the Emperor was the obvious response to this demand.

The Emperor, therefore, was deified. His divinity was a symbol of the Constitution ; his worship was a guarantee of loyalty. How, then, did those facts affect the position of the Christians? From its very nature Christianity could not expect the toleration which was extended to other religions. Christianity claimed to be absolute, paramount, universal. If it was not this, it was nothing at all. It could not consent to go shares with other systems in the allegiance of its adherents. If the Christians had been satisfied with a niche

* In the reply recently made to Lord Ebury, as President of the Evangelical Alliance, by Iwakura, we notice that he assured the Deputation that "the statement that the Imperial laws against the introduction and promulgation of Christianity have been promulgated, is not correct." We presume His Excellency means "*new laws*;" for within the last few years a rescript from the old laws has been published, and was read last year on official notice-boards throughout the empire.

for their Divine Founder in the Roman Pantheon, side by side with the deities of Greece, or Syria, or Egypt, with Cybele, and Isis, and Astarte, the compromise would certainly have been readily accepted. It was even said that Tiberius proposed to the Senate to recognize our Lord among the adopted gods of Rome. The story may not be true, but it correctly represents the religious sentiments of the Roman people. The Roman was astonished, perplexed, checkmated by the attitude which the Christian assumed. It seemed to him so unconciliatory, so exacting, so unreasonable.

Moreover, the idea of an universal exclusive religion, as it was foreign to ancient conceptions, so also was it antagonistic to political expediency. The Christians were required to sacrifice to the genius of the living Emperor, or to recognize the divinity of the dead Emperor. It was common loyalty to acquiesce; it was sheer treason to decline. Their refusal was a blow aimed at the vitals of the State. There was an irreconcilable antagonism between the religious ideas of Christianity and the political institutions of the age.

We fear, therefore, that notwithstanding the profession of religious toleration, which we by no means undervalue as a step in the right direction, its influence for good as yet does not extend largely beyond the treaty ports. Any one, whether Missionary travelling in the interior or convert residing in the interior, would have to be subject to Japanese law, as the Japanese are to English law here. There is, however, this vital difference, that, if the Japanese saw fit, they might open a place of worship, and preach their doctrines, Shintoo or Buddhist, and make proselytes as they saw fit. We doubt whether the converse of this would hold true. If, however, Western civilization progresses in Japan as it seems to be increasing now, it is but reasonable to imagine that railroads and telegraphs, and a continuous stream of travellers of all kinds perpetually passing and re-passing through the country, would wonderfully facilitate the toleration of fresh ideas, and form an effectual means of circulating religious truth, if there were those forthcoming ready and willing to be the agents for its dissemination.

Notwithstanding, however, what may seem to be discouraging circumstances, which, after all, are not more than might be anticipated in a country where has been so sudden a reversal of traditional policy as there has been in Japan, these are cheering facts which are not to be lost sight of, and which have to be taken into account in forming an accurate estimation of the situation. Such, for instance, that there is at the present moment a Native Church in Yokohama, gathered in by the labours of the American Presbyterian Church. On one occasion, as many as sixteen or seventeen converts, were baptized publicly. An officer had been sent from Yedo to repress these efforts of conversion, and to put a stop to them by active measures. His report to his superior was that it was impossible for him to make such an attempt; it was consequently desisted from. We have before us the proceedings of a convention of American Missionaries held at Yokohama in September last. On this occasion, the Elder of the Native Church was constituted a member, and sat with the convention. Among the resolutions adopted was one, that it was of the utmost importance to educate a native ministry as soon as possible. So, too, the Greek Church has an establishment at Hakodaté, one of the treaty ports; without let or hindrance, its Chaplain has been preaching at Yedo Christianity as professed by the Greek Church, and many attend his ministrations. In Sagaleen, which is the next island to Hakodaté, one-half is held by the Russians; to Yezzo many Japanese are now being sent as colonists. Heretofore it has been principally occupied by Ainos, who formed the ancient population of Japan, a most singular and completely distinct race. They are kept in ignorance and complete subjection by the Japanese, and are wholly dissimilar from them in language and physical appearances. It is computed that in Yezzo there are about 30,000 people of this race. Even from the facts of these recognized efforts, on the part of the Americans and the Russians, it is manifest that there are no insuperable objections in the

way of Missionary operations in some parts, at any rate, of Japan. Converts may be gathered in and be publicly baptized, and Churches can be formed out by the native population. Another indication may be mentioned of a relaxation of the suspicious policy which heretofore had characterized the Japanese. In 1870, guardhouses were erected in the vicinity of the dwellings of foreign residents, ostensibly for their protection, but, as it was well known, in order that constant surveillance might be kept up, and that nothing which the old East-India Company, in their anti-Missionary days, would have called "contraband," might issue forth, should proceed beyond them. These have now been removed, and Missionaries may dwell peaceably in their own hired houses, receiving all who come unto them. There is again another remarkable fact, and that is the establishment of 1,500 schools throughout the country, some taught by English and American teachers, in which there is a large introduction of European science and knowledge, though there is no professed religious teaching. Much familiarity must thus result with European habits and modes of thought, on many most important topics. One painful subject there is which needs to be handled in consideration with the evangelization of Japan. It is a very delicate matter for those who advocate Missionary exertion to deal with, it is so easy to assert that the object is to create prejudice and ill-will. The retaliation, too, is constantly felt in the foolish tales repeated to and by travellers in foreign countries to the prejudice of Missionaries. We think it therefore better that the Japanese should tell their own tales after their own fashion. The passage we quote is from an essay by a young Japanese, which is inserted in the "Japanese in America:"—*

The conduct of foreigners, excepting some of the better class of Missionaries and a few laymen, is a very shame to the name of Christianity and civilization, and retards the progress of both. They do not pay the prices of things they buy, and even the boat fares required of them; but no sooner do they observe a shadow of discontent in the face of the person who demands it than the heavy cane is over his head. At home such behaviour would be properly chastised by indictment for assault and battery, but in the Eastern countries the European tyrants are under the protection of guns and powder, moreover, of that sacred cross of St. George or the tricolour. So that whenever they treat a native outrageously, if he do not lose his senses he would keep his anger; to himself, because, if he resent it, the fate of his darling country would be endangered even by the loss of a single hair of theirs. There is no mystery in the fact that Christianity has not made any considerable progress beyond Europe, when we know that those Christians who go out to foreign countries behave themselves worse than the heathen, or, at least, no better than they. First of all, they are the slaves of mammon, go to houses of ill repute, swear without almost any cause, insult the natives, kick and beat them, and behave as haughtily as Julius Cæsar. Moreover, these things take place on Sunday more than on any other day of the

week, because on other days they have things of more material interest to attend to.

It is in vain that some really good Christians try to persuade the Natives that Christianity is the true religion of God while they are beset on all sides by these splendid specimens of nominal Christians; and when they look back at their conduct they would not find any reason why they should feel particularly ashamed before Christians. A traitor is worse than an enemy; yet these nominal Christians are such. How can one be blamed when he cannot find out the right way when he has no guide? But how could one be excused when he goes a wrong way by his own perverseness and wicked intentions when he has a sure infallible guide? The Eastern nations could not help being heathen because they had no good guide to take them to the right path. But among the Western nations was there not an infallible guide who sacrificed Himself for their sake? Those who call themselves Christians, yet behave quite unlike them, are far worse than the pure heathen; while, if there were no such mock Christians, Christianity would have made its progress smoothly. It loses credit through their conduct among the ignorant heathen, and its progress is thus obstructed. Woe to the betrayers of their Master! If He should appear in this world at this time He could scarcely recognize His own people. Oh! has He shed

* "The Japanese in America," by C. Lanman, p. 90.

His blood in vain? May we hope that God will forbid that! We can get over any difficulty when we are in earnest. Our way is always open when we are willing. Lack not your will, that is the only passport to pass the gate. Let those true Christians who are

going to enter the gate, and wish to take with them as many fellow-creatures as they can, pay more attention to their followers, purify their camp first, then go out to the expedition. A rotten root can never bear a good fruit.

As regards the Japanese themselves, there is much in their character to encourage Missionary effort, while, as might be expected, there are certain drawbacks not to be lost sight of. It is of course to be expected that a nation which has never been under the restraints of the pure and perfect law of God, and which has never, either from the exhibition of that law or the revelation of how or in what way it is possible for God to be a God of infinite purity and holiness, and yet be a God faithful and just to forgive the very chief of sinners, should furnish painful evidence of defective morality, and betray its need for the regenerating influences of God's Holy Spirit and Word. Such need, however, is not peculiar to Japan. In other respects we may view the people as gay, gentle and polite; in business matters displaying great intelligence and considerable acquaintance with the routine of commerce. They are, moreover, a people essentially imitative, although, in many respects, superficial in their acquirements. It has been said, but with undue harshness, that their present show of European civilization is little better than a masquerade. We think more highly of the laudable efforts they are making to appropriate to themselves, as far as may be practicable, the fruits of Western intelligence. It may be that at present they may be catching only at the superficial forms of science, and have not penetrated its depths; but it is highly to their credit that they have made any acquaintances with it at all. They are, moreover, very poetical, and have much sentiment, and yet are very positive and very material. In point of fact, so far as we can understand, there are many points of similarity between them and the Athenians of old, especially in their eager desire to be always hearing of something new. What the Celt is to the Saxon, or the Persian is to the Turk, the Japanese may be held to be in comparison with the Chinese. Such a view of this most interesting people presents, as we have said, both encouragements and drawbacks. Notwithstanding, however, the superficiality which may be noticed in them, it does not follow that they are incapable of receiving and retaining permanently religious impressions. We may notice, in evidence of this, the tenacity with which, notwithstanding centuries of persecution, some among them have retained certain traces of Roman teaching. This may not amount to much, but has been sufficient to facilitate the efforts of Romish priests, and to furnish them with proselytes. When we add to this that they are a reading people, and are likely daily to become more so, there is in this fact also a further element of encouragement. Even now, in the towns, probably 25 per cent. of the population are able to read, but we have no readily accessible information about the rural classes. There are, however, native newspapers printed and circulated, and a great desire has been manifested for books and tracts. A parallel for their condition in this respect might be instituted between the Japanese and our countrymen at the period of the Reformation. The Bishop of Ningpo, when he visited Nagasaka in June, 1869, remarked that in the space of a few months Mr. Ensor had sold more Bibles, or portions of the Word of God, than ever had been sold at Ningpo, and this at a period when religious toleration was not ostensibly professed. It may reasonably, too, be expected—indeed there is already evidence of the fact—that education is rendering the people dissatisfied with the creeds which had contented the ignorance of their forefathers. There is also another institution in Japan which in due course, and probably ere long, may be rendered helpful to the spread of the Gospel. Preaching has always been an institution in the country. The priests are in the habit of preaching

four or five days in every month. The Shintoos have also something like our Home Missions, but not regularly; while the Buddhists employ preaching as a means of propagating their faith. At the corners of the streets, too, there are constantly story-tellers to be seen, sometimes reciting tales of ancient history, sometimes comic stories, but gathering auditories round them, who are thus acquiring new ideas. There is again here a difference between the condition of things in China and Japan, and in favour of the latter. Women, too, it may be added, are more accessible to spiritual teaching than they are in China, and much more so than they are in most parts of the world. While apathy is the characteristic of China, curiosity and interest are as manifest in Japan. Even the gentry and the *literati* in Japan cannot be said to be hostile to Christianity. There is no doubt among multitudes in Japan, as there is for the matter of that in England, indifference to spiritual things; but it is not in the nature of any class of the people to look upon any subject which may be presented to them with indifference. However inferior as a motive power curiosity may be, it is not to be overlooked or lost sight of.

There are many subsidiary considerations to which we cannot now advert, and which would more appropriately find place in the consultations of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society than in our pages; such, for instance, as to whether Osaka, with its population of a million, might not be a most inviting centre of operations. Such points, however, may, for the present at any rate, be best left untouched. There is, however, one which we must refer to, and that is, as to the class of Missionaries requisite for Japan at the present juncture. On a careful review of the whole question, it does seem that there is here a most loud call for men of education and intelligence such as ought to be found amongst the members of our Universities. It is a remarkable fact, that, from political causes, at present the upper classes in Japan enjoy more religious freedom, and are more accessible to the Missionaries than the inferior; they are less under jealous surveillance, and have more opportunities of maintaining their convictions unchallenged. Such was not the case always in Japan, but is so now. There is also much literary labour to be done in the way of translation and the creation of a Christian literature which requires peculiar training and aptitude. How far the prospect of there being a general substitution of the English for the Chinese character in printed books is likely to be shortly realized we cannot say; but if the notion which has been broached be carried into effect, it would wonderfully facilitate the labours of future Missionaries. This change, together with the comparatively easy pronunciation of the language, each syllable terminating in a vowel, would go far to remove what to many is a serious stumbling-block and hindrance to ready influence. We would fain hope that ere long, in answer to the prayers which have so recently gone up universally from our Church, there will be some whom the Spirit of the Lord may thrust forth into this most interesting sphere of Missionary labour. We cannot absolutely undertake to say that there is an open door before them; but there is an opening door. Already there are Missionaries of many Societies waiting to enter in. It would be a sad and humiliating thing if there could not be found in the ranks of the clergy of the Church of England, and of the sister Church of Ireland, some who would give themselves to this work; who would, rejoicing themselves in the salvation of the Lord, be prepared to set up in the name of our God the banners of the Lord Jesus Christ in far distant Japan. It would be a grand spectacle to behold that most interesting nation, casting off the slough of ages, with fresh vigour and renovated youth taking its place as an independent power amongst the nations of the earth, owing no earthly allegiance but to its own native rulers; but, in exchange for the spiritual thralldom in which it has been so long held by false teaching, accepting the light yoke and the easy burden of Christ. May

some to whom the Lord Jesus is precious as their own Saviour, be led to consider within themselves the present need of Japan, and be prepared to say, Here am I, send me!

CHAITANYA AS A HINDU REFORMER.

It is a common opinion, among Europeans at any rate, that the religion of the Hindus has been stereotyped in the earliest ages, and has continued unchanged and immoveable throughout all succeeding time. There is a certain amount of truth in this, but it is far from being the whole truth. While Greek and Roman idolatry, with which we are most familiar, has utterly perished, and only traces and fragments of it are discoverable in the foolish superstitions which still deform Greek and Latin Christianity, Hinduism has, like Confucianism, been to a great extent left alone: much primeval doctrine, practice, and ritual therefore still survives, and claims veneration from the modern Hindu. Ignorance, moreover, leads many to ascribe a very ancient origin to practices which are, comparatively speaking, of recent date. There is consequently an erroneous impression that a system which has so grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the Hindus, which has cast its root so deep, and has braved so many storms, is well nigh unassailable. A feeling arises among many who are called Christians similar to that which filled Israel when the spies brought the report of the promised land. "The people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and are very great; and, moreover, we saw the children of Anak there." The result is, undue depression, unwillingness to enter upon a work which seems hopeless, distrust also of the power of God to overcome obstacles said to be insurmountable. Forgetting the mighty works which have been wrought in ancient times, many seem disposed to think that the Lord's hand is shortened that it cannot redeem.

Oriental scholars, however, are well aware, that although in Hindustan the strong man armed has struggled hard to keep his goods in peace, he has not altogether succeeded. From time to time the victims of his cruelty and oppression have made struggles, however hopeless and ineffectual, to relieve themselves from bondage, and to introduce more humane and rational systems than the yoke of bondage in which they found themselves entangled. They have striven to bring in light into the horrible dungeon in which they were penned, but there has proceeded

"From these flames

No light; but rather darkness visible;
Serving but to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades where peace
And rest can never dwell; hope never comes."

Much sympathy may be felt for these futile efforts of man destitute of true revelation from God to ameliorate his condition. When the light that is in him is darkness, how great is that darkness! Such would seem to have been the fate of many who have at various periods attempted to introduce reform into Hinduism. It would be wrong and uncharitable not to give them credit for some honest endeavour to bring about a better state of things among their countrymen, but they were blind men leading the blind. It may be of interest to our readers to become more familiar with one to whose name we have had occasion more than once recently to advert. We furnish, from the *Calcutta Review*, a portrait of him presented by a friendly hand. In his day and generation he must have been a remarkable man, but the chief point to notice is the complete and utter failure of his efforts to regenerate his fellow-countrymen. It is stated that "his object was grandly

catholic. It was to re-build Hindu society from its foundation, to exterminate priestcraft, to eradicate the evils of caste, to introduce religious toleration, to assert the right of equality of men, and to establish the relations of his fellow-beings on the principle of universal brotherhood." In reply we may ask, "Quid tulit hic tanto dignus promissor hiatu?" He did not rebuild Hindu society from its foundation; he failed utterly in exterminating priestcraft, which is still the curse of India; he has not eradicated the evil of caste, which still flourishes in rank luxuriance; religious toleration is a thing unknown in India so far as English law endures intolerance. If religious equality was asserted by Chaitanya it was a mere assertion, unheeded by the mass of his countrymen; as for universal brotherhood it is a dream. We do not blame him for his failure, but we notice it as an instance of the insufficiency of man, unaided and untaught by the Spirit of God, to accomplish any permanent reformation of the evils afflicting his fellow-men.

A very curious point, too, is noticeable in the teaching of Chaitanya. It is the synchronism of his teaching "faith as contradistinguished from works" in India while Luther in Europe was shaking the Papacy to its foundations by the utterance of the same doctrine, with the all-important difference that the latter knew in whom and in what he believed, and was no "mystic." We leave it to the curious to explain and determine, if they can, how and whence it was that there should have been throughout East and West alike, at that period, a simultaneous revolt against the bondage of a law of works. The consideration of such a question would lead us too far from the legitimate speculations more appropriate to our pages.

There arose in Nadiyá in the beginning of the 16th century, a reformer who was destined to wield immense influence on the masses. Chaitanya flourished during the time of Kásinátha, and when Sayyid Husain Sharif of Mecca reigned in Gaur under the title of Sultán Ala-ud-dín Husain Sháh Sharif of Mecca. It was when Luther was thundering against the indulgences and other abuses of the Christian Church that Chaitanya preached a new doctrine. That doctrine was the efficacy of Bhakti, or faith as contra-distinguished from works. It was an innovation on the Vedic system, which inculcates specific religious duties and the performance of ceremonies and acts. This Bengali reformer taught that all men are capable of participating in the sentiments of faith and devotion, and that the members of all játis or castes become pure by such sentiments. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste. The mercy of God was, according to him, boundless, and not circumscribed by the restrictions of tribe and family. He declared that "Krishna was Paramátma, or the Supreme Spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation. In his capacity of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, he is Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Chaitanya became the founder of the largest religious sect in this country, mustering nine to ten millions strong, and fortified by an elaborate organization. Its disciples are to be found in

almost every village in Bengal. They include some of the wealthiest and most influential families, as well as a host of poor and obscure men. Having obtained the sympathy and support of a large class, Chaitanya now openly declared it was his mission to go forth and preach the love of Krishna as the one thing needful for salvation. But the Krishna of Chaitanya was not the son of Debakí, the intended victim of his uncle the tyrant Kansa, the sojourner in Brindában, the companion of cowherds, the lover of Rádhá, the favourite of milkmaids and flower women, the terror of husbands, and afterwards the conqueror of Kansa and King of Dwárká; but the Creator of the universe, and the God of truth, justice, mercy, and love. His Krishna was the great and original Spirit, the Author of creation and the Giver of all good. The age of Kásinátha and his successors was eminently favourable to the reception of the religious tenets he offered to it. The country had undergone great political and social changes. The character of the Hindús had been moulded during some time by Mohammedan conquest, Mohammedan intercourse, Mohammedan laws, and Mohammedan literature. Their minds were at this time fermenting with religious longings to which the doctrine of Bhakti inculcated by Chaitanya answered in many ways. A more practical religion than Vedantism, and a purer religion than Bhavánism, was eagerly looked for. It is therefore

not to be wondered at that the religion of Chaitanya soon took root in Nadiyá, which reverberated with the name of Krishna. Young men and old men of that city gathered round him; among them was Adaitanandan, who was to him what the Baptist had been to the greatest religious Reformer. He addressed them all in a tone of authority and affection, telling them that Krishna was the Saviour, and that they must love him with all their hearts and with all their souls. His preaching was generally heralded by convulsions and fainting fits. This phenomenon was called by his disciples *Pránpraláp*, and continued for hours. During its continuance he forgot all mundane affairs, and exclaimed ever and anon, Krishna! Krishna! This ecstatic state of *Pránpraláp* was attended with mystic sighs and songs of *Haribol*. It was contagious among his disciples, and became a conspicuous trait of the new sect. Chaitanya was a mystic. Eating but little and caring nothing for the animal man, he was able to maintain a state of continued excitement. This cerebral and muscular debility contributed in no inconsiderable degree to bring about those alternations of deep sorrow and intense joy, which told so much upon his audience, and by means of which he swayed tens of thousands. Chaitanya thought, or rather felt, that the first and greatest of all works was faith in Krishna. From this all other works must spring. He announced this as a mighty message of joy—a message that thrilled through the hearts of his hearers. He preached that the *Chandála* whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the wise, and not the unfailing expounder of the *Veda*! Again, “the teacher of the four *Vedas* is not my disciple. The faithful *Chandála* enjoys my friendship, to him let it be given, and from him be received; let him be revered even as I am revered.” This doctrine was, we repeat, the efficacy of *Bhakti*, or faith as contradistinguished from works. Religious rites and ceremonies were, in the opinion of Chaitanya, not essentially important; but the appreciation of them by the generality of mankind, and their adaptability to the spread of religious tenets, were fully realized by him. With a view to perpetuate the distinctiveness of his sect and society, and establish an indissoluble bond of union, he insisted on his followers submitting to the initiatory rite of the *Mantra*. It consisted in the Guru or spiritual guide whispering in the ears of the *Sishya* (disciple) the mystic words “*klīṅ*

Krishna.” Another observance enforced by Chaitanya among his followers was the eating of the *prasád* by them together. A common meal has always been understood to cement and ratify relations of friendship. The brotherhood of *Vaisnavas* was symbolized in the *prasád*. It was a communion where all the followers, without distinctions of caste, were admitted on equal terms. There was the learned *Naiyáik* as well as the illiterate *chásá*, the Mohammedan *Ráis* as well as the Mohammedan *Mahut*, the Kulin Brahmin and the Kulin *Káyaṣṭha* as well as the aboriginal *Bágdí* and the excommunicated *Chandál*, all participating in consecrated rice and *dál* and *málpua*. It was a manifestation of an intimate fellowship between those who shared in this common meal. It is now manifest that one of the distinguishing features of Chaitanya's theocracy was the universal character of the sect he founded. That sect was recruited from all classes of the Hindu as well as the Mohammedan community. No one who desired to enter was refused. To all who knocked at the door admittance was granted. Chaitanya kept an open house, and his guests represented all classes, not only of society but of humanity. Chaitanya was most childlike in disposition and character. He was essentially guileless and simple-minded, but a most large-hearted man; and it was in his preaching that he poured out the wealth of that heart. He became a king of men on the *Bedi*, or pulpit which constituted his throne. His sermons were to the Hindus of Bengal what those of Savonarola were to the Florentines. Like the Italian reformer he was fervid and forcible.

Chaitanya was fond of travelling and became an itinerant preacher. In the course of his peregrinations he came to *Rámkálí*, situated in the suburbs of Gaur, the then capital of Bengal. He delivered there a magnificent sermon. Striking the harp and hymning the praise of Krishna, he touched a chord which resounded and vibrated through Bengal. His utterances were aglow with intense fervour. Thousands of people came to hear him, and the sensation he made was so great as to attract the attention of the King *Sayyid Husain*, who deputed an officer to inquire into the matter. The officer reported that the noise had been made by a *Sanyási*, and that it was not worth while taking further notice of the matter. But he continued to preach, and all classes of men from all parts of the great city crowded to *Rámkálí*. Among those who had come to

hear him preach were two Mohammedan brothers, Dabir and Khash, holding high employ in the Court of Gaur. They were in fact ministers of Sayyid Husain and enjoyed his entire confidence. They were enraptured with the eloquence of Chaitanya, and became converts to the doctrine of Bhakti; they longed to see him in private, and learn at his feet the tenets of the new faith. Accordingly they went to his cottage at midnight, and thus addressed him: "Purifier of the fallen, low in descent and occupation, we are afraid of speaking our minds to thee. Saviour of Jagái and Mádhái, have mercy on us. Of Mlechchha descent, these sinners are incomparably more odious than those lordly Brahmins of Nadiyá. Our race has sinned greatly against cows and Brahmins. We are dwarfs standing on tiptoe to catch the moon. Stoop in mercy towards us." Chaitanya cordially received them and assured them of their salvation. "Krishna will save you; henceforth you shall be known to the world under the names of Rup and Sanátan." The reception of two Mohammedan nobles evinced a moral courage of no common order; which, while it showed Chaitanya's deep conviction of the purity and popularity of his faith, afforded conclusive evidence of his extraordinary boldness in disregarding the injunctions of caste and race, and his intention to build religion on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It must be remembered that the convert brothers were members of a court

which was intolerant of Hinduism, and served a king who, claiming as he did direct descent from the Prophet, was particularly aggressive against its doctrines. This act, therefore, was calculated to enlist against the reformer, not only the active antagonism of the king and court of Bengal, but the hostility of the Hindus, who had been accustomed to regard the Mohammedans as Mlechchhas, association with whom, in a Hindu religious point of view, is contamination. He, however, fully expected his disciples to cast aside all antiquated prejudices; and above all, and beyond all, to have faith, which he rightfully applied as the true test of training in Vaishnavism. He was emphatically what the Germans call an epoch-making man; representing some of the best elements of Hindu thought and Hindu character, and illustrating in himself the strength and weakness of Hindu theology. His object was grandly catholic. It was to rebuild Hindu society from its foundation, to exterminate priestcraft, to eradicate the evils of caste, to introduce religious toleration, to assert the rights of equality of men, and to establish the relations of his fellow-beings on the principle of a universal brotherhood. A fanatic and a mystic, Chaitanya never deviated from his appointed course; and the immense influence he had acquired over the hearts of his followers he applied to the furtherance of no personal objects, but of that religion to which he had consecrated his life and his energies.

ACCOUNT OF DZAO TEH-SING, A CHINESE CATECHIST.

On the 9th of November, 1871, died Dzaó Teh-sing, one of the Catechists of the Church Missionary Society at Ningpo, China. He was more commonly known by the name of Bong-s-vu (*i.e.*, "a maker of bamboo tilt" for covering boats), because this had been his occupation before he became a Catechist.

His home was originally at Tsóng-gyiao. The small house in which the Gospel was first preached in that neighbourhood was rented by the sainted Miss Aldersey at Ly-kyi-du, a village lying about three-quarters of a mile south-east of the large town of Tsóng-gyiao. One of the agents of the Mission, a young man named 'Eo Jing-zui (now, we trust, in the same place of joy and felicity with Miss Aldersey) visited this village two or three times weekly from Ningpo, a distance of four and a-half miles.

The work seemed to bear no fruit, and after a year or two of diligent labour it was determined to remove the centre to Tsóng-gyiao itself. Just about this time Bong-s-vu (we shall call him by his more familiar name) appeared as an inquirer. He had been passing through Tsóng-gyiao one day when he saw a large crowd collected, and was tempted by curiosity to draw near and see what was going on. The Catechist was preaching, with the Ten Commandments for his text. Bong-s-vu listened with serious attention, and the Word reached his heart: he was convinced of sin. Before this he had considered himself a decent and virtuous man, but now the deep sense of his having transgressed God's holy law made him anxious for the salvation of his soul. In the words of Scripture, and as he himself often described his experience, "sin

revived, and I died." He simply received the truth, and was baptized January, 1860.

At Tsóng-gyiao he worked diligently at his trade nine months of each year, and three months he spent on the sea shore catching cuttle-fish, on which occasions he always took his Bible and Prayer Book with him.

At the close of 1861 the T'ai-ping rebels swept over the Chekiang province, and captured Ningpo. Bong-s-vu took his wife and family to the Eastern Lakes (his wife's home), a part of the country which, apparently on account of the sturdy character of the Lake people, was not molested by the rebels. Here his time of refuge was diligently and profitably employed in speaking to his relatives and friends of the good news of salvation. Nor did he labour without success. When the rebels were driven out, in May, 1862, and the Missionaries were able to revisit the Lakes, they found, as the fruit of this unpaid labour, that his old mother-in-law, an uncle of his wife's, and her three brothers, were all earnest inquirers and applicants for baptism. Thus, in the providence of God, and through the instrumentality of Bong-s-vu, was laid the foundation of the Mission at the Lakes.

The little band of Christians, with the help of their Ningpo brethren, now rented a suitable building, in which a Catechist from Ningpo or Tsóng-gyiao conducted services for them from Sunday to Sunday. It was soon found desirable, however, to place a resident agent there; and as no one could be found more suitable than the man who had been blessed in gathering in the first-fruits, Bong-s-vu was selected for the post. After three or four months trial he was appointed as Catechist, an old man (Cü Ung-kur) being sent down to take charge of the chapel, and to co-operate with Bong-s-vu as Colporteur.

From this time onward, until within a few weeks of his death, he laboured with such zeal and devotedness as were truly commendable. Constrained, as he undoubtedly was, by the love of Christ, it was his joy to spend and be spent for Him. Some account of his work at Dao-kong-sœn and in the neighbouring village may be found in the "Intelligencer" for July, 1871, under the title of "Good out of Evil." About two or three years before his death he was placed in charge of a new station at 'En-ling, a large town on the further shores of the Lakes. With his usual zeal he embraced every opportunity of making known the Gospel. On market-days, when hundreds of people were gathered from different and distant parts of the country, crowds also came

into the chapel, to whom, from morning until evening, he ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ. Even at midnight he was not unfrequently called up by men passing on their way home, that he might speak to them of the doctrine.

The present apparent results of his efforts at 'En-ling are small, there being but five men who have received baptism. As regards the real good which has been effected, the day when Christ shall come to gather His elect will alone declare it. On one occasion the Missionary was sitting in the chapel, when a man came running in to Bong-s-vu with a paper in his hand, and sat down beside him. He had but a short time to stay, he said, as his home was thirty or forty li distant. He read over the paper with the Catechist, and hastily departed. It appeared afterwards that the paper contained a short prayer written out by Bong-s-vu, which this man was in the habit of using at his home; but not knowing the meaning of two or three characters, he had come to ask for an explanation. Such instances give us reason to hope that there are many who are seeking the Lord, if haply they may feel after Him.

Bong-s-vu was not an educated man. When he was brought to a knowledge of the truth, it is believed that he did not know a single Chinese character; yet by constant study and application he was able to read the New Testament in the Romanized colloquial and in the Chinese character long before his death. The secret of such successful study can only be traced to that continued and ever-increasing desire which he had to become acquainted with the mind and will of God in His own Word. The almost exclusive topic of his conversation when in the company of the Missionary was the Bible. And not only would his conversation turn upon difficult texts of Scripture (which he often brought forward), but also on subjects connected with practical and experimental religion. The Rev. A. E. Moule says of him, "The remembrance of his character as an eager Bible student, and an earnest seeker after fresh Bible knowledge, abides still, and often tends to stimulate his surviving fellow-workers." He "can never forget the thoughtful papers brought up by Bong-s-vu month after month when the Catechists assembled at his house for Bible lectures on the Thirty-nine Articles. The Bible was his book, and Bible subjects the one great theme of his conversation."

As a preacher to the heathen he had no inconsiderable degree of tact and power. He

could attract hearers around him, and could sustain their attention and the interest of his theme to the last. The Lake people are for the most part composed of fishermen and their families, who are in a most deplorable state of ignorance and heathenism. Bong-s-vu could always adapt himself to their circumstances. He spoke in simple yet forcible language. He made use of the most familiar illustrations, and so well directed them that his audience never failed to catch his meaning. On one occasion he was preaching to a large company of fishermen on the work of the Trinity in the creation of the world and the salvation of men. He said, "I shall compare it to three brothers, fishermen. The eldest brother builds the fishing-boat. He represents the Heavenly Father, who made the world and all things. The second brother prepares the nets, and uses them to catch fish. He represents the Son of God, who came into the world to save sinners. The younger brother stands at the helm and propels the boat. He represents the Holy Spirit, who influences and sanctifies the hearts of men. Three brothers," he said, "each having his own particular work, but all connected with one boat; so we speak of Three Persons, but one God." This illustration would hardly commend itself to a more enlightened audience; but it was easy to see, from the expression of these poor fishermen's countenances, that they quite understood something of what the speaker wished to teach them.

His ability and carefulness in the instruction of Christian converts ought not to be overlooked. No one ever presented more satisfactory and more thoroughly prepared candidates for baptism than he did. Their knowledge of the elementary truths of the Gospel and their views of idolatry were decidedly clear. He had a peculiar aptness for teaching, and spared no pains to make his teaching intelligible, and, through God's blessing, effectual. On one occasion he intro-

duced an inquirer to the Rev. W. A. Russell at Ningpo. Mr. Russell, in the presence of the writer, put this man through a most searching examination on various points in connexion with heathenism and Christianity. His answers were so prompt and clear that Mr. Russell expressed himself as being greatly surprised at the amount of knowledge which he possessed, and thought that he had never examined a more satisfactory candidate. This, moreover, was by no means an exceptional case. There are others who to this day can bear testimony to the thoroughness of the instructions they received through the same means.

Bong-s-vu died in harness in his Master's work, and he died in peace. For some time he had been suffering from acute disease when the Missionary urged him to come up to Ningpo and see Dr. Parker. No one thought that his death was near. He had not, however, been many days in the hospital when he was called to his eternal home. During the last few days of his illness his little son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, was his only attendant. His story was very affecting. He said, "I had sat up with my father till early in the morning when he desired me to go to bed. I obeyed, and arose again near daylight. Seeing my father asleep I called him (he wished me to give him some medicine) and received no answer. I then shook his hand and found it cold." As the poor little fellow spoke he wept bitterly. The Missionary to whom he spoke could not refrain weeping with him, and said, "My boy, your father is in heaven; the Lord preserve and provide for you!"

His widow is left in poverty and sorrow. Will the readers of this brief memoir remember her in prayer that the God of the widow and the fatherless may comfort her, and guide those who would help her, and that her son may walk in his father's steps. May God raise up many such faithful workers as Dzao Teh-sing!

THE GOSPEL AT FORT SIMPSON.

At the junction of the Liard, or River of the Mountains, with the Great Mackenzie River, stands Fort Simpson, one of the most outlying posts of the British dominion. It was in the year 1858 that the resolution was adopted of establishing a Mission of the Church Missionary Society in this remote quarter of the world. In conformity with instructions from home, Archdeacon Hunter made an exploratory Mission voyage in the Mackenzie River Districts, and, with the authority of Sir George Simpson, formally opened a Protestant Mission at the Fort called by his name. He was dogged throughout his course by the emissaries of the Church of Rome, who avowed their intentions of doing all in

their power to unsettle the Indians. So that at this, the first time of the publication of the Gospel in the far north-west, representatives from two diametrically opposed Churches confronted each other, Protestantism and Popery; the true and the false Gospel coming in contact, as Archdeacon Hunter observed, at this extreme outpost, like two waves rolling from opposite directions of the ocean, which there met and dashed against each other. In these conflicts the priests enjoyed great advantages through the influence of the Canadian half-castes and their wives, who were all Papists, and urged the poor Indians to attend on the ministrations of the priests. Still the Mission was established, and was shortly afterwards entrusted to Mr. Kirkby. He had, of course, the most serious difficulties to contend with in a district "flooded with priests" who were busily engaged in filling the minds of the ignorant and superstitious Indians with delusions only too congenial to them. After some years, however, of successful labour, he was able to accomplish the erection of a church, and to introduce gradually something like order and discipline among the converts whom he had gathered in. He laboured with untiring energy, but made the most earnest appeals for help, so great was the force which Rome concentrated upon the spot. "How can I," says he, "stand alone before such a force?" Still he found God a present help, and was enabled to record with joy, triumphs of the Gospel, notwithstanding the bitter and active opposition he had single-handed to encounter. Sixteen Roman Catholic Indians joined the Mission: nearly all attended the services, and patiently and gladly, when visited, hearkened to the message of salvation. After many years of arduous labours in those inclement regions, a return to England for a season became necessary, and Mr. Bompas for a season assumed charge of the difficult and trying post. He was, after a short interval, succeeded by Mr. Reeve, whose journal we subjoin. We have prefaced it with these introductory remarks, that our readers may be led to sympathize with the peculiar trials to which he is subjected, the only Protestant Missionary in the extensive district in which he is located. Shall not prayer be offered up that he may be as a cake of barley bread tumbled into the host of Midian?

Journal of the Rev. W. D. Reeve, Fort Simpson Mission, Mackenzie River.

Nov. 3, 1870—A sickness has broken out among the Indians at this Fort, and seems to be going through all the lodges, especially amongst the younger members of the different families. It is ushered in by headache and followed sometimes by slight fever, and irruption of the skin. It has the appearance of small-pox in a very mild form. Hitherto it has not been attended by any serious consequence; the sufferers have generally recovered their usual health quickly.

Nov. 6: Lord's-day—I was pleased to see several Roman Catholics at church this morning; in fact, they outnumbered the Protestants, there being only six of the latter present and seven of the former. There are fewer Protestant and more Roman Catholic employés at the Fort this winter than last.

Nov. 12—Three men and one boy attended the Bible-class this evening; the others have gone for meal. Commenced the life of Abraham.

Nov. 13: Lord's-day—An average attend-

ance at church to-day. Read part of St. Mark's Gospel to the Indians.

Nov. 19—This evening four men and three boys came to the Bible-class. One man and two of the boys are Romanists, and cannot read; nevertheless, I trust they may have learnt something by listening.

Nov. 23—To-day the weather has been remarkably mild for this time of the year. At sunrise the thermometer stood at 30° above zero, and at sunset at 43° above. In the middle of the day the snow melted very fast, the eaves of the houses were all dropping, and towards evening the river became almost clear of ice in the middle. The water has risen very much. It is higher than in the summer.

Nov. 27: Lord's-day—Mr. Hardisty sent a note down this morning to inform us that his wife was confined yesterevening of a son. This is the third child born within three days, a most wonderful circumstance for this part of the world. Our hearts ought to swell with gratitude and be lifted up in thankfulness to the great and good God for His goodness to us

all. Far removed as we are from the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, and with no medical aid within reach, yet all these children have been safely brought into the world, by the blessing of God, and both they and their mothers are doing well. "Great is the Lord, and worthy to be praised."

Nov. 29—We were delighted to-day by the arrival of a parcel of letters and newspapers from home by the packet from Athabasca. The non-arrival of these letters in the fall caused us no little anxiety. We feared they were lost, and a thousand other conjectures floated through our minds. However, on opening them we soon had occasion to thank God that all were well and in good health at home. The delay was occasioned by Mr. Kirkby missing the boats at Red River, they having been brought by him from England. A letter from Mr. Kirkby also informed us of his being delayed at Georgetown, his being too late for the portage-boats, and of his appointment to York Factory. This was a disappointment to us, because the last account we heard of him was that he was on his way hither. However, we must submit, and look upon it as being all for the best. Other letters informed us that small-pox is raging in the plains. May God in His mercy keep that fearful scourge from this district. What will become of these poor Indians if it attacks them with any virulence!

Nov. 30—The excitement of receiving the letters yesterday and moving her into another room this morning caused a relapse to my dear wife. During the course of the day she nearly fainted three times. It was with the utmost difficulty I could keep her up. The application of snow to her temples revived her, by the blessing of God.

Dec. 10—Buried an Indian boy named Isakozo, aged about five years. He was the youngest son of Ka Mo, a poor, sickly, old widow woman, whose husband died at the time the fever ravaged this district. The boy died yesterevening. His death is supposed to have been caused by an injury received in the body some time ago. An elder brother is very ill of consumption, and will, I think, scarcely survive the winter.

Dec. 14—Set three fish-hooks in the ice yesterevening. On visiting the hole this morning they had all disappeared. I conjectured some one had stolen them, but on going to the hole again this evening I pulled them all up with another hook which I had set and found that a "loche" had been the thief.

Dec. 18: Lord's-day—A very interesting

and very uncommon ceremony was witnessed at church this morning, viz. three infants, sons of the officers at the Fort, and my own child, four in all, admitted into the visible Church of Christ at one and the same time. Preached from Prov. xxii. 6, "Train up a child, &c." I pray God they may all be brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." A good attendance.

Dec. 21—Visited three Indian lodges this afternoon, and read to the occupants.

Dec. 23—Been occupied yesterday and to-day in decorating, or rather in trying to decorate the church with pine branches. The result is not at all satisfactory or pleasing.

Dec. 24: Christmas Eve—Nothing to remind us of the approach of Christmas. Every thing is very quiet. No brothers, sisters, relatives, or friends coming to spend Christmas with us.

Christmas-day — Congregations much better to-day. Several Romanists present in the morning. Indian service well attended.

Dec. 26—Along with the letters, Mr. Kirkby sent a copy of St. John's Gospel, and "The Manual of Devotion," printed in the syllabic characters. Began to go through St. John's Gospel with Eliza to-day, in order that we may begin to use the books as soon as they arrive next year.

Dec. 27—Provisions are getting very low. Two sleds returned to-day with very light loads, owing to the caches having been destroyed, and most of the meat eaten by bears. The meat store is nearly empty, and part of its contents is rotten, and therefore unfit for food.

Dec. 31: New Year's Eve—Had service in church this evening. Twelve Romanists and eight Protestants were present. Preached from Rev. xx. 12—15.

Jan. 1, 1871: Lord's-day—The first day of the new year falls very appropriately on the Lord's-day. We have begun the year by worshipping God in His house; may we all have grace given us to carry out whatever good resolves we have made, and to love and praise God not only on this first day but on every day of this year. The morning service seemed peculiarly appropriate for the day. The psalms were full of praise for past mercies, and promises for the future; and the lessons reminded us of our covenant with God, and so called upon us to renew it. A good attendance at the English service in the morning, but only one present in the evening. Indian service well attended.

Jan. 2—Owing to the first day of the year falling upon a Sunday, the festivities have been held to-day. The men and their families, the Indians, and the officers and their families, came down as usual to wish us a happy new year, and partake of coffee and cake. Afterwards we went to the Fort to dinner, and remained to see the amusements.

Jan. 4—Several of the men are to be sent to some of the neighbouring forts, owing to the scarcity of provisions here. Five are going to the Rapid Fort, five to Fort Liard, and two to the Indian camp to hunt. There are only about twenty days' provisions in the store.

Jan. 7—Eight men and two women started for Fort aux Liards this morning. Three of the former will return at once with sled loads of grease, the others will probably remain until open water. Four others also started at the same time for the Rapid Fort. Sending the above away will make a great difference to the consumption of the provisions.

Jan. 8: Lord's-day—An average attendance at all the services. Heard at the Indian service that Etitsi and his party are encamped beyond the "shneille." They have left their hunting-grounds on account of starvation and are now on their way to the deer country.

Jan. 9—After dinner I went to the above camp, which is about a mile and a half from the Mission, and endeavoured to instruct them a little in the syllabics, and read to them about Creation and Redemption. On my arrival I saw only one woman, and some little children; but whilst I was teaching her several others made their appearance—two men, five women, and several children. The chief and the other men were absent.

Jan. 10—News was brought to the Fort yesterday that the deer are in the neighbourhood in great numbers, that nineteen are lying dead at one Indian camp, and three moose at other camps. This is very cheering after the gloomy prospect of last week, and another proof of God's goodness and Fatherly care. The difficulty now is to haul the meat home, as there are only two trains of dogs available for hauling at present.

Jan. 14—This has been the coldest week on record for many years past. The last four mornings the thermometer has read at sunrise, 50°, 53°, 53°, 52° (Fah.), below zero. Been pursuing my studies with Mrs. Leask as usual.

Jan. 15: Lord's-day—An average attendance at English service in the morning, small in the evening. Indian service poorly attended.

Jan. 17—Visited three Indian lodges to-day. Taught Indian Betsy's sick child a short prayer, and gave her some potatoes. Afterwards went to Mrs. Leask's.

Jan. 18—Visited four lodges to-day, but there was no one at home in three of them. Read to a Dog Rib wife. Went to Mrs. Leask's as usual.

Jan. 27—Been taking a little exercise on snow-shoes to-day. Killed a brace of partridges. An Indian came to me as soon as I returned, with a sore leg. He cut it yesterday with an axe. As it appeared to be going on favourably, I merely put on a piece of plaister to keep out the cold. Gave him a few potatoes for his sick child.

Jan. 28—Several Indians have come in to-day for sleds to fetch the deer which have been killed. At one camp there are 100, at another twelve, and at another about thirty. Seven sleds are going off on Monday (D.V.). Visited Indian Betsy's sick child this afternoon.

Jan. 31—Visited Indian Betsy's sick girl again this afternoon. Read to her, and repeated the prayer I have been teaching her. She had a bad fit of coughing whilst I was there, which often prevented her repeating the sentences after me. Poor child! I fear she will not live very long. May God open her heart to a reception of the truth as it is in Jesus before she dies, and then take her to Himself.

Feb. 4—This has been a very rough, cold week. It has been snowing, and blowing hard nearly every day. Although the mercury has not been very low, yet the wind has made the cold very penetrating. Seven sleds with meat arrived this morning from one camp.

Feb. 5: Lord's-day—Small congregations again to-day. There were only two at the English service in the evening. Six adults at Indian service, five of them non-residents.

Feb. 8—I began to make soap this morning, but owing to the lye not being good had to desist. Went to the camps, read to the little sick girl, and heard her say her prayer. She did not cough so violently as before, but she seems very ill. I also visited Ka Mo's boy, and tried to teach him a short prayer. He too is very ill, nothing but skin and bones, and has a very consumptive look about the eyes. His body appears to be swelling, and he has no appetite.

Feb. 10—Renewed my soap-making operation, and was more successful this time. It appears to be pretty good.

Feb. 12: Lord's-day—An average attend-

ance at the English service in the morning. Only one of the Fort Indians attended the Indian service. Nearly all the women are suffering from an influenza cold.

Feb. 14—All my scholars have caught the influenza, so I sent them back this morning, until they are somewhat better. Nearly all the people at the Fort are suffering from it, more or less. Our man and woman-servant, their adopted child, and the two little Indian boys have it, and my wife has commenced with a sore throat this morning.

After breakfast I was told of the death of the little girl. She died last night. When I went to the lodge she was already laid out, and wrapped in an old blanket. Her mother was bending over her, weeping and crying out in the Indian fashion. Three Roman Catholic women had been praying over the corpse. Poor creatures! When I was leaving the lodge the mother asked me to see about a coffin. I therefore mentioned it to Mr. Hardisty, who kindly gave orders to have one made. The poor child, I am told, suffered very much from her head just before she died. She was about twelve years old. Her name was Kotsitlia.

Feb. 15—Buried the above little girl. I had some hope in her death. She was certainly deplorably ignorant, but God does not require much from such as her. When I read to her she used to repeat each sentence clearly and distinctly, and her mother told me she used to be always praying to God. The last time I saw her alive she repeated readily the prayer I had taught her. Last winter she lived with Mrs. Brough (my late interpreter) and I have no doubt she remembered some of the instruction then imparted to her. Her mother, I am sorry to say, is a very bad woman, one of the worst women at the Fort.

Feb. 16—Visited Ka Mo's boy again, and found him looking worse than usual. Perhaps he was exhausted, having just been removed into another camp. It is the custom when any one dies, for all the other Indians to move their lodges to another place, and every thing belonging to the deceased is generally thrown away. The poor boy appears to be failing fast. I think he cannot last much longer. I read to him and made him repeat the little prayer I am teaching him. Whilst I was teaching him the mother of the little girl whom I buried yesterday began to bewail her loss in the Indian fashion, and made the woods resound with her lamentations. I put my head inside her lodge and

said to her "Pray to God, He is not deaf." She was in such a filthy, disgusting condition that I could not go in to read to her.

Feb. 18—Visited Ka Mo's boy again and found him much weaker. He is evidently sinking rapidly. I think he will not live through another week. Read to him and repeated the short prayer, but he was too weak to repeat it after me. He appeared pleased to see me, and, I think, told his mother to let me sit beside him, which she did.

Feb. 19: Lord's-day—Average congregation at the English service in the morning, small in the evening. Only one Indian from the Fort attended the Indian service. A party of Dog Ribs came in yesterday, but none of them came to church, or to see me.

Feb. 20—On going to see the sick boy this afternoon I found him very much worse. He had begun to spit blood and his throat was full of it, and his breathing difficult. He appeared to recognize me although he could not speak. I repeated the short prayer to him, then knelt down and offered a few words of prayer. After a time his breathing became a little easier. I tried to speak a few words of comfort to the mother, and then went to fetch Mrs. Leask. On returning we found him sinking rapidly. Finding I could be of no use I left, promising to return in the morning.

Feb. 21—On visiting the camp this morning I was not surprised to find the boy dead. He died last evening soon after I left. I buried him this evening about sunset. Called in to see Samuel Beren's (an English-speaking half-breed) little girl who has been ill all the winter. She is much worse than when I last saw her, and is almost reduced to a skeleton. The veins in her forehead and temples stand out like cords, and she has scarcely strength to raise the phlegm which collects in her throat. Her jaw falls every time she breathes. Death "with his sickle keen" is not far distant. In a few days at the most he will cut off this flower. I spoke a few comforting words to the parents and tried to prepare them for her death.

Feb. 22: Ash Wednesday—This afternoon Samuel's brother-in-law came to fetch me, saying the child was dead. I went immediately and found it so. The poor little thing's sufferings were terminated at last, and her spirit had winged its flight to those regions where sorrow and pain are unknown. She was only one year and three months old, but her sufferings have been very great; so much so that it is a

wonder she did not die sooner. During the last few months she was scarcely ever out of her mother's arms. The same disease has carried her off which carried off the Indian boy buried yesterday—consumption. Tried to comfort the parents, who feel its death very much, by speaking of the glories of heaven, and its present happiness. When their sorrow had abated a little, I offered prayer and then came away. Poor Samuel! this has indeed been Ash Wednesday with him.

Most of the men are absent from the Fort and the others were working, so I did not have service to-day. Had an interesting talk with the blacksmith.

Feb. 23—Buried the child this afternoon. Mr. and Mrs. Hardisty, the officers, and most of the people at the Fort attended the funeral. The parents feel their loss very much, but I think they are resigned. They feel that their loss is her gain.

Feb. 24—Samuel and Julia came to the Mission this afternoon. We had a nice talk with them about their little girl, and about the duty of giving our first, best, and highest love to God. They appear to be impressed with a sense of their former shortcomings. May God give them grace to lead a new life, to love Him more and serve Him better.

Feb. 26: Lord's-day—Good attendance at English service in the morning. Preached from Heb. ix. 27, "It is appointed unto men once to die." A party of fifteen Dog Rib Indians arrived at the Fort just after evening service.

Feb. 27—Two of the above Indians came to the Mission this evening. By the aid of some Scripture prints I endeavoured to impart a little instruction. Poor creatures, they need it sorely. As they were departing, one of them very devoutly crossed himself, and murmured a short prayer to a picture on the wall.

Feb. 28—Instructed two more of the above Indians in a similar manner.

March 5: Lord's-day—Small attendance at English services. The Indian service better attended than it has been for some time past.

March 7—The packet from below arrived this afternoon accompanied by Mr. Gaudet, Père Petitot, and a *frère*. The two latter are proceeding to the Roman Catholic Mission at the Rapid. The *Père* is out of health; in fact, I heard his brain has been affected and that he attempted to kill the other priest at Fort Good Hope. The *frère* will return at once from the Rapid to accompany the ex-

press to Fort Good Hope, which will leave here as soon as the letters arrive from England. I, too, hope to accompany it to Bear Lake, but hitherto I have been unable to procure a train of dogs. Those I possess besides being too old, are fully occupied in hauling firewood. I fear there will be some difficulty, owing to the scarcity of dogs here. I received a very cheering and interesting letter from Mr. McDonald, giving a short account of his trip to the sea-coast and of the encouragement he met with.

March 10—I have been employed during the last three days in hauling pickets for a fence round the field. Our little maid left us this morning. She has been suffering from a bad cold the last few days and is home sick.

March 13—Yesterday and to-day have been very mild. The eaves of the houses were dropping. My difficulty about procuring dogs has been unexpectedly removed. Mr. Gaudet, having a spare train, has kindly placed it at my disposal for the trip. As he intends to start as soon as the letters arrive, and to travel as fast as possible, I am to start to-morrow in order to travel more leisurely and easily, and my letters will follow me. Another weighty reason why I should leave as soon as possible is, there is no more meat in cache, and the provisions in the store, especially fish for the dogs, are getting very scarce. It is feared provisions will fail before open water.

March 14—News was brought in to-day of thirty-six deer killed below, and twenty-four at Pero's camp. *All* the sleds, therefore, are going for meat to-morrow, and we do not start until Monday next. The letters arrived this afternoon, and our hearts were gladdened with good news from home and all our friends. The war news has surprised us very much. By the last mail we heard a rumour of war, but we were not prepared for such a state of affairs as our letters represent. God grant that much good may be brought out of the evil!

March 16—Very busy making preparations for my journey: we have to take every thing we require with us. We shall, probably, not see a single individual between this and Bear Lake.

March 17—Different arrangements have been made. We are to start to-morrow instead of Monday. I am sorry for this, because it will necessitate travelling on two Sundays.

March 18—Finished my preparations yesterday evening, and sent my blankets, &c., to be tied on the sled with the provisions. Left

home at 8 o'clock, a.m. It was a beautiful morning and mild for the time of year, but after dinner it began to snow a little. The track was good, and we travelled nearly forty miles before we encamped. I must confess I was very tired, and was very glad when we stopped for the night. It is not, perhaps, a matter of surprise, considering that this is my first trip in winter time, and that I never before walked so far in one day. Our party consists of Mr. Gaudet, myself, and two Indians, one to walk before the dogs, the other to drive mine. I, being a "greenhand," have plenty to do to look after myself, without having to attend to the dogs too.

March 19: Lord's-day—We have been travelling all the day, much against my will, but we only travelled little more than half the distance of yesterday. My first night in the snow was not very comfortable; it was snowing and blowing all the night. The pine-brush couch was not very soft and rather uneven. The cold was too great to leave the face exposed, and when I covered it, the sensation of suffocation was unbearable. Added to these, the dogs were constantly growling or fighting. One of them had taken up his position near my feet, and seemed to consider it his bounden duty to keep off all the others. The snow ceased falling at noon, but the wind continued blowing until sunset. Except in the thick woods the track is quite filled up, and in some places almost unperceivable. This will lengthen our journey considerably. We met the sleds returning to Fort Simpson with meat a little before noon. I am not so tired as last evening, but my joints feel stiff, and ache.

March 20—Snowed slightly all the night. We started about sunrise, and took dinner near a good sized river called Rivière de Seul. Crossed several small lakes. Travelled nearly forty miles.

March 21—Crossed the Horn Mountains about the middle of the day. Accomplished about thirty-five miles.

March 22—We met a party of five Dog Rib Indians on Island Lake about 11.30 a.m. We "put ashore" for dinner, and traded some provisions from them, after which I tried to instruct them a little by reading some hymns, &c. They are proceeding to Fort Simpson with meat and grease to barter for ammunition and tobacco. It is astonishing how far some of the Indians travel in order to procure their ammunition, &c. These have already slept four nights on their journey, and they will probably sleep five more before they reach the Fort. Most of the Dog Ribs are

Romanists, but the chief of this party informed us that they are dissatisfied with the priest, who meets them at Fort Rae, and that they wish "to pray" with me instead. I, of course, expressed my readiness to pray with them. It appears the priest became angry with one of them, and seized a stick to strike him, but was prevented by the Indian taking to his heels. This they consider is inconsistent in one who professes to teach them what is right. When I heard this I could not help wishing I could proceed to Fort Rae as well as Bear Lake. This, however, is impossible, and I fear before an opportunity of going there occurs they will be reconciled to the priest.

Had we been ten or fifteen minutes earlier we should not have seen these Indians, because they joined our track at right angles and we were just at the junction when we saw them. It is very fortunate, I may say providential, that we fell in with them, 1st, because we had just discovered that owing to a mistake in the weighing, our provisions would fail before we reached our destination, and we were enabled to trade some provisions from them; and 2nd, because it gave me an opportunity of imparting a little instruction. I was also enabled to send a few lines to my dear wife telling her of my welfare. This is the only communication she will receive from me until the middle of June.

The country has been more hilly since yesterday at noon. We are encamped on the top of a hill.

March 23—Yesterday we left our own track and followed another one, which to-day brought us to an Indian camp. I was much pleased to find it belonged to old Grostete and his party. As soon as our arrival was known they all came rushing out of their lodges to greet us. The women and children stood huddled together on a heap, but the men advanced to shake hands. The old chief shook me most warmly by the hand and would scarcely release it for me to grasp the others. After we had unharnessed the dogs we went into the chief's lodge and were invited to partake of some venison which was boiling over the fire when we entered. The appearance of the lodge gave tokens of a successful hunt. There were reindeer tongues suspended in different places, and layers of meat hung over the poles in the smoke to dry. One of the women was employed in preparing pounded meat for pemican, and another was cutting babiche. Babiche is made from the skin of the reindeer

and is used for netting snowshoes and many other purposes. It was surprising to see how rapidly and evenly the woman cut it. The lodge was soon crowded with Indians from the other lodges, and I read, sang, and prayed with them. They were attentive, and some of them appeared interested. The old chief made a long speech in which he welcomed us to his dwelling, and expressed his pleasure at seeing us. Such at least I imagined from his gestures. I could not understand what he was saying except a word here and there. Just as we were about to depart an old wife wished to be baptized. She was deplorably ignorant, but as she assented to the principal truths of Christianity I could not refuse her. I gave her the name of Mary. There were several children unbaptized, but as the sleds had already started, I could not remain to baptize them. I shall probably see them in the spring when returning to Fort Simpson.

Shortly after leaving the encampment we lost the track and had to send back for a guide. We could only get a couple of small boys, the men and youths having all gone off to the fur-hunting grounds, to be followed in the morning by the wives and families. Surely God's hand is in this, first in our falling on to the track which led to their encampment, and secondly in arriving there in the nick of time. Had they gone off a little sooner, or had we arrived a little later, I should have lost an opportunity of speaking or rather reading to the men. God grant that the seed of His word, though sown in much weakness and upon uncultivated soil, may bring forth fruit to the praise and glory of His Holy Name.

We have travelled only about twenty miles to-day.

March 24—Lost some time this morning in having to beat a new track. Expected to be much further at dinner-time than we are now. We are encamped near a large lake called Arm Lake. The other side is scarcely visible. The country has been hilly again to-day. The Mackenzie River Mountains with their snow-covered tops apparently touching the sky have been distinctly visible to our left.

March 25—Encamped this evening on the top of "Burnt Mountains." They do not deserve the name of mountains, being merely low hills with a scarcely perceptible ascent. The track being completely snowed up I sent my man ahead to help to beat it, and drove my dogs myself. I find this an agreeable

change, as it makes the way seem less long.

March 26: Lord's-day—Been travelling again to-day, much to my regret. The snow has been thawing a little which made it very unpleasant walking. Hundreds of white partridges have been visible to-day. The burnt woods, through miles of which we have passed, seem to be a favourite resort of theirs.

March 28—Through God's good providence we arrived safe and sound at Bear Lake Fort this afternoon about 4.45. The Fort containing five buildings besides the Roman Catholic Mission House, and one belonging to the Church Missionary Society, is built upon a swamp close to the lake, and is scarcely visible until we are close to it. All the men are away except one, McSwain, who is sick, and the post-master, Mr. McLeod, who gave me a cordial welcome. There are no Indians at the Fort at present, and none are expected until the end of April.

I am not so tired at the end of my 300 miles' journey as I expected, in fact I am quite as fresh as on the morning we left Fort Simpson. This is owing no doubt partly to my having become accustomed to snow-shoe walking, and partly to having ridden more than half the time during the last two days.

We have not followed the usual route by the river, but came across land. The country through which we passed is for the most part flat and uninteresting, and even where it is hilly the view is generally obstructed by the trees. There is an abundance of lakes, both large and small, and muskegs. We saw tracks of numerous animals such as deer, foxes, wolves, martens, wolverines, &c.; but we did not see a single animal except of the feathered kind, until we were close to Bear Lake, when we saw about a dozen deer. I was pleased to obtain a good view of these, as they are the first I have seen in this country.

We had prayers in English and Indian every morning and evening during the journey.

March 31—Began to teach two Indian boys, Jemmy and Clayley, in English and Indian.

April 1—An Indian Saraque arrived this morning with fresh meat. Taught him and Clayley a little. Sang two hymns in Indian, read the decalogue, and some of the short discourses. Clayley has gone off with him.

April 2: Lord's-day—Had a short service morning and evening, with McSwain and Jemmy. In the afternoon taught the former to read.

April 3—Heard Jemmy read in English, and taught him some Indian. He in return taught me a few Indian words.

April 5—Mr. McLeod returned from Fort Norman this afternoon, whilst I was taking a walk. He left there at 7 p.m. yesterday, travelled all night, and reached here between four and five o'clock, travelling a distance of about eighty miles in twenty-two hours, including stoppages.

April 6—A party of six Indians arrived. When they had unloaded their sleds, five of them came to my room. They paid great attention whilst I read to them, and endeavoured to join in the singing.

April 7—One of the Indians, Selda, the head of the party, came to my room. I spent some time in instructing him. He appeared to understand me very well. They all departed in the afternoon.

April 8—We had given up expecting the *frère*, but he made his appearance this afternoon. He was detained at the Rapid longer than he anticipated. He brought letters for me from Mrs. Reeve and Mr. Bompas. Glad to hear all are well.

April 9: Easter-day—Service, morning and evening. Gave a discourse in the morning on the "Importance and Comfort of the Doctrine of the Resurrection."

April 10—The *frère* departed this morning alone. He asked my prayers for his safe journey. Before he had gone a mile he lost the track, and was coming back, when Mr. McLeod sent a man to put him right.

April 11—Three more Indians have arrived. They met the *frère* wandering about in a big muskeg in search of the track which he had lost. He was doubtless glad to see them, as he would have their fresh track to follow, and would not be so likely to lose it again.

After the Indians had unloaded their sleds, I took them to my room; and read, sang, and prayed with them. One is a Romanist.

April 16: Lord's-day—Service, morning and evening. A Roman Catholic half-breed wife asked permission to attend in the evening, which was readily granted. Two Good Hope Indians arrived in the morning. I gave them a little instruction in the afternoon, but they appeared very careless. They are both Romanists.

April 25—The tripping is nearly over for this season. Kirkness arrived with the dogs from Fort Norman. A small herd of deer on the lake,

April 27—A party of Dog Ribs—six men,

and five youths—arrived this afternoon. They have slept nine nights on the way hither. Their dogs are miserably poor, a sign that they (the Indians) have not been too well off this winter. Had prayers with them, and instructed them.

April 28—The Indians have been busied with Mr. McLeod most of the day. When they had got through most of their business, I instructed them, and had prayers with them. They appeared much interested in the account of the Creation and Deluge.

April 29—The Indians finished their business yesterday, but did not go off until after I had prayers with them this morning. This party of Indians has shown more interest in receiving instruction than any I have met here.

An Indian Shanshi arrived from Tatezi.

April 30: Lord's-day—Services as usual. Gave a little instruction to the above Indian. He answered several questions. Two other Indians arrived from Bob, Kaiya and Saraque. Held prayers with them in the evening.

May 1—Gave a little instruction to Kaiya in the morning. After dinner they returned to their camp, accompanied by the men, for meat. It has been thawing all the day.

May 2—Thawing all last night. Rain and sleet been falling all day. A very large band of deer came on to the lake in the morning. They were, to use an Indian expression, "as thick as mosquitoes." A small rocky point about a mile from the Fort was literally covered with them. Mr. McLeod and I took a gun each and went after them, but we both missed the first shot, and afterwards our guns would not go off. We had only flint-lock guns, and owing to the rain and sleet we could not keep the powder dry in the pans.

May 3—Vaccinated William Star's wife and baby, and Mr. McLeod the second time.

May 5—Vaccinated William Star's two eldest girls. The sleds arrived last night after prayers, with meat from Bob's camp. An Indian arrived from Dick to-day. Had prayers in Indian with him, Saraque, and Jemmy.

May 6—Smith arrived this evening from Fort Norman with an urgent request for Mr. McLeod to proceed thither without delay on account of his wife's illness. Thinking, from what I had heard, that, by the blessing of God, I might be of some benefit to her spiritually if not physically, I offered to accompany him. He gladly accepted my offer, and we are to start in the morning as soon as it is light.

May 9—We reached Fort Norman last evening about eleven o'clock, after a hard and uncomfortable trip. We left Fort Norman at 3.15 A.M. on the morning of the 7th, and hoped to be here by sunrise on the 8th; but although we had travelled twenty miles at seven o'clock, A.M., we made such slow progress afterwards on account of the thaw, that we were more than eighteen hours later than we intended to be. We "carried on" as "hard" as the dogs would go, only stopping to eat, and only taking about two hours' sleep; but the snow was so wet and heavy, and in some places there was so much water on the ice, that we made but slow progress. We found Mrs. McLeod very sick indeed, and the excitement of our arrival seemed to have made her worse. She has been very sick again to-day, but in one of the intervals I had a very pleasant and profitable conversation with her. A party of Indians arrived. I spoke to them about Creation and Redemption. An Indian boy brought up by Mr. Taylor interpreted for me.

May 10—Mr. McLeod left for Bear Lake this evening. I intended to return with him, but Mr. Taylor pressed me to stay here. As I have already seen nearly half the Indians belonging to Bear Lake, and as the boat from Bear Lake will stay here on its way to Fort Simpson only one or two days, I thought it best to do so. I shall now (D.V.) have an opportunity of seeing and instructing nearly all the Indians belonging to this Fort, and as many of them have never yet received any religious instruction, my presence is more needed here than at Bear Lake.

May 12—Mrs. McLeod and I had a long conversation together, both yesterday and to-day. To-day she appears much better. She seems an earnest Christian woman, but has peculiar ideas upon some subjects, the result of having no one to teach her. Her whole desire is to serve and please God, and be useful to those around her. Although she cannot rise unassisted from her bed, yet she spends a great part of her time in teaching the young people at the Fort to read. They come one by one to her bedside, and she generally accompanies the lesson with some religious instruction. I hope she will be a great blessing to the people at this Fort, both to Indians and others. Satan, as may be expected, does not leave her unmolested. He tries to fill her with doubts and fears, and often succeeds in disturbing her peace of mind. God grant

that by His Spirit and through His Word I may be the means of enabling her to rely with unwavering confidence on her Saviour. Had prayers in the men's house. [Held prayers and gave an exposition every evening during my stay here, also at Bear Lake.]

May 13—Visited an Indian camp close by. There are two lodges, containing the Fort hunter, his wife and family, his mother and mother-in-law, brother and sister, and another young woman—eleven souls in all. They appeared pleased to see me, and paid great attention to what I had to say. Some of them have never received any instruction before.

May 14: Lord's-day—Service morning and evening. Visited the Indians again to-day. Told them the history of Creation. They have no idea of prayer, and the name of Jesus seems quite unknown to them. I taught an Indian prayer to my interpreter, and he taught it to one of the boys. From what I can learn none of them have seen a minister before. The oldest woman appears to have heard something about religion from another Indian. I was pleased to know this, because it shows they remember and try to communicate to each other what they hear.

May 15—Translated a short prayer and the decalogue in brief into the dialect of these Indians. Visited the camp again, and related again the history of Creation. Tried to teach them a hymn, and made my interpreter repeat the prayer several times in order to impress it on their memories. Had a profitable conversation with Mrs. McLeod about sowing to the Spirit.

May 17—My interpreter being absent from the Fort to-day, I have not been able to do much with the Indians. I wrote the syllabic alphabet and two short prayers on some slips of paper, and endeavoured to teach them. They manifested great interest in the papers, and I think they will learn the prayers quicker by having them to look at.

May 18—Visited the Indians again. Told them of the birth of Jesus, and repeated the two prayers again and again. The old wives are rather stupid, but I think in time they will learn them. May God enlighten them with His Holy Spirit!

May 19—Visited the Indian Camp as usual. The hunter and his wife wished to be baptized. I promised to baptize them before I return to Fort Simpson if they make satisfactory progress.

(To be Continued.)

In Memoriam.

DURING the past week there have been in England two funerals of men memorable in their day and generation. One was that of the ex-Emperor Napoleon. Of his life we prefer not to speak, for we have no wish to say ought unkindly of the dead. It is rather to the mournful spectacle of ruined greatness, of baffled hopes, of complete and hopeless failure, presented by the discrowned and exiled monarch that we would direct attention. To the bitterness of his own lot there was superadded the mortification that the country whose destinies he had swayed was involved in his own overthrow and humiliation. He had strengthened his enemies, he had weakened his friends, and poured contempt upon his own glory. It was the cold and cheerless end of a life marked by most strange vicissitudes. Into his personal relations with God we do not presume to enter, "The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and the stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy." But cold and cheerless as were his fortunes, so also is the creed of the Church to which he belonged. It dooms him to fast in fire

"Until the crimes done in his days of nature
Are burnt and purged away."

Mourning, therefore, lamentation and woe pervaded all which encircled him, so dark and frequent, that not a ray of hope could enter. Most bitter thought of all to the survivors must have been, that with him their hopes were buried also. He would be a bold prophet who could undertake to say that in the grave which closes over the Emperor's remains the fortunes of his dynasty will not also find their tomb.

In signal contrast with the disastrous career and gloomy end of the fallen Emperor was that of the eminent servant of God whose earthly remains were yesterday reverently consigned to the dust in the cemetery at Mortlake. That career will be reviewed by us hereafter. Meantime we may observe that, although not so exalted in the estimation of the world, it was unstained with blood, it was unselfish, its ways were ways of peace and holiness. The achievements wrought will not fill so large a page in the history of the world, but their record is in Heaven: we may add, too, that they were well nigh uniformly successful. It was with the consciousness that he had wrought many peaceful triumphs which had brought deliverance to the captives that devout men carried Henry Venn to his burial. There were no mournful regrets over a life wasted, over talents abused, over wrong encouraged, over truth forsaken. If a few natural tears were shed, there was still the paramount feeling that to him death had been gain unspeakable, and all the exceeding great and precious promises of God's Word relative to the death of His saints filled the soul with exultation. With heart as with tongue, as they gathered round his remains, they cried,

"Come let us sing our cheerful songs
With angels round the throne;
Ten thousand thousand are their tongues,
But all their joys are one."

Above all, there was the unspeakable consolation, that with him, who had been so long their earthly captain, their hopes were not buried, their cause had not perished. They could look into his open grave, and feel that from it, he being dead yet spake, re-echoing the words just uttered over himself, "Be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."

ED.

January 18, 1873.

THE "TIMES" AND "SATURDAY REVIEW" ON MISSIONS.*

It was said of a very eminent man that "science was his forte, and omniscience his foible." Such omniscience is too often affected by public journalists. Practically, however, they do not possess it; aiming at it is their foible. In the case of leading periodicals, like the *Times* newspaper, it is not easy to overrate the amount of intelligence, and often the depth of information which pervades the statements circulated in their columns. None but men of very varied accomplishments and ready gifts could produce at very brief notice such articles, embodying not only their own particular view, but also the quintessence of popular feeling and fancy. We cheerfully concede, also, that, making all reasonable allowance for human imperfection, honesty and uprightness of purpose mainly characterize the management, not only of the *Times*, but of most of the leading public journals. The views upheld may often be most discordant with our own, and it may at times be hard to see how they can be reconciled with the public weal, or with true notions of morality. Much may be vindicated and extenuated that we heartily condemn, which, with Scripture for our guide, we feel that we have warrant for condemning; but it would be unjust and unreasonable to impute dishonesty, or an intentional attempt to make the worse appear the better reason. Still, without any lack of charity or perversion of truth, it may be asserted that there are limits even to the multifarious information of the writers in the *Times*; and that, although they know many things, they are occasionally at fault when dogmatizing *de omni scibili*. To a certain extent they themselves are conscious of this. For certain special subjects which lie somewhat out of the ordinary range of information the services of special writers are retained who are considered experts in their more peculiar province. For instance, however highly gifted the ordinary staff may be, they do not undertake to write the "City Article." It is consigned to the charge of some one conversant with financial and mercantile matters, who writes with intimate knowledge and thorough mastery of the subject. The statements he makes command the respect of those who are capable of appreciating what the writer urges. We wish that a similar course was pursued with reference to religious topics. Sometimes they are passed over in a silence which may be reverential. Usually, however, questions intimately affecting the religious belief of millions, discussions which pervade not only Churches, but homes, topics of vital interest to the moral well-being of the community, if they find place at all are discussed most superficially in the columns of the *Times* or other leading journals. A Coroner's inquest or a railway accident which may be unattended with loss of life, the troubles of a tourist who has lost his portmanteau in Belgium, or a controversy as to the exact age of some old woman who may, or may not have lived, more than a hundred years, have more space accorded to them, and often lead to more intelligent discussions in the leading articles of the secular papers, than the proceedings of the great religious Societies, such as the Bible, the Church Missionary or Wesleyan Missionary Societies, whose objects aim at the conversion of the world to Christ, and the redress of the most deplorable ills which affect humanity. When, however, there is some remarkable ferment in religious questions, such as the Bennett Judgment or the Athanasian Creed, those who hold themselves to be the leaders of public thought sometimes descend into the arena and tilt in the *melée*. On such occasions some eminent champion, some practical theologian, who has some knowledge of the subject, with vizor down is permitted to run a course on their behalf, and it is fortunate for the reputation of the

* *Times*, December 21, 1872; *Saturday Review*, December 28, 1872.

journal when it is so. Generally, however, under the impression that they are all Christians, and are therefore in position to impart correct and sufficient information, the ordinary staff (we judge by results) propound their opinions with a skill not equally felicitous.

How far then those who profess to influence opinion ought to take an active share in religious discussions may admit of question. For our own part, as matters stand, we are thankful that, as a general rule, religious questions do not find place in the columns of secular newspapers. Even where there would be no intentional irreverence or idle desire to wound the susceptibilities of pious minds, still, superciliousness may be looked for, and is found. There is misconstruction which is often offensive in the extreme, and yet there are notably persons, such as Dean Stanley, who seem disposed to view all such secular writers as religious teachers. In his lectures on the Scottish Church Sir Walter Scott and Burns are held forth as prophets; and if we remember rightly, on another occasion Charles Dickens was invested with a similar halo of glory. Now it is true that many topics, which were formerly handled freely by preachers, have, in our time, fallen within the province of the journalist: the leader from Printing House Square enforces matters to which London citizens used to listen at Paul's Cross. Still it is well that our journalists do not themselves consciously aspire to the prophetic office, although it may be ascribed to them by their admirers. More than a racy style, some special training, beyond what usually falls to the lot of ordinary gentlemen, is requisite when men aspire to teach things divine.

At the same time it is quite possible to conceive, that if religious questions were discussed in newspapers with adequate knowledge of the subject, and a fair amount of sympathy and reverence, gain might accrue from a free and full development of the views of the laity: it would be great advantage to the clergy thus to ascertain what their flocks thought of them and of their teaching. But as it is in the last degree improbable that such topics would be handled by those of the laity who really take an intelligent interest in spiritual things, we must be content to forego this advantage, and be well satisfied that the throng of worldly business is such that public journalists are rarely tempted to emit crude and ignorant speculations on matters manifestly beyond their purview. It might, however, be argued, are not the accomplished men who write in our public journals Christians? Have they not been nurtured and trained up in religious knowledge? and are they not fully competent, probably more so than many clergymen, to express opinions upon religious topics? The topic is a delicate one. We wish to say what we have to say with as little offence as possible. There are laymen, spiritually-minded men, who have drunk freely at the wells of salvation, who are often "wiser than their teachers," more intimately acquainted with the Word of God, and less disposed to trifle over mint, anise, and cummin, preferring to concentrate their thoughts and aspirations on the weightier matters revealed in Scripture. Such notably are Lord Hatherley and Lord Selborne, and we have no reason to suppose that they are solitary exceptions. Our Inns of Court, our Medical Colleges, our nobility and gentry, our soldiers and our sailors, our merchants and our traders could furnish from their ranks men most competent to express sound and valuable views, as precious as those which proceed from the clergy. The Church Missionary Society has never lacked such helpers, who, in spiritual matters as in temporal, have kept alive a flame of fervent piety in her counsels—men who have spoken as the Spirit moved them, and who have exercised important influence on occasions of momentous interest. Such men, however, rarely find a place in the scramble of journalism. There is much in it repulsive and uncongenial, more so even than in the fray of the law court, or the ordinary avocations of business: hence it rarely happens that those who are especially interested in matters of vital interest to Christians are

found as actively participating in journalism as we think they ought. Moreover, the convenient incognito which in England does not tolerate signed articles presents a tempting opportunity to those whose main qualifications are intellect and the pen of a ready writer. Decided piety and a high tone of morality are rare gifts, but can, it is thought, be dispensed with in the conduct of a public journal. Colourless Christianity, and the ordinary ethics which happen to prevail in society, are accounted amply sufficient. Such Christianity and such morality is, moreover, the Christianity and the morality of what is compendiously termed "the world." Exception may be taken to the term, but it would be hard to say what else is the world; nay, the term is often used of themselves by those who repudiate it when it is ascribed to them by others. Applying this to the case before us we may say that to such a spirit nothing can be more alien or more unintelligible than the principle which prompts Missionary effort. The spirit of selfishness, which in some form or other pervades every worldly effort, and is often the spur to some of the most wonderful performances which worldly men have accomplished, is here utterly at a loss. Multitudes of highly respectable persons making a profession of Christianity fail utterly to recognize the obligation of Missionary effort. They have some conception of the comforts and blessings of Christianity as they affect—themselves. It is rational and elevating to themselves to worship God in a befitting manner; it is music in their ears to hear of a Saviour's love to—themselves; it is an unspeakable comfort in their hours of sickness, or sorrow, or bereavement, to have the consolations of the Gospel brought home to—themselves. Beautiful are the feet and gracious are the lips of the ministers of Christ, when, at such times, those who profess to be Christians feel comfort and hope brought home to—themselves. But how many a country clergyman can testify to the jaundiced eye with which the poor often view the Missionary collection which is carried out of the parish from—themselves! And how many in town and country can tell how reluctantly guineas are well-nigh extorted from those who know that the money will not be spent upon organs, or choirs, or church decorations, or new schools; in short, not upon —themselves! They give because they think it due to—themselves, not to the Lord and Master who gave His life to redeem—themselves. Hence, among other incidental benefits of Missionary effort at home is, the fact that it is an instrument of powerful efficacy when judiciously employed in enabling men to overcome—themselves. Manifold, however, as have been the triumphs of Christianity, it would be illusion to imagine that they have been so complete as effectually to subdue the spirit of selfishness. Outworks and barbicans have been won; gates and barriers have been burst open, but into this stronghold the natural man retreats: too often he is here inexpugnable. It is from this secure retreat that, like missiles from a beleaguered fortress, proceed all the multiform objections which are urged against Missions.

In the present article we will venture to criticise our critics, taking the leading article in the *Times* of the 21st December, 1872 as a fair instance of the loose verbiage which passes current in general circles as rational opinions about Missionary effort. It appeared in the issue of the paper on the day subsequent to the Day of Intercession.

In discussing the article we assume that the writer of it is in some sort a "good and excellent" Christian. Again, that, to a certain extent, which he might not wish us too closely to define, he receives the Bible as, in some sense, the Word of God. Furthermore, that he entertains a certain amount of reverence for our Lord Jesus Christ, as, at any rate, "a teacher sent from God," and that there is an obligation on His followers to carry out his distinct behests somehow or another. We venture to assume all this: if he should happen to be a Jew or an infidel, or one of the intelligent heathen now

sojourning in the metropolis, reading, perhaps, for the bar, it would be a mere sciomaohia to engage in controversy with him.

Assuming, then, that the writer is a Christian, still, to our apprehension, his Christianity must be of a peculiar complexion. After stating that the authorities of the Church of England had devoted a day for intercession for an increased supply of Missionaries, he is overpowered with a sense "of the extreme blessedness of the simple 'souls' who could receive this ordinance with absolute and unreflecting loyalty." It is quite evident that the announcement was to him ludicrous in the extreme, and he may have been moved partly with compassion, but still more so with a strong sense of the ridiculous, when he heard it. And yet, when we open up the Bible, and turn to the Sermon on the Mount, which most sceptics, who reject the rest of revelation, receive as embodying heavenly wisdom, it is written, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Nay more; on another occasion Christ declares, "All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive;" and as to this particular matter He adds, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into his harvest." The Christianity which can mock at these words of Christ is, we confess, beyond our comprehension; still it may have an existence, although the gathering of "simple souls," who take Christ at His word, only moves the Editor of the *Times* to cry out, "*Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?*"

We mean no disrespect to the writer when we venture to assert that on that memorable day many heads of laymen, as full of brains and as completely furnished with quick intellect and deep learning as his own, bowed in unflinching loyalty before the throne of grace, crying out in earnest supplication to Him whom they acknowledged as their Lord and their God. It is recorded that in pre-scientific days, upon the battle-field, a host of men, as the onslaught began, bent their knees in prayer. It was a movement utterly unintelligible to the more thoughtless and light-hearted of their opponents; but the more experienced knew that the shock never was heavier, nor the sword dint more deadly than when, from that humble attitude before God men rose to meet their adversaries face to face. For our own part we hold with the simple stave which says, that even the chief adversary of Christ does not look on with indifference at the Church of Christ prostrate before the throne of God—

That Satan trembles when he sees
The weakest saint upon his knees.

The Editor, however, is not singular in his notions. Many share them, and he is true to his vocation as an exponent of their views. He has, with the tact of professional skill, touched the key note of hostility when turning prayer into ridicule. Practical, not avowed disbelief in the efficacy of prayer, among those who profess and call themselves the Church of Christ, is the canker-worm at the root of all strenuous and hearty effort in fulfilling Christ's commands. If modern Missions are not what the Editor imagines they ought to be, he has put his finger at once upon that which mars their efficacy. He may have done it in the spirit of Lucian, of Gibbon, or Voltaire, but he has not missed the sore. Need we say, then, in contradiction to him, with what joy and hope we welcomed the Day of Intercession as a distinct assurance that there are still simple souls "converted and become as little children," and as insensible to ridicule as children usually are when seeking what they want, "received this ordinance."

For himself the Editor claims a place among the "coldly calculating and critically

observing class," whose chief place is to be the theme of anniversary denunciation. We do not quite know what is meant. If he imagines that the May meetings are convened for the purpose of anathematizing the *Times* newspaper, we can only say, from considerable observation, that he is labouring under a mistake. If he means that "cold calculation and critical observance" of well-meant attempts at fulfilling Christ's commands is denounced by those who are toiling in the fulfilment, it may sometimes happen that such conduct is animadverted upon. It is possible that even Christian men may sometimes lose patience when cold calculation and critical observance are the only contributions they get from such spirits as the Journalist.

In a subsequent sentence we are still more puzzled. The writer says that "we should be miserable if we did not know that it is possible to undertake great works, and yet to count the cost." Does this mean that there is somewhere, in Central Africa, or in the heart of Australia, or in some great island yet unknown to the Geographical Society, a "Times Mission," carried on with signal success and in a spirit of economy which would gladden the soul of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Or does it mean that this Mission is still a thing of the future, and that the calculations of the cost are so elaborate that it may take years yet before the first instalment of the writer's collaborateurs quit the shores of England for the scene of their great experiment? Our belief is, that such as the writer never get beyond very cold and very chilling calculations and very careless observance of their neighbours, while their wishes—prayers of course are out of the question—are few and far between.

With all the lucidity which generally characterizes the writing in the *Times*, we confess to being puzzled over the next sentence:—"It is idle not to recognize what everybody knows, or not to apply to the greater undertaking the rules of sense and experience indispensable to the success of the lesser." "The greater undertaking" is, we suppose, Missions; but what is the "lesser?" Perhaps it is worldly business, but we are not sure. We venture to think it is an undue assumption on the part of the writer that common sense and experience are not applied in the management of Missions. To use common parlance, the different houses of business which carry on Missions have been established many years. The Church Missionary Society, for instance, have been at work for seventy years. It is hardly credulity to suppose that the managers during that long period have not learned experience, if only from their failures, or that they are so doltish and wilful as not to profit by it. As to common sense, we can only say that those to whom the State has cheerfully entrusted the command of armies and the government of provinces, rewarding them with distinctions for their services in perilous times of trial, might be supposed to bring the common sense and practical wisdom which they displayed in other fields into the Committee-room in Salisbury Square. Perhaps the writer imagines that as the Orientals leave their shoes at the door, so men shake off their common sense, and leave it with their hats outside, bringing only their piety to the deliberations of a religious Society.

On one point we are agreed with the writer, and that is, the inconsiderable place which Missions occupy in the interest and information of what the writer terms "good and zealous Christians." Or rather we presume he means "calculating and observing Christians." We have endeavoured partly to account for it. But we demur to the cause which he has assigned. We dispute the fact that "there is no human enterprise possessing organization, receiving subscriptions, and publishing reports, which has so little to show of fruits, or in the less palpable influences of which it may be credited." It would be impossible to quote proof in detail of our assertion without concocting a volume, instead of writing an article, but we shall advert to it hereafter. *Si monumentum quæris mundum circumspecte.* We pass over what the writer says about Colonial Bishops and the

Pan Anglican Synod; it will be more respectful to their lordships to leave them to justify themselves with the public. With very rare exceptions, the Colonial Episcopate, although the world is not aware of it, is a different institution from Missions: it has usually a distinct sphere of labour; it is governed by its own principles. We must confine ourselves to our own peculiar province.

We will now proceed to quote a paragraph from the *Times* article, which is more than sufficient to display with what astonishing temerity it has been launched before the public. That the *Times* could issue such an article is perhaps as conclusive a proof of the general indifference concerning Missions as could well be adduced. If there were not extensive ignorance still existing among intelligent men, it would have been arrested before it appeared in type:—

Upon an occasion somebody can be produced who can tell of wonders done in some cities or villages of India a very long time since, with a careful reticence as to the last half or quarter of a century. The most remarkable part of the business is the almost total absence, from English society of all grades, of the persons who could tell us something about it. There ought by this time to be many returned Missionaries, and even converts; nor ought they to be ashamed of their position. But who is there who can

number among his personal acquaintance a man who has done some years, or a single year of Church Missionary work in any field. An ordinary Englishman has seen almost every human or brute native of foreign climes, but few can say that they have seen a Missionary or a Christian convert. Dr. Selwyn went out a good man, and came back a good man, and, what is more, still a vigorous believer; but fortunately he has something else to do than to tell New World stories.

Upon the first sentence it may only be necessary to remark, that in whatever way the journalist displays the excellence and zeal of his Christianity, it has not been by attending any of the Missionary Meetings which are continually held in towns and villages throughout England. Our own experience, which has been considerable, differs from his. We have continually heard of wonders wrought "within the last half or quarter of a century." The writer then proceeds to argue that there is an "almost total absence from English society of the persons who could tell us something about it." He asks, also, are there any returned Missionaries in England? and, furthermore, who can number among his personal acquaintances any one who has done some years of Church Mission work in any field? In reply to this bald disjointed chat it may be sufficient to say that there are returned Missionaries in England, a good many of them, some settled here, some returning to the sphere of their labours; again, when the writer comments upon the absence from English society of persons of all grades who know about Missions, to ask, in reply, is it so? To enumerate such persons *en masse* would be impossible, but we may single out of the multitude one or two whom even the writer in the *Times* may have heard of. They may not have been members of the coteries frequented by the writer, but still they have been moving in some sort of society. Sir Bartle Frere may be selected as one: he has recently written a book on Indian Missions, published by Mr. Murray. The writer has probably neither met Sir Bartle, nor read his book, nor heard him at Missionary Meetings. Had he done so, he would, we think, have devoured his pen rather than have written his article, and the *Times* would have escaped a compromising failure. His own columns have recently been filled with accounts of the death of Sir Donald Macleod, late Governor of the Punjab. Had he ever seen him, he would have been disabused of the much ignorance with which he writes. In a subsequent issue he inserts a letter from Lord Lawrence, a nobleman pretty universally known, which we subjoin: we are glad to rescue it from the bulky mass which the *Times* of necessity increases to annually:—

To the Editor of the "Times."

"Sir,—Although I must leave to others who are more competent to deal with it the consideration in all its aspects of the very complex question of Missions, upon which you have recently touched in connexion with the day of prayer, it has so important a bearing upon the stability of our Indian Empire that I may be pardoned for making a few remarks on the subject.

"A mere enumeration of the countries in which Church of England Missionaries are employed would suffice to show that there are no grounds for stating that they give up any race or region as inaccessible. But, instead of referring to Africa, New Zealand, North-Western America, and other fields in which the Church of England is labouring, I will restrict myself to India, of which I have personal knowledge. Those who are disappointed at the results of Missionary labours in this country must bear in mind that the Hindus, who form the bulk of the population, have shown such tenacity to their faith that eight centuries of Mohammedan rule had left the masses as strongly wedded as ever to their system of caste, and to their religious belief and rites. In almost all other countries the Mohammedans had succeeded in proselytizing the people whom they had subjugated, but in India they found a religious system which had so moulded every thought and habit and custom of the people, that the sword of persecution wielded by some of the Delhi emperors, and the temporal advantages offered by others, had no effect except upon an insignificant number of the Hindus.

"Bearing in mind that general Missionary effort in India dates from 1813, and that even now Missionaries are sent forth in such inadequate numbers, that, with few exceptions, only the large towns and centres have been occupied (some of them with a single Missionary), it was scarcely to be expected that in the course of sixty years the idols of India would be utterly abolished: the wonder rather is, that already there are so many unmistakeable indications that Hinduism is fast losing its hold upon the affections of the people. It was hardly to be expected that the citadel should surrender at the first summons, but there is every prospect, by God's blessing, of its being stormed at last; and at this crisis of India's history it is most important that the people should receive instruction in the saving truths of the Gospel.

"But you say there is no human enterprise

of such organization as the Missions of the Church of England which shows such poor results. Is this indeed the case? It is very difficult to estimate the effects of moral, and still less of spiritual, work. Those of material operations are palpable to even superficial observation. Not so in the other case. One must look deeply, one must understand the people subject to such influences, before it is possible to estimate the effects which have been produced on their minds and characters. The number of actual converts to Christianity in India, including Burmah and Ceylon, is not insignificant. By the latest returns, which are trustworthy, their numbers do not fall much short of 800,000. But these numbers do not by any means give an adequate estimate of the results of Missionary labour. There are thousands of persons scattered over India, who, from the knowledge which they have acquired, either directly or indirectly, from the dissemination of Christian truth, of Christian principles, have lost all belief in Hinduism and Mohammedanism, and are in their conduct influenced by higher motives, who yet fear to make an open profession of the change in them, lest they should be looked on as outcasts and lepers by their own people. Such social circumstances must go on influencing converts until the time comes when their numbers are sufficiently large to enable them to stand forth and show their faith, without ruin to their position in life.

"You tell us, again, that there ought to be many returned Missionaries, and even converts, who ought not to be ashamed of their position. Alas! but few of the former live to see their native land, or, at any rate, to pass the remnant of their lives in it after years of toil abroad. But those who know, or have known, such men as Lacroix, Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson, C. B. Leupolt and Mr. Smith (both of Benares), Edward Stuart, John Barton, Valpy French, Joseph Welland, and Robert Clark, and many others, whose names for the moment escape my memory, within the last twenty years, cannot have a doubt that we have earnest and faithful Christian Missionaries still in our ranks. It is only a month ago since we heard of the death of one of this class, Dr. William Elmslie, who for the last seven years had devoted his life to the good cause in Cashmere, and whose death was caused by the privations and exposure incident to the discharge of the duties he had undertaken in that country.

"I will not deny that we do not see as

many Christian converts among the natives

India as we would wish, but, nevertheless, there are such men to be found. The Maharajah Duleep Singh is, I believe, a true specimen of that class in England. Many of your readers will recall the Sub-Assistant Surgeon at Delhi (formerly a Hindu in religion), who, at the outbreak of the Mutiny, gave up his life rather than renounce the Christian faith which he professed. There are few Englishmen who have taken an interest in Indian Missions who could not produce many other cases of the kind. Men like Lord Napier of Merchistoun, Sir Bartle Frere, and others, have borne testimony to the good fruits of Missionary enterprise in India; and in such men as the late Bishop Heber, Bishop Cotton, and the present Bishop Milman and Bishop Gell, we have had and still have clergymen who, both by their example and devotion to their duties, have advanced the faith which they have preached.

"If we are to wait until the time when all the people of England are influenced in their lives by Christian principles before we carry on our efforts to convert the inhabitants of India, I am afraid we must postpone the enterprise to an indefinite period. But was that the principle on which the Gospel was first preached by the commands of our Lord and Saviour? Was that the rule adopted by the Apostles and the Primitive Church? Truly, the conduct and character of Englishmen have had a mighty influence on Missionary enterprise in India and elsewhere.

No doubt such considerations have led many a heathen to reject the faith which seemed to him to produce such evil fruit. But the greater the baneful effects of such examples, the more necessary is it that we should apply the Gospel as an antidote. Apart from the higher interests of religion, it is most important, in the interests of the empire, that there should be a special class of men of holy lives and disinterested labours living among the people, and seeking at all times their best good. To increase this class, and also to add to the number of qualified teachers among the natives themselves, was the object of the day of special prayer, and in this object I heartily sympathize.

"In England we too often see good and earnest men weakening the influence of the power of Christian faith by their want of union, and by their excessive differences on unimportant points of Church doctrine and administration. This is a stumbling-block in the way of many of our own people, as well as among the natives of India. But such jarring views, for the most part, are either not found among the different classes of Christian Missionaries in that country, or are studiously kept in the background. These Missionaries are in the habit of meeting in conference from time to time for the purpose of mutual counsel, and for the general furtherance of the cause they have at heart.

"Yours faithfully,

"LAWRENCE."

We cannot say that in a subsequent article which comments upon Lord Lawrence's letter there is any distinct retraction of charges, such as might have been expected from a good and zealous Christian who had miscalculated, and whose observations were erroneous; but the whole tone of the better-advised article is more rational, and more in accordance with the general accuracy of the leading journal than the profound depths of ignorance into which the previous writer had plunged so manfully.

In contravention of the article we have been commenting on, we assert that there are few parts of England in which some could not be found who have not only intelligent sympathy, but personal acquaintance with Missionaries, and who render to them more assistance than that cold calculation and critical observance which would hardly be as serviceable to them even as the charity described in St. James, which says, "Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled, giving them not those things which are useful to the body." The inspired writer adds, "What doth it profit?" As to Bishop Selwyn, it is again clear that the writer has no acquaintance with his lordship, who, notwithstanding that he has a good deal to do in England, manages to spend much of his time in telling what the writer oddly terms "New World Stories." We presume he must have written "New Zealand Stories," and that the printers have been at fault. As to the rock which will not flow, &c., of which he makes mention, if we were to venture to make such a grotesque use of Scripture, it would be simply necessary to omit the negatives which the writer has inserted.

We have then the old stock objections about failure at home and want of unity abroad; but as Lord Lawrence has dealt with these points, we pass them over. From these the writer wanders on to St. Paul, who, he says, converted Europe, for so his sentence must be completed to enforce his view. He cannot mean that St. Paul converted a handful of people in Rome, through whom, some centuries afterwards, as the Gospel spread, Europe was converted; for the same thing is happening in our own days, and this is precisely what Missionaries are doing in hopes of similar results. We have, then, the comfortable assurance that such remarks as the foregoing are not meant to discourage. Quite the reverse. There is, then, a manifestation of ignorance so marvellous that at first it fairly baffled us. The writer *understands* that the Church of England gives up large regions on the ground that in tropical climates there will be either polygamy or an equivalent disregard of marriage ties, so that no preaching can prevail against it. With this he contrasts the practice of primitive times, which sought out chief centres. Now if the writer had by any chance ever cast the most cursory glance over the report of a Church Society, he would have discovered in an instant the absurdity he was committing himself to. If India, if China, if Africa are large and tropical regions—if Calcutta, if Madras, if Lucknow, if Allahabad, if Lahore are imperial cities and chief centres of government—he must have known that Church Societies have their most important Missions there. When the truth dawned upon us, we could not help being considerably amused. The curious source of the writer's inspiration was suddenly revealed. He was no doubt pressed for time when he wrote the article, and instead of consulting his Bible, or toiling through Missionary Reports, in an evil hour he was tempted by the flippancy and the taking title of our old friend Dr. Geekie's book.* To do the Doctor justice, the Editor must have skimmed even it in a most cursory manner, for the Doctor is not so ignorant as his would-be copyist. We can, however, assure him that the Doctor's gaberdine is not a secure hiding-place from which to utter voices, even with the purple patches he has sewn upon it. It is a curious exemplification of the quaint materials which furnish forth thought for the people of England. Will the Doctor from the Antipodes write in angry terms, exclaiming, "That is my thunder," *tulit alter honores?*

As many persons are oftentimes bewildered with the conflicting manner in which Missions are spoken of, it may serve some useful purpose to show how intense is the ignorance, how reckless are the assertions, and how worthless are the sources of information of the very foremost leaders of public opinion on this, and perhaps also on other subjects. On any other topic than Missions such a flimsy and superficial article would have been seriously injurious to the reputation of a public journal. As it is, its insertion is a fair index of the profound ignorance still prevailing upon Missions, and the need there still is for great exertion on the part of those who really are interested in the question. Such is, we fear, too generally the case with the laity, but is it much otherwise with the mass of the Clergy? Our Bishops are perpetually, and with reason, calling attention to the absence of effort of any kind in the large majority of the parishes in their dioceses. But can this be wondered at? There are unfortunately many homes in which Missionary questions find no place. Youths proceed from them to our public schools, in which, with one or two exceptions, although the masters are for the most part clergymen, not the slightest effort is made to bring the subject before their pupils. Still less is attempted by the authorities in our Universities when young men reach them. When, therefore, a young clergyman passes forth into a country parish, this branch of his duties is one to which he comes without the slightest preparation. Many old women in the parish, and a great number of the

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," 1871, page 289.

more intelligent Sunday School children, know more than the Curate, nay, perhaps, sometimes more even than the Rector. As is so often ingenuously confessed by them upon platforms, when they do attend Missionary Meetings, the Clergy, having no information as to the progress of Christ's kingdom abroad, are compelled to turn to the Missionary deputation or to the returned Missionary for what might be supposed to be of the most vital importance and most absorbing interest to them. The curious article before us finishes up with what virtually amounts to the old, old story—"Charity beginning at home." The writer had apparently forgotten that, a few sentences previously, he had spoken with high approval of St. Paul's going to Europe: the Apostle had not, however, so far as we are aware, converted all the Jews in Jerusalem before he started. And yet if all the Jews had been Christians they might have wonderfully, as he argues it, helped forward the cause of Christ.

We have dwelt at so much length upon this article, because, in a handy and compendious form, it concentrates the loose declamation indulged in upon Missionary topics. It would be a very fair retort to ask of those who thus calculate, and criticise, and observe, to do for Missions what the *New York Herald* did for Livingstone, to send forth from among their ranks some adventurous spirit, with supplies furnished by the *Times*, who should plunge into the depths of savage life, or, with all the practised dialectical skill conspicuous in journalism, confront the Brahmin and the Buddhist. A few successful examples of this kind to show feeble Missionaries "how the work should be done" might lead those who support them to reconsider their plan of operations. We forget, however: all England must first be converted to Christianity, before one such preacher attempts to visit the heathen—if he goes. We venture to think that this is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

We pass on now to notice an article in another periodical, the *Saturday Review*, which is as deserving of respectful consideration as that in the *Times* excites an opposite feeling. The writer of it has probably never heard of Dr. Geekie, and certainly has not derived his information from him. But, instead of this, he has approached the consideration of a difficult problem, presenting many curious and perplexing anomalies, with an amount of learning and research of no ordinary kind. He does not seem to have any particular acquaintance with the details of modern Missions, which is to be regretted. He has accepted what he deems to be a fact, and has argued ably and learnedly thereupon, rather than carefully ascertained the correctness of his fact. He assumes "that modern Missionaries are not as successful as the Missionaries of old times." We do not know whether he includes the present Romish Missionaries among modern Missionaries; but it is immaterial in our point of view, holding, as we do, that they are merely introducing a fresh form of idolatry among those already in existence where they go. We prefer, therefore, imagining that he refers to Protestant Missions. To do justice to the writer's argument it should be submitted *in extenso*; and as this is impossible, we must refer our readers to it, assuring them it will repay perusal. The gist of it, however, is, that "Christianity is the religion of the Roman empire. Be the cause what it may, that is the fact. Christianity is the religion of those countries which either essentially formed part of the Roman empire, or get their religion either from the old or the new Rome. Within these limits Christianity is universal. It of course includes European colonies, such as those which people America and Australia. There is a sentence immediately following our quotation which is, we must confess, unintelligible. The writer says, "In the fourth century Christianity made the conquest of the Roman world. . . . On the rival power of Rome, or the vigorous nationality of the regenerate Persian, it made no impression whatever." There must surely be some misprint in the word "Rome," at any rate, the sentence is obscure. Passing by this,

however, we notice that the writer is constrained to add, that although Roman Asia and Roman Africa were as fully Christianized as Roman Europe, perhaps more so, and were most assuredly as much provinces of the Roman Empire as Spain and Gaul, and much more so than Germany, to say nothing of Sweden and Norway, or huge cantles of the Russian empire, they are not Christian now. Plainly, then, Christianity was not, and is not conterminous with the Roman empire at any period of history. Like the sea which overflows and asserts dominion over some portion of our coasts, while elsewhere the tide recedes, and what was sea becomes dry land, so Christianity has overlapped the boundaries of Rome, and has been constrained to yield what were Roman provinces to Mohammedanism. The statement is only approximately and imperfectly correct. It would be very interesting to grapple with the argument, and to demonstrate the causes which have so largely swept away Oriental Christianity. We think few appreciate the extent and ferocity of the Mongol conquerors, or the wide-spread devastation which they caused. Then, also, Mohammedan ferocity erected an impenetrable barrier interposing between Eastern and Western Christians, already alienated by the theological differences. Such questions, however curious and abundantly suggested by the learned writer, we must premit. We are quite content, for argument's sake, without, however, giving in our adhesion to it, to assume the position which he advances, that "Christianity is the religion of the Roman empire." But on his own showing it was "in the fourth century that Christianity made the conquest of the Roman world." We believe this is correct. But what had occurred during the preceding three centuries? What was there perceptible in the first century? Christianity was not the religion of the Roman empire then. There were Christians here and there were Christians there. Small companies professing a religion always despised and often persecuted; not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, but the foolish, and the weak, and the despised. We do not know when the accomplished writer would fix the date of modern Missions. So far, however, as Protestants are concerned we might in all fairness date them from the commencement of the present century. Up to that point the followers of the Reformation had more than full employment on the continent in battling for existence, and in England had abundant difficulties to struggle with, so that there was neither leisure nor opportunity to carry the Gospel to heathendom, even if free and ready access to its strongholds had been practicable. In order, therefore, to review the situation fairly, we ought, we think, to compare seventy years with seventy years. Dating from the crucifixion of our blessed Lord, this would be to contrast Christianity in the year 100 with the result of Christian Missions in different heathen lands now. On either side there would, of course, be advantages and disadvantages, but although, in our judgment, the miraculous gifts possessed by the first preachers of Christianity more than counterbalance modern appliances, we are content to balance the one against the other. We hold with the writer that "modern Missionaries have done great things, considering the circumstances of the case." In both instances leaven was hid in the lump, which has manifested its presence by sensible effects; but in order to institute a parallel with Christianity in the fourth century, when it became universal and dominant in the Roman world, we should wait for a period in some measure corresponding. In the judgment of this learned man, who betrays throughout his article intimate acquaintance with the thoughts and feelings of past ages, "The modern Missionary has a far harder task than Augustine or Boniface," and he might have added, he comes to heathen countries at a much earlier period in the propagation of his faith. Between seventy years and three centuries of preaching and teaching among heathen there is an enormous difference, which tells heavily against modern Missions. The number of Christians gathered in by Protestant Missionary effort from races heathen at

the commencement of the present century may be roughly stated at more than a million. We subjoin the muster roll.*

We have, of course, no similar data for the Christians in the year 100 A.D., but we doubt whether they were more in number, or more remarkable for sincerity of belief or correctness of practice. It was in the second and third centuries that Christianity became the belief of numerous individuals throughout every portion of the Roman empire, especially in those where it now no longer exists. In the fourth century it was the ruling creed. Such was the early development of Christianity; such we will fain hope will be its future career in lands now heathen.†

As we have already stated, we are far from assenting to all the statements made in the article in the *Saturday Review*, especially in his theories regarding what he terms "the devouter sex." In the first and purest days of Christianity they played an active and busy part, much akin to what they do in the present. We find manifest traces of them in the Acts of the Apostles, and the multitudes of martyrs and confessors whom they gave to the Church subsequently testifies that their faith was ardent, and their zeal conspicuous. We are not so sure that England might not have been converted as readily and more effectually if Augustine and his companions had been accompanied each man with his wife. The corruptions of Christianity, so rife at the close of the sixth and subsequent centuries, were wholly against such an experiment, but are not a proof that it might not have succeeded. In later times Rome has employed nuns as freely as monks in wild countries, and as pioneers of her superstitions; but we prefer that "every man should have his own wife," although there may be exceptional cases and temporary necessities,

* SUMMARY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Society.	Missionaries.	Native Clergy.	Converts.	Communicants.	Remarks.
Society for Propagation of Gospel	147	35	59,125*	12,033	* Includes Catechumens.
Church Missionary Society	204	129	100,205†	20,475†	{ † Ten Native Clergy and 4,355 Communicants have been transferred to the Native Church of Sierra Leone, and are excluded from these Returns.
Total Church of England	351	164	159,420	32,508	
London Missionary Society	153	131	469,242‡	68,019	‡ Includes 300,000 "adherents" in Madagascar.
Wesleyan Methodists . .	376	} Inclusive of Natives.	236,724	59,181	§ The Baptist Jamaica Union, comprising 21,000 Communicants, is not included in these Returns.
Baptists	53		25,252	6,318§	
Other British Societies .	262		48,000	12,000	{ The Statistics of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, Church Missionary Society, and London Missionary Society have been taken from their last Reports; also those of the Wesleys and Baptists.
German and other Continental	484		171,000	27,998	
American	584		200,000	50,860	
Grand Total			1,309,638	256,879	

† We may notice obiter, that Paley, whose argument might be quoted in the opposite direction to ours, died A.D. 1805. The ingathering of Protestant Missions, which virtually commenced in 1800, was subsequent to his death. The calculation of Gibbon is that "not more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the Cross before the important conversion of Constantine," A.D. 337.(?) According to this calculation the number of Christians in the early part of the fourth century would be six millions. It is therefore, we think, highly improbable that there were a million of Christians A.D. 100.

such as the prudence of St. Paul suggests, and modern experience approves. While, however, on several points we differ from the Reviewer, we can only express a wish that those who criticise Missionary work would do so in the intelligent, the learned, the dispassionate, and yet friendly manner, in which the writer in the *Saturday* has handled the question. From such criticism those who are more immediately interested in the work may learn much, even when they differ from it. Profound historical research can unearth facts, and suggest parallels, which are helpful towards the solution of the problems trying the spirits of men of the present generation. Criticism of this kind is valuable, and no one, who is a true and honest worker, refuses to be subjected to it. But there is criticism which is superficial, as well as criticism which is profound. There is criticism which can sympathize with noble and disinterested effort, and seek for causes of unavoidable failure; while there is criticism which it is hard to distinguish from detraction. To such obloquy Missionary effort is, in common with much also that is great and noble, continually exposed. It is, however, from time to time, convenient to expose the true nature of it, and we have attempted upon the present occasion to do so at some length.

It now only remains that we should review briefly the general state of public opinion on Missions. We believe, as regards the public at large, this may be summed up in the one homely word, "ignorance." We do not attribute the blame of this to the supporters and advocates of Missionary work, because we feel assured that they have striven honestly to do their best. But the truth is, that being essentially a spiritual work, relying on spiritual aid, carried on by spiritual means, having a spiritual object in view, like every other thing it can only, in its true proportions, be spiritually discerned by spiritual men. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." In a certain sense we agree with the writer in the *Times*, if all England were really good and excellent Christians, himself included, the work of Missions would indeed prosper exceedingly. But meanwhile those who are already at work cannot afford to be idle: even if they cannot do much they must do what they can. *Liberant animas suas*. How to remove the ignorance of their fellow countrymen is not an easy matter, but the best means were assuredly employed when much intercessory prayer was recently offered up. May we not hope that in answer to those supplications there may be an outpouring of God's Holy Spirit, which shall not only thrust forth labourers into the harvest, but also remove blindness from the eyes of those who cannot see, and the prejudices from those who at present take not the slightest trouble, even to make themselves acquainted with the facts of the case which they condemn. A great responsibility rests upon the clergy: it is upon them, as "ambassadors for Christ," more especially, but not exclusively, that the task devolves of dispelling, so far as man can, the ignorance which exists. There are some among them whom it would be hopeless for us to attempt to influence, but there is still throughout England a goodly band of evangelical men, who might well, in this respect, imitate the example of their fathers. Then every leading man, not only in his own parish, fed the sacred flame, but was unwearied in his labours throughout the country to promote the Missionary cause. How rare is it now, comparatively speaking, to find the leading evangelical clergy taking an active personal part in our leading anniversaries, even in their own respective counties, and yet it was a prosperous time with Evangelical Christianity in England when evangelical men did so. It would be a curious interposition if, by the action of the Legislature, and by the virulence of ungodly men, the schools, and the many secular engagements which have so largely of late years absorbed the interest of the clergy, were swept away from them, and they were reduced to be once more simple preachers of the Gospel, with a great burden

of secularity taken off them. In such strangely enforced leisure it might come to pass that some would be led to feel there is yet a work to be done, that there is the arm of the Lord to be revealed, there is the Gospel of Christ to be preached, even to the uttermost ends of the earth. Can more be said of the Church of England generally at the present time than what is said of the Bride in the Song of Solomon, "I sleep, but my heart waketh?"

ANNUAL LETTER OF BISHOP CROWTHER.

Bonny, Nov. 16, 1872.

My letter of Oct. 18th will have, ere this, informed you of our safe return to the coast this year. I am now about to give you a condensed report of my visit, which has been more successful than the last. But the Mission has had its trials and encouragements, its sorrows and anxieties, as well as its encouragements and hopes of a better and more felicitous day, which may not be afar off. The political and religious affairs of the Niger Mission are so blended together, that one very much influences the other for good or bad. I now take the religious state of the Mission, and hope in my next communication to give the Committee accounts of the political state of the Niger for their full information.

Lokoja our uppermost station at the Confluence of Kwarra and Tshadda rivers, has been very much disturbed during the early part of the year. This station, being in the jurisdiction of a Mohammedan Government, the converts have suffered much oppression from the people of that profession, whose sole object is gain, which they must force out of their heathen or Christian subjects, it mattered not to them how inconvenient it might be to the poor oppressed. In consequence, many of the oppressed had to flee out of the settlement to seek shelter elsewhere, even if it be among their heathen enemies. As it might be expected, our congregations became very thin, the services being very irregularly attended. Besides this, an epidemic had broken out in the settlement, which carried off many of the inhabitants, among whom were some of our converts also. In this state I had to leave *Lokoja* this year. I pray the Lord will interpose on behalf of his own cause. The congregation at this station is 115 Native Christians. Some of the occasional heathen and Mohammedan visitors at our place of worship are unsettled in their minds, and, for fear of persecution, dare not boldly join the Church; others from a proud contempt of Christianity, will not profess it, although they confess that they learn

many wholesome precepts from the Gospel whenever they attend our places of worship.

Onitsha is our next station as we descend the river. Since this station has received additional help of two lay teachers from Sierra Leone the Mission has been very much strengthened.

The day school, which was suspended two years ago on account of the death of the last schoolmaster, has been reopened with about forty children, whose parents were overjoyed at the opportunity which their children have again of attending school, the benefit of which they begin now to appreciate.

The number of attendants at divine worship keeps steady, at an average of about 150 every Sunday morning, much depending upon the heathen market-days. The influence of the observance of the Sabbath-day is increasingly felt in the town among the heathen population, because trade at the factories is closed on that day, and the religiously disposed agents, who avail themselves of the opportunity, attend church: they, together with the native converts, composed an imposing Christian body. There had been 62 baptisms during the year—30 adults and 32 children. The old king of *Onitsha* died last March. The afternoon service has been continued at his court-yard every Lord's-day since the last two years, according to his own request. The evening before his death the king sent for the Mission agents at the factories to appear at his palace as he had important matters to tell them. On their arrival he summoned his sons together and solemnly charged these civilized Christian agents and his son, to promise each other with oath, an inviolable fidelity, because he had found by experience that the Christian Missionaries and mercantile agents of sound Christian principles had been their best friends, and therefore by their judicious advice his sons must be mostly guided after his death. This most solemn meeting was closed by a prayer offered in the

vernacular by the Rev. W. Romaine, and the king distinctly joined in the repetition of the Lord's prayer at the conclusion. He died the next day. His death was not to be publicly announced till after twenty-one days, for this reason, to give his sons and relatives due time to make every preparation for his grand funeral ceremonies, amongst which there were to be *sixty human sacrifices* to attend the king in the invisible world of spirits.

On hearing this, the Mission and the mercantile agents immediately convened a meeting at the factory of the West-African Company, to consult how to prevent this most horrible and appalling evil. They called the prince, and strongly argued with and showed him the magnitude of the sin of despatching so many innocent human beings into eternity, which could answer no other purpose but to increase the wrath of God upon them. They proposed thirty bullocks instead in exchange for human sacrifices, promising to share in the expenses if needs be, so as to save souls from barbarous death to obey superstition. After long discussions and many attempts to lessen from sixty to thirty, twenty, or ten, he at last stood fast, and promised not to exceed seven human sacrifices on this occasion, because custom demanded some such to be made.

Thus, though they could not at once break down all the superstitious rites of this people, yet they were thankful to be the means, in God's hands, of saving fifty-three souls from barbarous death at the funeral ceremonies of the old king. Without any further comment the Committee will see the gigantic evils their Native Missionaries have to struggle with, and difficulties to battle against, among the population on the bank of the Niger. No arm of flesh, but prayer of faith in Christ's promises, will conquer them. The sin is rooted in the heart.

A European sailor died at the factory, and we were asked for a place of decent interment for his mortal body. As no one was ever buried in the yard of our new church, I ordered the grave to be dug there, and the dead to be buried according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. After this was done, we were informed by some of our Church members that unless the grave were watched for a week some one from the neighbouring tribe, who are cannibals, and called Obotshi, would surely dig the coffin up and carry the body to be eaten. From this hint, I gave the agent of the mercantile

house advice to send watchmen to the churchyard for a week, at night, to prevent the approach of the cannibals. These are the people we have to convert to Christianity.

The afternoon service is continued to be kept in the court-yard of the young king, as in the time of his late father, whose footsteps he has not only promised to follow, but also to abolish many of the national superstitious practices now existing. What he will do time will show.

Twenty miles below Onitsha is an important town called Osamare, to whose chiefs we had made a written promise, since 1857, to establish a Mission Station among them. One of the chiefs always brought this paper of promise almost every year, to remind us of our long-made promise, but for want of suitable agents to be stationed there it was deferred till last year, when I sent Mr. Thomas Samuel, the Scripture Reader from Bonny, there, to be our representative to assure the chiefs of our coming; but, unfortunately, the stranding of our ship last year prevented my return to make necessary arrangements for the establishment of the Station. But this year I am thankful to say I have made provision for Osamare without increasing the staff of Mission agents, but by making changes, whereby I was able to transfer the labours of the Rev. J. Düring from Okassa, a less promising Station, to Osamare, a more hopeful ground. By the time of our arrival at that place in September the town was beginning to be overflowed by the annual rise of the Niger.

The war chief Odogu was very much pleased to see me actually bring a resident Missionary among them. As fast as the boat landed Mr. Düring's luggage on the bank, so he exerted himself in superintending their immediate removal to his house, which was to be Mr. Düring's short abode till the temporary wattled house, put up by the Scripture Reader, was dry enough to be occupied. Thus a beginning is made here, though under very disadvantageous circumstances from the swampy state of the town, which we hope to avoid as we become more acquainted with the surrounding localities. From Onitsha I sent the Rev. W. Romaine to assist Mr. Düring to inspect the neighbourhood around where the river was high, and he returned with encouraging report that the chiefs had shown them a suitable and capacious piece of land where we shall not be much troubled by the annual flood, but that it will require more than native ordinary way of working to make

it available for our purposes. To make this Station convenient and accessible to church-going people, it requires some extra labour and expenses, which will not be misspent, as Osamare is nearer to Ibo proper of the interior on the back, than even Onitsha itself. This people speak the Ibo language as Onitsha, so we have to do with the same people. Mr. Romaine will return to Osamare at the fall of the river, to render Mr. Düring more assistance.

Akassa, our first Mission Station at the Nun, the highway to the interior, is very barren for Missionary labour: the people are migratory in their habits, and very low in their idea about spiritual things; still, when they return to the villages from their wandering about the creeks for food, the congregation varied from thirty-two at Sunday-morning service. The Station is at present in charge of Mr. D. Moore, schoolmaster, with an assistant teacher.

Brass River Station.—This Station has undergone severe persecution from the heathen priests from the commencement of the year. But the Lord has stood by the persecuted converts, who were punished in various ways, by bonds and severe whipping, by starvation and heavy fines, to force them to renounce their Christian profession and bow before their false deities. The charge laid against them was, that, by their refusing to do sacrifice to the gods, their vengeance was shown to the inhabitants by sending the small-pox, which carried off many people; but the converts were fully convinced of the folly of this charge, and stood firm in their faith in our crucified Saviour, the only friend of sinners.

Chief Spiff, a candidate for baptism, and the most confidential adviser of King Ockiya, was particularly marked out as the chief object of their revenge: he was plotted against to be killed on insisting to refuse doing adoration to their deities; but the Lord preserved him in the midst of all. At last he made his escape to the Mission premises, where he is still; but left alone from further molestation, after they had compelled him to pay a heavy fine of three puncheons of palm-oil, and his younger daughter was forcibly taken away from him as a slave. Notwithstanding all these, Spiff continues steadfast in his profession of the Christian faith, and is now making arrangements to clear himself of the state of polygamy, so as to be received into the visible Church of Christ by the rite of baptism. Before I left Brass the Rev. T. Johnson placed into my hand the sum of 20*l*.

in sovereigns, which Spiff has given towards the purchase of a church bell for that Station, which is very much needed. This man had given, before this, the value of 10*l*. in palm-oil towards the purchase of a harmonium for the church.

The exertions of Capt. D. Hopkins, then H. B. M. Acting Consul for the Bight, together with the lively interest shown by many of the supercargoes in the river towards the Mission cause, by showing the chiefs their folly in attributing to the converts the visitation of God upon the country in general, were of great service. Thus God had provided helps from quarters least expected; the Rev. Mr. Johnson, with his late wife and the catechist, being the only force on the side of the poor persecuted converts, but the Captain of the host stood by and protected them.

The violence of persecution is now abated: the enemies seem to hang down their heads. The king paid me a visit at the Mission house. When I met him the second time one of the bitter persecutors was with him. They all seem to be sobered down in their idea of the power of their gods, and many persons of sense believe they all will turn a new leaf in due time.

Oct. 20—We had service at half-past 10 A.M., when I preached to an attentive congregation of about 130 natives. After service Capt. Boler, accompanied by nearly all the supercargoes in the river, paid me a visit of respect at the Mission house, and asked for an English service next Sunday morning; but having arranged duties for the native service at the morning service, I promised them the afternoon if that would suit them, to which they readily consented.

Oct. 27—At the morning service seven candidates were baptized by Mr. Johnson, after which I confirmed nineteen. After sermon I administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to twenty communicants, assisted by the Rev. T. Johnson. Several of the converts had been absent for several weeks in the oil markets in the country, and others were laid up by sickness: 162 persons were present at service in the morning.

It would have greatly amused English communicants to see when the plate was passed along at the Offertory: one dropped into it a small parcel of leaf tobacco, another a bunch of trade beads, another a ball or reel of cotton thread, others fishhooks, another a silk pocket-handkerchief (new); whilst those who had it put silver coin into the plate. We valued the whole after service, and it

amounted to 16s. 2½d. Surely "it is accepted according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not."

According to the request of the supercargoes, I held the afternoon service in English at the house of the Company of African Merchants, which was very well attended: a great many of their servants were also present. Preached from St. Luke xiii. 23, 24, which was attentively listened to.

The gentlemen, feeling the want of an English service among them on the Lord's-day, have arranged among themselves, some weeks back, to supply this want by meeting together and reading the morning prayers and lessons at each one's hulk, or house on shore, every Lord's-day, the master of the hulk or of the house officiating by the prayers, assisted by another who reads the lessons.

The hospitality and kind reception I have received from these gentlemen during my twelve days stay among them was beyond expectation. On the morning of the 31st October I embarked on board the S. S. "Kwara" for Bonny, and landed the next morning.

Bonny.—War, whether civil or foreign, is an enemy to prosperity. It ruins nations, destroys lives and property, and impoverishes the country; above all, it is a great drawback to all improvements, and great impediment to the progress of the Gospel of peace, which is our mission to proclaim to all men: it bars access to countries whose peaceful people are stretching forth their hands for Missionaries' aid. All these are applicable to the present state of Bonny, where civil war has been on the drag since the last three years, which only has resulted in the ruin of trade in the river, and of every other improvement in the country. Whenever the people were called to the war-camp our congregation got thinned; the minds of the people became unsettled; our school-children got careless in their attendance to school, there being no sufficient interest in the parents or guardian to make them go regularly. So long as this protracted war lasts we cannot expect rapid progress in our work at Bonny as we would wish. However, attendance at the means of grace on the Lord's-day is encouraging; the poor class of the population seem to feel that their refuge is in the sanctuary of the Lord, having lost all confidence in the refuges of lies—the gods of the country. Thus the church is very well attended at times. In this is verified the saying, "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." They shall not be disappointed by thus placing themselves under the shadow of the great

Rock which is so relieving in a weary land—which is only to be found in Christ Jesus. Thus Bonny, the most forward and promising of our stations, has been struggling to keep pace in progress in spiritual things since the last three years. But we need not despair: there are tokens that the work is not lying dormant; there is an inward vitality among the mass of the population: we have many proofs of this, thank God, and take courage.

Nov. 3: Lord's-day—I preached to an attentive congregation of about 300 persons—the Rev. Mr. Smart interpreted in the Ibo language—most of whom were young persons, promising successors of their present leaders.

Nov. 4—Visited the gentlemen supercargoes in the river in the morning, to thank them for the interest they are taking to carry out the project of my letter to them some months ago, to get up a place of worship on shore for a separate English service on the Lord's-day. A neutral ground for such a service is acknowledged by all hands to be much more preferable than on board a hulk, which is connected with many inconveniences which I need not mention. Mr. H. Cotterell, of the "Onward," has given a stimulus to the carrying out of the scheme, and is doing all in his power to push it forward. Captain D. Hopkins has very generously given a very suitable spot which he had bought for a cash house, very near the billiard-room, and of an easy access to all for the use of the Church Mission, for the church; thus the most important object is gained. To this he added a subscription of 10%, as will Mr. Cotterell a like sum. In all we have four gentlemen who subscribed 10% each already, with a promise of further assistance as the work progresses. We are encouraged to order necessary native building materials, assuring us that other necessities will be provided when required. My son has been very persevering in stirring interest in this work. In the afternoon we paid a visit to Bonny town to see the king and chiefs, but they were so absorbed in a meeting about war and other political matters that I had not the chance of five minutes to talk with them, so we returned home as it was getting towards evening.

Nov. 5—I visited Juju town, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Dandeson. Jack Brown, the chief, had kindly sent his canoe in charge of his son William to convey us in safety: the distance is about two miles towards the entrance of the river from the Mission house. A school was started here by this young man, William Brown, who had received a few years

education in England. As the war has protracted, and the oil markets are now inaccessible, to spend his time more profitably, and for some good purpose, he opened his school about four months ago of his own accord, and undertook the schoolmastership himself; and I must say I was greatly surprised to find seven of the boys able to read Part III. of the Sunday-School Union spelling-book very fluently, almost without a mistake. Having examined them myself in reading there was no doubt about it. Dandeson examined the Primer class, which did its best also. The total number of the boys is seventeen, seven of whom have been sent over to Jack Brown by his friends from New Calabar River for school. The chiefs of this place have been expecting me to go over now a long time and establish a Mission Station among them, but for want of funds I have not been able as yet to comply with their wishes, to my great regret.

After the examination of the school we went round the group of villages which compose Juju town, the seat of the great god Shimingi, whose days are fast declining. We visited the temple, and found the gods in a most decaying state, and apparently not much attended to. One of these groups of villages was the celebrated barracoon where the Spaniards used to collect their human cargoes some years ago for the other side of the Atlantic; but what great changes have taken place since! No traces remain of the visit of the Spaniards to the country, except a few old men, who still mourn over the loss of their golden time of the slave-trade, when they used to enjoy comfort and ease, and earn slave goods without labour and toil, but now with whom the labour of collecting palm-oil has no relish. The spot still retains the name of barracoon, which perpetuates the visit of the Spaniards to Bonny river. The spot would very readily be given for a Mission Station if asked for. Visited several chiefs, one of whom, Cookey, entertained us with a nice native dinner, as Jack Brown had done with breakfast. After a little conversation with Jack Brown and Cookey about school matters we returned to the Mission Station in the canoe in charge of William Brown.

Nov. 6—I had the painful task of returning David, the newly-appointed school teacher, to his guardian, Manilla Pepple, who had very kindly delivered him to me for Mission work. David having grown up among a loose population in morals, had habituated himself to wrong acts, and I dismissed him from the office of assistant school teacher. This was painful, as he was the first baptized convert, and the

first I had tried as a teacher, the first-fruit of Bonny Mission. Man is sure to err on account of his imperfect and limited knowledge, who can judge only by the outward appearance; whereas the Lord said, "Look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature, because I have refused him: for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart." May we ever seek the direction of His Holy Spirit!

Nov. 11—Notice was given at church yesterday for the examination of the school to-day: it commenced at 10.30 A.M. The children present were mostly young and new comers. Many of the elder boys who were rapidly advancing in their lessons, were suddenly stopped from coming to school. The correct reasons I could not exactly arrive at. Many have been assigned, but the most likely of all seems to be that the assistance of the big boys was required at home in the absence of their fathers at the war camp, and, at their return, in gathering in their yam harvest which, being the first attempt they have made to raise crops for their own support which has proved successful, they were all absorbed in this new employment, which will make them independent of their neighbours, that they have nearly forgotten other business besides. I have also examined into the system of disciplining the school children and the routine of instruction, and so corrected anything which appeared rigid, or tended to give occasion for complaint on the part of the children or guardians, that there might be no cause of hindrance to their regular attendance at school on our part. The number of children present was 30 boys and 13 girls, 43 in all, divided into six classes, each of which I examined separately. Considering so many interruptions they have met with in their regular attendance, I was glad to find them able to acquit themselves so well in reading, spelling, repeating Dr. Watts's short catechisms, and answering scriptural questions in general so satisfactorily.

In geography their idea must, as a matter of course, be very limited, unless the subjects be taught and illustrated from local scenes and objects which they can easily comprehend. After school they were treated with a hearty meal of rice and salt pork, which they heartily enjoyed, soon after which they returned home with merry hearts.

Begging an interest in your prayers on behalf of this Mission,

I remain,
S. A. CROWTHER.

ON DR. HUNTER'S "ORISSA."

IT was quite our intention when, in our volume of last year, we published an article on "The Worship of Jagannath," not to prolong the controversy by further discussion. We had no wish to comment more than seemed absolutely necessary on Dr. Hunter's book, so valuable in many respects, and the merits of which we were eager to acknowledge. But there are certain statements in it which, upon consideration, we feel require further ventilation and ought not to pass unchallenged. We are anxious too to call attention to an important criticism on Dr. Hunter's volumes which has appeared in the pages of the *Friend of India*, and which ought to have all possible circulation, not only in India, but in England. We therefore reopen the discussion, trusting that in so doing we may be enabled to let light into darkness, and induce Christians to entertain more active sympathy for those who are lying in that darkness and in the shadow of death. Good may, perhaps, yet result. We recur, then, once more to Dr. Hunter's volumes, proposing to review more especially that portion of his argument in which he embodies the allegations which he has brought against those who charged the worship of Jagannath not only with licentiousness, but also with cruelty. In doing so, we shall, as suggested by the Rev. J. Buckley's valuable letter to the *Friend of India*, revert to former controversies on the subject which are still full of instruction.

We will, then, in the first instance, present as fair a *resumé* as we can of Dr. Hunter's statements, so far as we are at present concerned with them. According to him, "the worship of Jagannath aims at a catholicism which embraces every form of Indian belief and every Indian conception of the Deity. Nothing is too high and nothing is too low to find admission into his temple. *The fetishism and bloody rites of the aboriginal races*, the mild flower worship of the Vedas, and every compromise between the two, along with the lofty spirituality of the great Indian reformers, have here found refuge." In another passage he observes, "As long as his towers rise upon the Puri sands there will be in India a perpetual and visible protest of the equality of man before God. His apostles penetrate to every hamlet of Hindustan, preaching the sacrament of the Holy Food. The poor outcast learns that there is a city in the far eastern shore in which high and low eat together. The lowest may demand and give the holy food to the highest. Its sanctity overleaps all barriers, not only of caste but also of race and hostile faiths; and I have seen a pious priest put to the test of receiving the food from a Christian's hand." Such then is Jagannath as painted by Dr. Hunter in the text of his book. Even from this we gather that "*the bloody rites of the aboriginal races find refuge in his temple.*" At the bottom of page 86, vol. i. there is a foot-note explaining that there are limits to the equality depicted in such glowing terms in the text: he admits that he is describing "ancient doctrine rather than present practice." In other words, he allows that his description is not a description of facts, but of fancies with which the facts do not correspond. It would be difficult otherwise to explain how the "poor outcast" can be bamboozled by the notion of universal brotherhood, and by it wiled away from his native village upon such an absurd errand: when he comes to the doors of the temple, under the impression that there is "equality of man before God," he finds them slammed in his face; he hears, as he stands without the towers upon the Puri sands, voices from within, crying, "Stand back, for we are holier than thou." The gates of Jagannath are closed against "the low caste population." (Vol. i. p. 135.)

We wish to write of Dr. Hunter with all respect, but we leave it to our readers to judge what sense or meaning can be attached to a description of an idol so puffed and belauded in theory, but of whom the writer's honesty and common sense constrain him virtually to say, "I have drawn this portrait of him, but it is not in the least like him:

this is what he professes to be, but it is an empty show, a heartless swindle, practised on the outcasts who put faith in it." In another passage he remarks, "Jagannath has included every deity within his walls, and he has been held responsible for the accumulated abominations of all." Does Dr. Hunter expect us to conclude that this is unreasonable? When Milton portrays Satan holding rule in Pandemonium, and "lord" among the dwellers there, could there be any distinction in them but pre-eminence in wickedness? We have, upon a former occasion, dwelt upon the foul licentiousness defiling the temple and the worship of Puri, which Dr. Hunter does not deny; but he has never, he says, entered the walls of the temple; he could not, therefore, describe it accurately, if it were fully describable.

We will venture to quote, as far as possible, from the description of one who has been inside the temple, some account of what he saw there.

The pilgrims are usually taken by their respective pundahs * and gomastahs, or peons on the part of pundahs, into the large tower, to visit the great idols, where the rattans (which the priests frequently take in their hands with a view, they say, to disperse the concourse of people) are generally broken to pieces by flogging the poor pilgrims,—so severely, that some of them become senseless, and some are smeared with blood, while the bodies of the others turn black and blue. The priests treat the females near the altar with great indelicacy, and use language so vile and abominable, that the most profligate Hindu would be ashamed to utter the like in the presence of the most debased of his companions. It is much to be lamented that such voluptuous priests are not only supported by the respectable Hindus, but entrusted with their wives and other female relatives, who have never seen the face of a stranger.

Many offences of a criminal nature are perpetrated within the walls of the temple when the pilgrims assemble there, such as theft, cutting away purses, snatching ornaments from the persons of children and women, fraud, violence, assault, riots, and adultery. Very recently, a case of this sort occurred within the walls of the temple, and it was brought to the notice of the compiler: he thinks it well to notice it with a view to shame those who adhere to idolatry, as well as to make public the vices perpetrated under the garb of religion. The parties implicated were a byragee † of Khoondhaeebent saee, and a woman of Chooring saee. An improper intercourse existed between them: they were discovered on the Suan Mundup, or platform where the great idols bathe, which is situated within the walls of the temple of Jagannath, by a peon of the Lion-gate, whose duty it is to watch the temple. He brought them before

his head officer, who immediately reported the circumstance to the superintendent of the temple. On the next morning the superintendent came to the said gate, where he instituted an inquiry into the case, and found the parties guilty of the offence; when he punished them by a verbal sentence of "Deolbasund," or the expulsion from the temple, and set them at liberty. This is not the first instance: similar cases have occurred before, yet no measures have been adopted to prevent such illegal acts within this sacred place. These cases are seldom brought to light.

The people connected with the temple have a natural tendency to keep such matters concealed. This, it is taken for granted, is not generally known abroad: those who are eye-witnesses to these deeds are seldom found willing to expose them, and those who hear of them do not speak of them. From these circumstances, it is no wonder that the police is ignorant of the occurrences of these evil practices within the temple. This aversion to expose and make public these iniquities is merely resorted to for the purpose of preserving the religion from falling into disrepute, and from bringing upon it dishonour by a disclosure.

Under these circumstances, and as the compiler has been in the service of Government in this district upwards of twenty-four years, during which period he has observed acts of the greatest impropriety and impiety in the temple, he therefore cannot refrain from asking the question, Why—if this temple is believed by our worthy Hindus to be a sanctuary or paradise, and the idol within it true God, filling the people with a powerful sentiment of religious enthusiasm, which delusion the pilgrims are persuaded to believe as true spirits, or "Poonah Bruhm"—is it that the minds of the people, after

* Pilgrim Hunters.

† Religious mendicant.

entering that sacred place, and visiting the | are they prompted to commit illegal, abomi-
 "Poonah Bruhm," are so debased, or why | nable, and sinful actions?*

We now approach the question of cruelty, but it will be most convenient to do so by quoting in the first place from Dr. Hunter the passage *in extenso*, in which he deals with the charge of cruelty brought against the worship of Jagannath, and then to subjoin a remarkable letter from the Rev. J. Buckley, of Cuttack, which appeared in the *Friend of India* of September 27, 1872.

"Gibbon has contrasted the free resort to suicide by the patriots of the ancient world with the pious servitude which Christianity has, in this respect, impressed upon modern Europe. But even these restraints were of slow growth and of uncertain efficacy, as the jurisprudence of the early Christians, and the suicidal mania of the heterodox African Christians in the fourth century attest. The Eastern religions, as a rule, allow a man power over his own life, and some of the Indian creeds encourage an act which hastens the final absorption of the human soul into the Deity. Such a religious suicide stands out as one of the great facts in the early intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks: and the immolation of the Brahmin Kalanas, who truly prophesied the death of Alexander, and then calmly mounted his own funeral pile, has left a lasting impression on Macedonian history. The tendency to such acts reaches its climax amid the frenzy of great religious processions. Among Indian processions, that of Jagannath stands first: and although the number of suicides, as registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials, has always been insignificant, and could at most occur but once a year, their fame made a deep impression upon early travellers. I have compiled an index to all such recorded cases, and I find that the travellers who have had the most terrible stories to tell are the very ones whose narratives prove that they went entirely by hearsay, and could not possibly themselves have seen the Car Festival.

"I am inclined to think, however, that the Veshnuvite reformation of the sixteenth century in Orissa purged Jagannath of a multitude of Sivaite rites. These rites everywhere involve the outpouring of blood, and a drop of blood spilt within the Puri temple would now pollute its whole precincts, with the priests, the worshippers, and the consecrated food. Yet it was not always so, as a Mussulman writer attests. 'In the temple,' he says, 'the Hindus inflict on themselves terrible wounds, or cut out their tongues; but if they rub their gashes on the idol the wound heals up.' Such practices had certainly ceased in 1580, when Fazl wrote; and the only vestige of them that now survives is the mid-night sacrifice once a year to the stainless wife of the All-destroyer, in a shrine apart from the temple, but within the sacred enclosure. Jagannath has in short paid the penalty of his constant compromises with the viler phases of Hinduism. He has included every deity within his walls, and he has been held responsible for the accumulated abominations of all. The innocent garden excursion of the Buddhists grew into a frenzied procession among a people who reckoned life cheap, and the misrepresentations of the Mohammedans have conspired with the credulity of travellers, and the piety of Missionaries, to make the name of Jagannath synonymous with organized self-slaughter. But the historian cannot help contrasting the facts as calmly recorded on the spot with the popular representations of English literature. 'During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony,' writes the Commissioner of Orissa, not long after the province passed under our rule, 'three cases only of this revolting species of immolating have occurred, one of which I may observe is doubtful, and should probably be ascribed to accident. In the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from excruciating complaints, and took this method of ridding themselves of the burthen of life in preference to other modes of suicide. Dr. Claudius Buchanan witnessed the Car Festival

* "The History of Pooree." By Brij Kishore Ghose. Cuttack: 1848.

of 1806, and even his clerical denunciations do not record a single case of self-slaughter.' (Diary, 20th June, 1806.)

"I have gone over the MS. archives from the day we obtained Orissa, and I can bear witness to the general truth of these words. Compare with them the Jagannath of George Cruikshank's pencil, as described by the great humorist and moralist of the day. It is called the Gin Jagannath, and represents a hideous moving palace with a reeking still at the roof, and vast gin barrels for wheels, under which *unhappy millions are crushed to death*. An immense black cloud of desolation covers the country through which the gin monster has passed, dimly looming through the darkness, whereof you see an agreeable prospect of gibbets with men dangling, burnt houses, &c. The vast cloud comes sweeping on in the wake of the horrible body-crusher. Or let a minor artist speak:—"The Jagannath on his great car conveyed there a great load. Seeing him draw nigh, burrying his broad wheels in the oppressed soil, I, the prostrate votary, felt beforehand the annihilating craunch." We complain that the Hindus do not appreciate our English institutions or accept our belief. Do we rightly understand theirs?" (Orissa, vol. i. p. 305.)

It is clear from this that Dr. Hunter is conscious that the tendency of Eastern religion is to encourage religious suicide, and to count it meritorious. It ought, therefore, to be no marvel, if, where perfect religious freedom prevailed, religious suicide should be practised, and self-murderers be held in honour. Such we believe to be the fact. Mr. Ward, in his "Farewell Letters," asserts, upon the strength of the published official statements, that in his time (between 1800 and 1821) from eight to nine hundred widows were burned alive annually in the Presidency of Bengal alone. These Satis, as it is well known, were justified by a forgery inserted by the Brahmins in the Vedas, and stoutly patronized by English apologists fifty years ago, who could discover nothing but exquisite beauty and heroism in such frightful and foolish expenditure of human life. Fortunately, in the interval which has existed between the ancient and the modern apologists, who have so recently sprung up, there was a period when common sense and humanity, as contradistinguished from philosophy and æstheticism, prevailed. What some might deem a ruthless edict was promulgated, holding all the aiders and abettors in these "amusements" to be murderers, with the gallows for their doom; and, despite all Native and European apologists, wherever our rule extends the fires of Sati have been quenched. We now proceed to place before our readers Mr. Buckley's shrewd commentary on Dr. Hunter's remarks. It will amply repay most careful perusal, as, on main points, placing the subject in a true and clear light:—

Dr. Hunter's "Orissa."

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me space for a few observations on Pooree, the worship of Juggernaut, and the immolations under the wheels of the car? These subjects have been several times referred to in your paper, and have occasioned controversy; but into this controversy, except so far as relates to Dr. Hunter's recent work, I have no disposition to enter. It will, I suppose, be admitted by candid and reasonable men that the Missionaries in Orissa are far better acquainted with Pooree than any of their fellow countrymen; and that the testimony of those who have resided in the province for a quarter of a century ought in all fairness to have more weight than the opinion of those who have

not a tithe of their practical knowledge of the shrine.

In one of the extracts from a review of "Orissa," inserted several weeks ago, gross exaggerations were imputed to "ignorant travellers and the heated minds of bigoted Missionaries." I felt strongly inclined at once to challenge the statement; but as I had not then seen Dr. Hunter's book, it appeared, on calm reflection, that it would be more just to him, and more respectful to your readers, to wait till the whole evidence was before me.

I now ask the attention of your readers to the question in reference to which this exaggeration was charged on the Missionaries—the immolations under the wheels of Juggernaut's car.

I perfectly agree with Dr. Hunter that the statements generally accepted at home on this point are gross exaggerations, and thank him for correcting them. The quotations he gives are sufficiently startling; but the reader will observe that they are not from Missionaries, or from any friends of the Missionary cause, but from Thackeray and Charlotte Brontë! In accounting for the circumstance that "the name of Juggernaut" is in England "synonymous with organized self-slaughter," he assigns three causes—Musliman misrepresentations, the credulity of travellers, and "the piety of Missionaries." I pass over the first and second, but must deny the truth of the accusation affecting Missionaries if it refer to those in Orissa. I have carefully examined our Mission literature for the past fifty years, and can find nothing written either by the dead or the living to justify or give any colouring to such a charge. I regret, too, that in such a connexion the word "piety" should have escaped the author's pen; because what is implied is abhorrent to our conceptions of practical piety. We are not of those who believe that the end sanctifies the means, or that the cause of our blessed Master can be furthered by exaggeration and falsehood.

The truth is, we have never felt any inclination to exaggerate the number of immolations under the wheels of Juggernaut's car; we have known from the beginning that such suicides were occasional, and not very numerous, while the waste of life from the destructive pilgrimage was very much greater than any in England, or than the authorities in India supposed. Our testimony, solemnly and repeatedly borne, has been to the awful destruction of life occasioned by the pilgrimage to the shrine; and about this we must testify yet again; for no idolatrous shrine in ancient or modern times has occasioned so much misery, immorality and death, as the shrine at Pooree. I trust, too, that the important statement of the author of "Orissa" will receive the attention which I am confident it merits, that "every year this homicidal enterprise massacres six times more men than Plassey, which won for us India, and Waterloo, which redeemed for us Europe, put together, cost the British troops, in missing and slain." Men are unworthy of the name of Christian that can read unmoved the statement that "the evidence goes to show that ten thousand peasants yearly sacrifice their lives to a pilgrimage to Juggernaut."*

But there is another aspect of the question. Dr. Hunter, in correcting prevalent misappre-

hension in one direction, has, as it appears to me, gone to the other extreme. Cases of self-slaughter were really more numerous than he supposes. I pass over his arguments with the remark, that it is a question not of logic, but of facts, and has to be decided by evidence. The impression conveyed that there have been only three immolations since Orissa became a British province certainly requires considerable qualification.

The author's reference to Dr. Buchanan's visit to Pooree in 1806 is singularly inaccurate. His words are: "Dr. Claudius Buchanan witnessed the car festival in 1806, but even his clerical denunciations do not record a single case of self-slaughter (Diary, 20th June, 1805)."† The reader will be surprised to learn that Buchanan witnessed two such cases—one, a man, on the 18th June, the other, a woman, on the following day. The Diary of 20th June begins with the well-known lines of Milton:—

"Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears."

It then proceeds, "The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours." As Buchanan's testimony has been so unaccountably—but of course unintentionally—misrepresented, I may add to the above that a letter from the Dr. to a clerical friend in London was inserted in the *Christian Observer* for June, 1807. This letter was written at Tanjore, and bore date September 1st, 1806. It describes his visit to Orissa, but is too long for insertion here. After remarking that "Juggernaut appeared to him to be the chief seat of Moloch in the whole earth, and the centre of the domain in the present age," he adds, "at Juggernaut I first saw human victims devote themselves to death by falling under the wheels of the moving tower on which the idol is placed." This is surely conclusive.

The following is as correct an account as I am able to furnish of the number of voluntary sacrifices under the wheels of Juggernaut's car since 1803, the year when Orissa came under British rule. I regret that the list is by no means complete, especially for the first twenty years, and shall be obliged if any of your readers can supply a trustworthy evidence of what is lacking in this narrative. The question is now only interesting as an his-

* Orissa, vol. i., pp. 156, 157.

† Orissa, Vol. i., p. 307.

torical one, and as illustrating the results of Juggernaut's worship.

In 1806 two immolations were witnessed, as stated in the foregoing, by Dr. Buchanan. In 1811 the number of pilgrims at the car festival was unusually large, and there was a great rush when the doors of the temple were opened: the people trod one upon another, and it is said that "as many as one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, were killed in the crowd." It is added, "numbers killed themselves by falling under the wheels of the idol's car; they lay themselves flat on their backs for the very purpose of being crushed to death by it." These particulars are given in the "Periodical Accounts," published at Serampore, vol. iv., pp. 408, 409.

Stirling, quoted in Pegg's History, p. 127, by Dr. Hunter, vol. i., p. 307, says, "During four years* that I have witnessed the ceremony, three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred, one of which I may observe is doubtful, and should probably be ascribed to accident; in the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from severe excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burden of life in preference to other modes of suicide."

Ward, in his work on the "Mythology of the Hindus," observes, "Many recent instances might be collected of persons diseased or in distress casting themselves under the wheels of the ponderous car, and being crushed to death." In another part of the work he remarks, "At Juggernaut, in Orissa, several† perish annually. Many are accidentally thrown down by the pressure of the crowd, and are crushed to death. The victims who devote themselves to death in these forms have an entire confidence that they shall by this meritorious act of self-murder obtain a healthful body in the next birth."

It appears from Parliamentary papers that the attendance of pilgrims at the shrine in several of the years between 1803 and 1823 was very large; and it may be safely assumed in regard to those years of which no definitive particulars can be given, that fanaticism would have one or more victims, but the above is all that I have been able to collect respecting the first twenty years of our being rulers of Orissa.

The Mission archives contain a pretty full report of nearly all the car festivals since 1823, and to these I now refer, remarking

that I cannot find any well-authenticated case of such sacrifice since 1840. The festival of 1825 presented one of the most appalling scenes of desolation and death ever exhibited at any idolatrous shrine. The number of pilgrims was unusually numerous, and the mortality was frightfully high; but no record is given of any deluded pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels of the car. In the following year (1826) the scene was in the general much less appalling; but there was one of these horrid sacrifices witnessed by two Missionaries, the Rev. C. Lacey and the Rev. A. Sutton. The description is sickening, and I will not lacerate the reader's feelings by quoting it. "It was one of the most horrid spectacles I ever beheld," wrote one of the brethren, "but some hardened wretches said, 'See, sir, the glory of Juggernaut.'" The other adverted to the admiration and applause of the people at the "great devotedness" of the deluded self-murderer.

In 1827 a similar sickening scene was witnessed by the Rev. W. Bampton; and in 1832 Mr. Sutton wrote as follows: "Several such sacrifices have occurred to my knowledge within the last seven years." Subsequent records furnish less information on this point, while the particulars given of the awful mortality among the pilgrims is appalling in the extreme. In a report of the festival in 1840, Mr. Lacey writes, "Two wretched men sacrificed themselves under the wheels of the idol's car, and were in a moment crushed to death. The car went over the head of one of them." In a note it is added, "And since then nine more." But probably some of these were accidental. This is the last notice I have found.

Accidents, attended by an appalling loss of life, have frequently occurred at the great festival, but I think they have been less numerous in later years.

Your readers may be assured that none rejoice more heartily than the Missionaries that these revolting sacrifices have ceased; but I hope it will not be supposed that this happy result has been in any way occasioned by the benevolent teaching of Chaitanya, or "the gentle doctrines of Juggernaut." No mistake could be greater. The Ethiopian has not changed his skin, nor the leopard his spots; no more have the priests of Juggernaut become the patterns of meekness and kindness. It is British authority, and that alone, that keeps these evils-doers in check.

* Probably 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822.

† The Italics are mine. I quote from the edition of 1822, vol. iii., pp. 164 and 337. The work was first published at Serampore, I believe about 1811.

Let that be withdrawn—give the votaries of the ugly god license to do as they please—and Suttee, immolations under the wheels, and other atrocities of former years, would soon be renewed.

At the risk of repetition I must, as a matter of justice, ask your readers to remember that the testimony of Missionaries has been to the terrible destruction of life occasioned by the Juggernaut pilgrimage; and on this point their testimony has been abundantly confirmed by medical officers, District Superintendents of Police, and now by the historian of Orissa. Well may the latter say, "We have descriptions by unimpeachable eyewit-

nesses of the streets of Pooree in former times which the most distant generation will be unable to read without a shudder. They are so incredibly horrible that I do not venture to put them into my own words."* The picture of the city in 1841 is said to be from a "letter to Lord Fitzgerald on Juggernaut;" but it *must* have been extracted from the report of the late Rev. C. Lacey, then senior Missionary at Cuttack. The entire report is in my possession, as well as others from the same pen not less horrible and heartrending.

Your's truly,

JOHN BUCKLEY.

Cuttack, Sept. 6, 1872.†

There is in this letter of Mr. Buckley's one inaccuracy, which we feel assured he will be glad that we should correct. He mentions that a letter of Dr. Buchanan's was published in the *Christian Observer* for June, 1807. There is probably here some typographical error or mistake as to the periodical, for we have searched the whole volume in vain for such a letter. There must, however, have been such a letter somewhere, although we have failed to trace it in the *Christian Observer*. We have, however, in our investigations, come upon other statements which bear quite as forcibly upon the controversy, and which may most profitably be exhumed, now that the old statements are called in question in such a book as Dr. Hunter's. It will be seen how careful the statements are which were made by—what Dr. Hunter sneeringly terms—the "piety" of Missionaries and Christians, and that they differ widely from the loose generalizations of that excellent artist, George Cruickshank, and the authors of "Vanity Fair" and "Jane Eyre," quoted by Dr. Hunter. As Mr. Buckley acutely observes, these persons were not Mohammedans, not travellers, and most certainly not Missionaries.

Our first quotation shall be from the volume of the *Christian Observer* for 1812, p. 224:—

It will be worth while to notice another mode of suicide, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan, viz., self-immolation under the wheels of the Rutt, or Juggernaut's tower.

The practice of self-devotement under the rutt is very rare in the province of Bengal. But when we consider that there are upwards of a hundred rutts in the province (for almost every considerable village has one), and recollect the proneness of the people to meet death by what they think meritorious suicide, we need not wonder if there be a few instances every year. But all transactions of this nature, which take place remote from the banks of the Ganges, are seldom, if ever, heard of by Europeans. When a Hindu sheds his blood before the idol there is nobody to mention it to a Christian. Even the burnings of women are chiefly discovered by the necessary circumstances of publicity, the flame and smoke, and din of drums; not by the voluntary report of the people.

Dr. Buchanan gives an account only of one

of the rutts or towers in Bengal, namely, that which belongs to Juggernaut's temple at Ishera, near Calcutta; and he states that this tower has been often stained with human blood. On the other rutts in the province he makes no remark. That the rutt at Ishera is not bloodless he is warranted in asserting, from the well-known fact, that a considerable number of persons were crushed to death under the wheels of this tower some years ago, an account of which was recorded in the Calcutta papers at the time; only it became a question whether so many deaths had taken place by religious frenzy or accident. In order, however, to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of such scenes, it was determined that persons from the Calcutta police should attend at the annual procession of Juggernaut's tower at Ishera; and when Dr. Buchanan visited the place in 1807, he saw the officers on the spot. It appears that an instance of self-immolation took place at the same festival; but Dr. Buchanan states

* Vol. i. p. 152.

† *Friend of India*, September 27, 1872.

that he did not himself witness it. The fact was, he did not hear of it until after he had left the place, and had arrived in Calcutta. But that he might not notice, in the account which he intended to publish, a fact which might be thought doubtful, he requested the Rev. David Brown, senior chaplain of Calcutta, whose country-house is *near to the spot* where Juggernaut's temple stands, to endeavour to ascertain the truth of the occurrence;

and the consequence was, that the fact was established as fully and certainly as any fact can be which rests on Hindu evidence.

The exact truth, in regard to the prevalence of this kind of self-devotement, cannot be ascertained, unless the Bengal Government were to require every village having a rutt in Bengal and the adjoining provinces to make a report of the number of suicides for the last twenty years.

Our second will be from the volume of the *Christian Observer* for 1813. It contains a review of "Buchanan's Apology for Christianity in India." This "Apology" owed its existence to the temerity of one of the Parliamentary opponents of Christian Missions in India, "who ventured to impugn the correctness of Dr. Buchanan's representations regarding the temple of Jagannath in Orissa." Mr. Charles Buller, member for West Looe, had resided some time in Bengal, and was there member of the Board of Revenue. He had gone himself as Commissioner to the temple, and when the religious condition of India was under discussion in the House he published a pamphlet, having among other objects, a desire "to correct the exaggerated ideas entertained in respect to the atrocities said to be practised there." As Mr. Buller was an apologist for Jagannath, and anxious to defend the Government for not interfering to prevent the immolations, his line of argument in maintenance of his position may even now be read with interest. He does not pretend to say that there were not instances of self-immolation, but he argues that such immolations, when they do occur, are not of frequent occurrence, and compares them to the strange austerities of Christian fanatics. During the Rutt Jattrā of 1809 he had heard of only one immolation. He gives it as his opinion (which we doubt) that the Brahmins do not encourage the fanatic to destroy himself. "The man, I believe, does not communicate his intentions, and I think it likely that he himself does not intend it till a little before he throws himself under the wheel." We may notice here, that, as Dr. Hunter admits that the tendency of Eastern religion is to religious suicide, so this apologist of Jagannath testifies to the fact that this tendency is realized, and that victims do immolate themselves, and that the wheels of the car of Jagannath are wet with their blood. Dr. Hunter may, perhaps, feel disposed to assert that these bloody scenes take place outside the temple, not inside. He has not been inside, but, even if he had, the distinction between murder outside a house and murder inside a house is too refined for our apprehension. He must pardon us for thinking such a distinction immaterial, and that if Jagannath contracts the pollution of blood, it matters not what may be the particular spot where it clings to him. To this apology of Mr. Buller Dr. Buchanan replied. He agrees with Mr. Buller that such immolations are rare compared with the destruction of life by Sati. But whereas when Mr. Buller was at Jagannath he had heard only of one, Dr. Buchanan states *that he saw two*. We trust that Dr. Hunter's sense of uprightness will, in any future edition of his book lead him to cancel his misleading paragraph regarding Dr. Buchanan. The statement in the *Christian Observer* is as follows:—

In 1811 such was the concourse of pilgrims, that about 150 were killed by treading on each other as they approached the temple: a famine was also produced in the country, and numbers died of hunger and thirst. "Numbers killed themselves by falling under the wheels of the idol's car. They laid themselves flat on their backs, for the purpose of being

crushed to death by it." This is the testimony of eye-witnesses, who publish their report in the face of India and of the world; who speak of "the English colonel and his officers" as being present on the occasion; and who seem not to entertain the smallest apprehension that, even in India, in the very country where these abominations are alleged

to exist, their statements either will or can be questioned. Indeed, the atrocities of the Hindu superstition—although some Anglo-Indians, when they find themselves ten thousand miles from the scene on which they are exhibited, affect to doubt the reality of their existence—have never been controverted in India. Dr. Buchanan published his first work, that on the Expediency of giving an

Ecclesiastical Establishment to British India, while he was yet a resident in that country. He presented a copy of it to the Supreme Government. It was sold and generally read in Calcutta; yet no man was found in that capital who ventured publicly to dispute the correctness of his facts, or who even intimated to himself privately that he had been guilty of any misrepresentation or misstatement.

One statement of Dr. Buchanan we will quote from the *Christian Observer* :—

After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower, as it was moving along, with his arms stretched forwards. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to smile when the libation of blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable

time, and was then carried by the hurries to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the proprietors of India stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue." Again : "Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down in the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantly, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning, as I passed the place of skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones."

It is, we think, most unfair of Dr. Hunter to ignore these representations of "facts calmly recorded on the spot," and to confound with them loose statements of English humourists and novelists. Mr. Graham, an old Bengal civilian, who gave strong anti-Missionary evidence before the House of Commons, and stoutly resisted any attempt to convert Hindus and Mohammedans to Christianity, "admitted that self immolations under the car were frequent, and that Government had endeavoured by persuasion to diminish their frequency without having given offence to the Natives, or having created disturbances among them." Mr. Graham was a member of the Board of Revenue, and had official information to guide him in the evidence he gave. He lived in pre-philosophical days, and therefore was reduced to extremities when he had no better explanation to give of the abominations to which he bore his reluctant testimony. Had the advocates of Jagannath then been as ingenious as they are now more "accidents" might be happening in our own time. Even at Serampore, during the "amusements" of the people, English indignation might not have been so fiercely roused against them, and the strong arm of English rule might not have so sternly repressed them.

Before we pass away from Dr. Hunter we may notice a curious commentary on the universal brotherhood notion embodied in the Regulations adopted by the Governor-General in Council on the 28th April, 1809. Among them there is one specifying seventeen descriptions of persons "of low caste who are not permitted to enter the temple." At that period we cherished idolatry very tenderly, and managed to extract a good deal of money out of the people by our fostering patronage of "the Lord Jagannath," As the Board of Revenue of those days neatly put it, "the improvement of the funds applicable to the expenses of the temple went hand in hand with the improvement of the resources of the Government." There was most intimate concord—the concord of common gain—between Christians and Belial. In those days our Governor-General in Council, on the 8th of April, 1808, sat deliberating on plans for increasing the resort of pilgrims to Jagannath, much as Lord Northbrook might now be canvassing the expediency of continuing the Income Tax. Three years afterwards the crowds of

these pilgrims were so great that a famine, arose and what our Governor-General in Council termed "the holy land" became "a charnel house."

We wonder whether, when Dr. Hunter was going over the Missionary Society's Archives, he stumbled on any of these ghastly records of successful financiering in the days of our fathers. Curiously enough a namesake of his own, a Mr. W. Hunter, was, in 1805, appointed Collector of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannath. The correspondence between him and his superiors as to the best mode of "*increasing the reputation and prosperity of the temple, and of augmenting the public revenue,*" might even now-a-days furnish strange reading for Christian folk. In the opinion of the native writer, whose account of Puri we have been quoting, "this connexion afforded a great deal of satisfaction and comfort to a large number of Hindus who are fond of paganism." If the antagonists of Indian Missions really did care to know why Missions have not been more successful, they might find at least one reason in the perusal of such despatches and minutes. In the expressive language of the Indian writer we have been quoting, this conduct while it lasted, and it lasted very long, mixed gall in the minds of the Hindus.

THE GOSPEL AT FORT SIMPSON.

(Continued from page 32).

May 20—Wrote out the alphabet, the two prayers, a few short sentences, and the decalogue in brief in the syllabic characters for the hunter and his wife, and taught them the whole excepting the alphabet. When I left they were sitting together repeating from the paper what I had taught them. His brother also repeated so well what I had taught him that I promised to take him another paper to-morrow.

May 21 : Lord's-day—Much cheered by the progress made by the Indians to-day. Nideshi (the hunter) and his wife remembered nearly all they were taught yesterday, and before I left Nideshi knew most of the syllabic alphabet. Kai, his brother, has made even better progress. He learnt the decalogue, the other sentences, and the alphabet to-day, and I left him teaching some of the others. One of the old wives knows greater part of the two prayers, but the other one, at present, seems incapable of committing them to memory. May God's good Spirit open their understandings that they may receive the truth, not only into their heads but also into their hearts!

Service morning and evening as usual.

May 22—Another very hot day. The water in the river has risen considerably. We are beginning to look for the breaking up of the ice. The hunter and his brother have gone away to-day and will not return for several days. Only the women and children in the camp. Made them repeat the prayers and the decalogue. Began to make a little book for them.

May 23—A dull day. Been writing to Mr. Bompas and making some translations. Visited the camp as usual.

May 24—Visited the camp as usual. Nideshi and his brother returned this evening. Had a conversation with Mrs. McLeod about the imputation of Christ's righteousness. She is gaining strength fast and is able to walk about. The ice above and below the Fort began to move in the morning, and about 7 P.M., that in front of the Fort gave way and moved off. Continued moving until bedtime.

The Fort is prettily situated near the confluence of the Bear and Mackenzie Rivers. The latter is more than a mile broad. On the other side of the river directly opposite the Fort is a range of low hills, and still further to the right is a branch of the Rocky Mountains, some of whose peaks are covered with snow even in summer. On the same side of the river as the Fort, but on the other side of Bear River, are some more hills. The tops of these, though they are not far distant, are completely hidden on cloudy days.

May 25—Smith sat up all night to watch the ice. It has moved but very little to-day. Made some more translations and taught Nideshi, his wife and brother, some sentences concerning God. The latter learnt them very quickly. Heard Miss Taylor read two chapters in the Old Testament.

May 26—The river started again this morning, and when I arose it was nearly clear of ice in the middle. The mosquitoes have begun to make their appearance.

Made some more translations and taught Nideshi, his wife and brother, some sentences about God and the work of Creation. They nearly know the work of each day.

May 27—Wrote out a little book for Nideshi's brother, who appeared much pleased with it. Taught them as usual. Gave a little instruction in reading to Miss Taylor.

May 28: Lord's-day—Service morning and evening as usual. Visited the camp as usual. They know nearly all I have written out. As I passed one of the lodges I saw Nideshi diligently teaching his eldest little boy. The boat from Fort Simpson for Good Hope arrived about 2 o'clock P.M. I was very glad to learn that my dear wife and child are quite well. This is the only news I have heard of them since the 8th of April. The ice on the other side of the river, which was piled up when the river broke up, keeps falling with a noise like thunder.

May 29—Held prayers last evening and this morning with the Indians who arrived with the boat. Learning that an express is to be sent to Peel's river, I wrote a few lines to Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Andrew Flett, the gentleman in charge of Peel's River Fort. Went to the camp as usual.

May 30—The boat started for Good Hope this morning soon after midnight. Made and wrote out some more translations, taught the three Indians a hymn of four verses, and tried to teach them the tune "God save the Queen, but they have not much idea of singing. A pouring wet day.

May 31—Made and wrote out in the little books some more translations, and taught the Indians as usual. A cold wet day, sleet been falling most of the day.

June 1—Took a walk to the mouth of the Bear River. The ice in it still fast. Only one old wife at the camp. The others were all away hunting or gathering roots. This evening at prayers Mrs. McLeod had a severe ague fit, or something like it. She thought she was dying. Had a long conversation with her previously.

June 3—A party of Indians arrived this morning early, before we were up. Most of them are Papists. I endeavoured to impart a little instruction to four of them before noon. About noon four Mountain Indians arrived. Two of them, an old man and his son, I saw at Fort Simpson last winter. After dinner most of them, excepting the women, assembled in the house, and I spoke to them the truth as it is in Jesus. Mr. Taylor's boy interpreted for me. I also sang to them, and made Nideshi repeat from his book what I have been teaching him. They listened very attentively. Taught Nideshi's wife and brother at the Fort. Also tried to teach one

of the Mountain Indians the two prayers and the syllabic alphabet.

June 4: Lord's-day—I have been much encouraged in my work to-day. As I was reclining on the bank immediately after breakfast thinking over my discourse, two Indians came to me and asked to be taught. It is so seldom any of the Indians come of their own accord to be taught that I was much pleased at this. I spent about an hour in teaching them a hymn and two prayers, and then had service in English. Nearly all the Indians were present although they did not understand a word. Afterwards I taught the Mountain Indians. One of them nearly committed to memory the decalogue in brief and the two prayers. I hope he will learn them thoroughly to-morrow, and then he can teach the others. I was much pleased with the conduct of Nideshi and the progress he has made. He helped me in teaching the Mountain Indians, and repeated to them nearly all I have taught him. Went to his camp afterwards and gave him some further instruction. Service in the evening as usual. Had a conversation with Mrs. McLeod. May God richly and abundantly bless the seed which has been sown this day and make it profitable to all who have heard it!

June 5—The four Mountain Indians went off this afternoon. Made the youngest of the party repeat again the two prayers and the decalogue. He knew them pretty well but not perfectly when he departed. I told him to repeat the prayers daily, and to try to teach his companions. Shortly after their departure some of Lambear's (?) party arrived—seven canoes, containing nine adults and several children. He himself has not yet arrived, but is expected in two or three days. I had just finished writing out a book to leave for him in the event of his not coming before I return to Fort Simpson when the party have in sight. There are now about thirty Indians here.

June 6—Spent most of the day amongst the Indians, and had a short service with them in the evening. One learnt the three prayers, the decalogue, and a hymn of four verses. Others have learnt a little. Mr. McLeod arrived this evening from Bear Lake. He left the boat near Willow River and came along the Portage. Bear River is still blocked up at the mouth, so that the boat cannot come at present. I have had frequent applications for medicine both from these Indians and those at Bear Lake, but having none, I can, of course, give them none. Many of the

Indians are sick owing, no doubt, partly to hardship and exposure, but principally to their filthy habits and immorality.

June 7—A very wet day. Spent the morning in writing, and writing out some translations for the Indian who learnt so much yesterday. Taught him and some others in the afternoon, and went to the camp in the evening. There are four large lodges. Had a short service in one, and repeated the hymn, prayers, &c., in the others.

June 8—The Indians from the Bear Lake boat arrived this morning about four o'clock, A.M. They left the boat about four or six miles from here. The mouth of the river is still blocked up with ice. Spent part of the morning in the camp, but did not do much. They were too much occupied with gambling. Went again after dinner and taught a few of them, Nideahi and his brother among the number. Had a short service in one of the lodges after supper. Several of the Indians absent, having gone to the Bear Lake boat. Another party of Indians have arrived this evening.

June 9—The Bear River broke up and the boat arrived before we were up this morning. Been to the camp as usual. The Indians do not manifest such a desire for instruction as I hoped to see. Some of them seem to avoid me. Perhaps the Roman Catholic Indians are trying to influence the others, or probably the French half-breed wife who resides here is setting them against me. After supper I collected them on the top of the bank with a concertina, and had a service with them there. They appeared very pleased to hear the music. They have been dancing in front of the house for several hours. It is a curious sort of dance. The dancers follow each other in a circle with their faces towards the centre, take a step sideways with one foot and hop on the other, singing at the same time a sort of ejaculatory song. This goes on without any variation, except by an occasional contortion of face and figure by some of the more facetious amongst them. On these occasions they make a display of their finery. Some of them look neat in their new clothes, but generally speaking a nice new leather coat will cover an exceedingly filthy shirt; a fine bead-worked cap, or a hat ornamented with ribbons and feathers, will present a striking contrast to the ragged nether garments; a clean coloured shirt will be put over another one which apparently has never had an introduction to the wash-tub. At a distance some of the women's moose-skin dresses look very nice. They are rather tastefully ornamented

with bits of coloured cloth, beads, buttons, pieces of tin, quills of the geese, leather fringe, &c., and bound round the waist with a pretty bead-worked or quill-worked belt, having a long fringe made of leather and goose-quills reaching nearly to the bottom of the dress.

June 11: Lord's-day—Service in English, morning and evening. Service with the Indians in three of the lodges. I received a degree of encouragement from some of them, but was much discouraged by others. They seemed so careless and indifferent about what I was telling them. O God! open their hearts to a reception of the truth as it is in Jesus, and make them to feel more interest in the welfare of their souls, for Jesus' sake.

A strong wind has been blowing up the river; but the Good Hope boats have not yet arrived. We are to start for Fort Simpson to-morrow.

June 12—We left Fort Norman at 3.30 P.M. The crew (composed principally of Indians) were very unwilling to start. They wished to wait for the other boats. We passed the "smokes" before bed-time. Had prayers in the boat in Indian and English.

June 13—We "carried on" all last night, but have not made much progress. The tracking has been so bad, especially at one place, called "the falling of the beaver" (it is usually called by the French name). It is a very difficult and dangerous place. The bank is of considerable height, and in some places is a mass of moving mud, rolling or sliding into the river. The men who were hauling the line sunk to their knees at almost every step. About the middle of this place there was a huge wall of ice, not far from the water's edge. It seemed to threaten to fall on us, and bury us in the water, as we crept slowly past it. I felt much relieved when we were safely past it, and thanked God for preserving us.

June 14—The Good Hope boats overtook us at breakfast time. We learnt from Mr. Gaudet that the above-mentioned wall of ice had quite disappeared when he passed. How thankful we ought to be that it did not fall when we were passing. Had it done so we should all have been drowned undoubtedly. No human help could have saved us.

We reached Grostete's camp about supper-time, but I had only time to shake hands with them. A fair wind sprang up as we were finishing supper, which we at once took advantage of.

June 16—A strong wind sprang up last

evening which has continued all day. It has brought us on our way famously, from below "the rock in the water" to within a short distance of Nehanney River. Been raining all the day.

June 17—Did not sleep very comfortably last night, owing to the rain, and having to lie down in my wet clothes and blankets. When I arose in the morning my sheep-skin robe and one end of my blankets were completely soaked. The wind fell at 11 o'clock A.M., and the rain ceased at one o'clock P.M. Since then it has been fine, and we have been enabled to dry our clothes and blankets. Hope to reach Fort Simpson on Monday at noon.

June 18: Lords-day—Put ashore last evening at 11.30, and laid by all to-day until eight o'clock this evening. Had English service in the morning, but no Indian service. All the Good Hope Indians are Romanists, and those in my boat joined them and the French half-breeds in their prayers. "Vain repetitions" I ought to call them, because the guide repeated them in French, so that the Indians would not understand a word of what he said, although they made the responses.

June 19—Through God's good providence, I reached home safe and well this morning about seven o'clock, and was very glad to find my dear wife and child in good health. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits."

Since leaving Fort Norman we have "carried on" night and day (excepting one night, and Sunday), only stopping to cook and eat our meals. The men in each boat are divided into three parties who take it in turns to haul the boat, hauling one hour and resting two; and so, as the nights are as light as the days, there is no occasion to stop.

I held prayers in English and Indian in the boat nearly every evening. Also this evening in the church, but very few attended.

June 20—I find my man has been very idle during my absence. It would be much better if I had an assistant who during my absence could look after the work belonging to the Mission, attend to the school, and instruct the Indians on Sundays and other occasions, when they arrive at the Fort. Mrs. Reeve

taught the children until the beginning of this month, when she had to desist owing to the sickness of baby, and having her letters to write. Service as usual this evening.

June 21—Visited the Indian camp to-day. There are about thirty lodges. Six or eight of them are professedly Protestant. The two priests who are here have been busily engaged vaccinating the Indians. Some of them wished me to vaccinate them. I promised to do so on the morrow if I can obtain some vaccine. A much better attendance at church this evening, both of Indians and Europeans.

June 22—I could not obtain any vaccine, but on reaching the camp I found the priests had already vaccinated them.

June 24—I brought a little girl from Bear Lake to nurse our baby and hoped to keep her entirely, but this morning the priests and French half-breeds together enticed her away. The bigotry and opposition of these people is astonishing. Had service every evening this week in Indian and English, but they have not been well attended. One brigade of boats departed for Portage la Loche yesterday and another to-day. The last one leaves on Monday. Our new servants came to us this evening.

June 25: Lord's-day—A pretty good attendance at English service in the morning, not so many in the evening. Not many at Indian service in the morning, more in the afternoon, but only a small proportion of those who are here.

July 1—On Monday last the last brigade of boats started sooner than I was aware, and went without our letters. I had to take a canoe and a couple of Indians and follow them. We overtook them after a long paddle. Mr. Onion and I accompanied them two days and a half to a small river above "the head of the line," in order to bring back a canoe each. Four canoes were left there last fall, but when we reached the place we found one canoe broken; another, the best one, the one I went for, missing, taken by an Indian we suspected; and the other two in need of considerable repair. We set to work, gummed up the seams, made them water-tight, and intended to return at once, but a storm coming on detained us until next morning.

(To be Continued.)

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Would our Correspondent from Halesworth kindly favour us with Name, that we may communicate?

ON CONFUCIANISM AND RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS IN CHINA.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF CONFUCIUS, by JAMES LEGGE, D.D. *London*, 1867.

THE FOREIGNER IN FAR CATHAY, by W. H. MEDHURST, H.M. Consul, Shanghai. *London*, 1872.

JOURNEYS IN NORTH CHINA, MANCHURIA, &c., by the Rev. A. WILLIAMSON, Agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland. *London*, 1870.

TRAVELS OF A PIONEER OF COMMERCE, by T. T. COOPER, late Agent for the Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta. *London*, 1871.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONARY, HIS FIELD AND HIS WORK—CHINA AS A MISSION FIELD, by Rev. M. J. KNOWLTON, D.D., Missionary to China. *Philadelphia*, 1872.

THE books at the head of this article are of a very miscellaneous character, and of various degrees of merit. They all, however, contribute to throw some light on the religious condition of one of the most remarkable countries in the world. To most persons there is more of interest connected with India and with the countries which intervene between India and Europe. They have been the theatre of transactions which have intimately affected us in the most vital points; and through the intercourse which has for centuries been maintained between them and Europe, even apart from all questions of a common origin and cognate languages, our sympathies are aroused in their behalf. To a considerable extent, and certainly by comparison, they are known lands with which educated persons are familiar, and of which the poorest and the humblest form some conception. The Bible transports us all far beyond the limits of Judæa; through its medium, multitudes, who know little of the history of their own country, have yet a certain amount of knowledge of the mightiest nations of the East. With India, again, the connexion of England has of late years been so intimate, that persons of all ranks and classes possess at least some indistinct ideas of the vast empire which has been entrusted to us there. The case however is very different as regards China. It is as though the great wall which encircled the country to defend the frontiers against the inroads of the Huns had effectually severed the land from all human sympathy, and from all intelligent appreciation of its condition, as well as from the incursion of hostile marauders. Beyond the fact that tea and silk are products of China, that a smuggling trade in opium has been carried on there, that the people wear pig-tails and speak a singular language, that there are there cities called Canton and Peking, and that we have a settlement in it or near it named Hong Kong, little or anything is known. We suspect the number of persons, even in intelligent and well-informed circles, who could enumerate five provinces of China, or give any account of the nature of their religion, is limited in the extreme. Still, gradually, during recent years, attention has been directed to it, and although the reluctance of the Chinese is great to establish friendly relations, and to hold intercommunication with other countries, they must now despair of maintaining the isolation in which practically, although not completely, they have so long dwelt.

We propose in this article to present some view of the religious condition of China, so far as it may be gathered out of the publications which we have prefixed to it, which may, we trust, help to diffuse information, within moderate compass, upon various points of interest connected with the evangelization of this mighty empire. In the books themselves will be found most ample and curious details, not only upon religious questions, but also upon the many other important questions affecting the present condition of the people. They may all be perused with interest and profit by those who would wish to gain a thorough knowledge of the subject. The most important of these works is that of Dr. Legge on Confucius, which we especially commend to those who would wish to gain

a clear comprehension of the influences which have moulded the Chinese into the form and fashion in which they are found even at the present day. It presents in a very readable and popular form the life and teachings of Confucius, and is to be followed by a second containing the works of Mencius. As these works are to the Chinese what the Vedas are to the Hindus, the Koran to Mohammedan, and the Bible to Christian nations, it will be seen what a debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Legge for his most praiseworthy labours. It is to be regretted that a disgraceful act of piracy on the part of an American in the interests of infidelity, or some school of religious morality, akin to infidelity, should have forced Dr. Legge to precipitate the issue of his volume.

To begin with Mr. Knowlton's interesting essay : in it he derives the origin of the Chinese from nomadic tribes dwelling to the south-east of the Caspian, who made their way eastward during the first century after the confusion of tongues, and finally settled along the banks of the Yellow River in the north, and the great Yang-tze River in the central and western portions of the Chinese empire. He traces the progress by which one tribe, superior in agricultural skill and industry, absorbed all the other tribes except the Mian-tze, who exist among the mountains a distinct race to this day. The date of the consolidation of China into a nation under the Chow dynasty he fixes at about 1088 B.C. The form of government was then feudal, and became despotic, as it is now, about 220 B.C. To give some idea of the vastness of the country, we mention that the line of sea-coast runs nearly three thousand miles ; that the largest of its broad plains has an area of about three hundred thousand square miles ; and that the whole area of country is about one million three hundred thousand square miles greater than all Europe. In 1839 the Chinese census gave a population of about four hundred and fifteen millions. It has been estimated that during the last twenty years the population has been reduced by civil wars, famine, and pestilence to about three hundred and seventy millions, nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the whole earth. Well may Mr. Knowlton exclaim, that "Until China is converted to God, idolatry and heathenism will remain in their pride, and power, and ascendancy in the world." It is hardly matter for wonder, that at such a spectacle the language of faintheartedness and unbelief should be, "We are in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we are in their sight."

From this brief glance at the origin of the Chinese, the vastness of their country, and the multitude of their population, we must now, under the guidance of Dr. Legge, endeavour to form some conception of the mighty sage whose influence and opinions have been such, that for two thousand years he has reigned supreme, the undisputed teacher of this most populous land.

Confucius, or rather K'ung (the master) Foo-tsze, could trace his ancestry back to the commencement of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 1121 : he was born himself B.C. 551. His father died when he was three years old. When he was nineteen he married a lady whom he afterwards divorced ; in the following year his son Le was born. He was first employed as keeper of the stores of grain, and the next year was put in charge of the public fields and lands. It was in his twenty-second year that he commenced his labours as a public teacher in the state of Loo, where he was born. In communicating instruction, and in adding to his own knowledge, especially of music, he employed himself until he was thirty-four years of age, growing in the meantime in public estimation.

About this time he visited the Court of Chow, which was in the city of Loo, in the province of Ho-nan. Dr. Legge describes China as being then like one of the European kingdoms during the prevalence of the feudal system. The condition of France during the Merovingian dynasty, with its *maires de palais*, would present an exact parallel. Confucius did not, however, engage in politics, but inquired into the

ceremonies and maxims of the founders of the dynasty. He had there, too, opportunities of conferring with Laou Tau, the founder of the Taouist, or Rationalistic sect, which still exists in opposition to the followers of Confucius. On his return to Loo, with fame greatly increased, he employed himself once more as a teacher, with a large number—some say 3000—disciples. Political troubles ensued, during which Confucius left Loo, but returned shortly, and for fifteen years held no official employment, keeping studiously aloof from the different contending factions. It was in the year B.C. 500 that he was made chief magistrate of the town of Chang-foo, in which he speedily worked a marvellous reformation. He was next appointed assistant-superintendent of works. In this capacity he surveyed the lands of the state, and improved agriculture. He was then made Minister of Crime. His appointment put an end to crime. No offenders, it is said, showed themselves. One object he had much at heart, and that was the dismantling of the fortified cities held by the chiefs, like the castles held by our barons in Norman times. In this he partially succeeded. "He strengthened the ducal house, and weakened the private families. He exalted the Sovereign, and depressed the Ministers. A transforming government went abroad. Dishonesty and dissoluteness were ashamed, and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. Strangers came in crowds from other states. Confucius became the idol of the people, and flew in songs through their mouths." Then came a reaction. Fear that Loo would become supreme among the states arose. The mind of the Duke was alienated from his Minister. "Master," said Tsze-loo to Confucius, "it is time for us to be going." The sage was unwilling to leave, but, finding himself neglected, went forth to thirteen years of homeless wandering. We cannot follow him through these. At length, when he was in his sixty-ninth year, he was recalled to Loo, but the remaining five years of his life were not cheered by a return of his former influence. Though often consulted, he no longer had weight in state affairs, and employed himself in literary labours. Before his own death he had the pain of witnessing that of his son, and those of some of his favourite disciples. It was in the year B.C. 478 that, early one morning, he got up, and, with his hands behind his back, dragging his staff, he moved about by his door, crooning over—

"The great mountain must crumble;
The strong brain must break;
And the wise man withers away like a plant."

He went to his couch, and, seven days after, he expired. Dr. Legge remarks—

His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. He sank behind a cloud. Disappointed hopes made his soul bitter. The great ones of the empire had not received his teachings. No wife nor child was by to do the kindly offices of affection for him. Nor were the expectations of another life present with him as he passed through the dark valley. He uttered no prayer, and he betrayed

no apprehensions. Deep-treasured in his own heart may have been the thought that he had endeavoured to serve his generation by the will of God, but he gave no sign. "The mountain falling came to nought, and the rock was removed out of his place. So death prevailed against him and he passed; his countenance was changed, and he was sent away."

From this brief account of the life of Confucius we pass on to the consideration of his influence and opinions. The subject is a most important one, for it has been said, and with a good deal of justice, that "Confucius is China." Dr. Legge states—

At the present day education is widely diffused throughout China. In no other country is the schoolmaster more abroad, and in all schools it is Confucius who is taught. The plan of competitive examinations, and the selection for civil offices only from those who

have been successful candidates,—good so far as the competition is concerned, but injurious from the restricted range of subjects with which an acquaintance is required,—have obtained for more than twelve centuries. The classical works are the text books. It is

from them almost exclusively that the themes proposed to determine the knowledge and ability of the students are chosen. The whole of the magistracy of China is thus versed in all that is recorded of the sage, and in the ancient literature which he preserved. His thoughts are familiar to every man in authority, and his character is more or less reproduced in him.

The official civilians of China, numerous as they are, are but a fraction of its students, and the students, or those who make literature a profession, are again but a fraction of those who attend school for a shorter or longer period. Yet so far as the studies have gone, they have been occupied with the Confucian writings. In many schoolrooms there is a tablet or inscription on the wall, sacred to the sage, and every pupil is required, on

coming to school on the morning of the first and fifteenth of every month, to bow before it the first thing, as an act of worship. Thus, all in China who receive the slightest tincture of learning do so at the fountain of Confucius. They learn of him and do homage to him at once. I have repeatedly quoted the statement that during his lifetime he had three thousand disciples. Hundreds of millions are his disciples now. It is hardly necessary to make any allowance in this statement for the followers of Taoism and Buddhism, for, as Sir John Davis has observed, "whatever the other opinions or faith of a Chinese may be, he takes good care to treat Confucius with respect. For two thousand years he has reigned supreme, the undisputed teacher of this most populous land."

Considerable difficulty has been felt by those who approach China from outside to understand the secret of his powers—"where his great strength lay." To such persons there is nothing in his writings, or in his achievements, or in the remarks he is recorded to have made, which afford an adequate explanation of the extraordinary influence he has exercised upon succeeding generations. Dr. Legge ascribes it chiefly to two causes—his being the preserver of the monuments of antiquity, and the devotion of his immediate disciples and their early followers. His own emphatic assertion concerning himself is, that he was "a transmitter and not a maker." The lessons of government and morals which he laboured to diffuse were those which had already been inculcated by the ancient sages and rulers of China. If such an estimate detracts from his character as an original thinker, it compensates by the singular tact which it ascribes to him. It must have been no ordinary skill and sympathy with the innermost thoughts and feelings of his fellow-countrymen which could enable him with so much felicity to select and embalm the quintessence of the wisdom of all previous ages. He did not profess "to announce any new truths or to initiate any new economy. His aim was to prevent what had previously been known from being lost. He followed in the wake of Yaou and Sheen, of T'ang and Keng Wăn." Through the medium of Confucius the earliest wisdom of China has become the portion of the present generation. If this wisdom had been Divine wisdom it might have been very precious: as it is, it may be possible to discover in it fragments of primæval truth, which have been as salt, preserving it from putrefaction, and are explanatory of its long-abiding influence. In two important points Dr. Legge considers that he came short of the faith of the ancient sages. The first is, the doctrine of God. Instead of a personal being, ruling in heaven and on earth, the author of man's moral nature, the governor among the nations, Confucius preferred to speak of Heaven. His influence has thus been unfavourable to the development of true religious feeling among the Chinese. Again, in China, from the earliest historical times, there was not only the worship of God, but also of other spiritual beings, especially the worship of ancestors. Dr. Legge, who is far from advocating such worship, yet points out that it must have originated in a belief of the continued existence of the dead. While, however, Confucius recognized such an institution as one devoutly to be observed, he never spoke explicitly on this topic, but tried to evade it. He seems to have doubted more than he believed; and, arguing from this and other incidents in his life, Dr. Legge fixes upon the philosopher the charge of insincerity. This flaw in his character, he observes, has had a very

injurious influence upon the Chinese. "Foreigners charge, and with reason, a habit of deceitfulness upon the nation and the Government. For every word of falsehood and every act of insincerity the guilty party must bear his own burden, but we cannot but regret the example of Confucius in this particular. It is with the Chinese and their sage as with the Jews of old and their teachers. He that leads them has caused them to err, and destroyed the way of their paths." Dr. Legge further, and with great justice, remarks:—

But was not insincerity a natural result of the unreligion of Confucius? There are certain virtues which demand a true piety in order to their flourishing in the corrupt heart of man. Natural affection, the feeling of loyalty, and enlightened policy, may do much to build up and preserve a family and a State, but it requires more to maintain the love of

truth, and make a lie, spoken or acted, to be shrunk from with shame. It requires in fact the living recognition of a God of truth, and all the sanctions of revealed religion. Unfortunately the Chinese have not had these, and the example of him to whom they bow down as the best and wisest of men, encourages them to act, to dissemble, to sin.

As to his principles of political science, Confucius held that there was in man an adaptation and readiness to be governed, which only needed to be taken advantage of in the right way. Such certainly was the characteristic of the people with whom he had to do; in no other family of mankind is it so largely developed as in the Chinese. The love of order and quiet, and a willingness to submit to the powers that be, eminently distinguish them. One grand and honourable peculiarity of his teaching is the necessity of personal correctness on the part of those in authority, in order to secure the right fulfilment of duty. No doubt this is largely disregarded in the existing condition of China, and her Mandarins could not be quoted as instances of such propriety; but the stress laid upon it by their law-giver may powerfully induce the Chinese to look for it, if not in themselves, yet in those who aspire to be teachers among them. When the foreigner challenges their attention they instinctively recur to what, according to the ideas of Confucius, he ought to be, and judge him accordingly. We will not stay now to inquire how fatal has been the evil example of professing Christians in Mission fields, and how prejudicial to the progress of the Gospel; but it may not be amiss to reproduce the comments of Dr. Legge on this most important topic. After citing sundry illustrations from Confucius, such as that men are influenced by example as the grass is bowed by the wind sweeping over it, he observes—

Example is not so powerful as Confucius in these and many other passages represented it, but its influence is very great. Its virtue is recognized in the family, and it is demanded in the Church of Christ. "A bishop"—and I quote the term with the simple meaning of overseer—"must be blameless." It seems to me, however, that in the progress of society in the West we have come to think less of the power of example in many departments of State than we ought to do. It is thought of too little in the army and the navy. We laugh at the "self-denying ordinance" and the "new model" of 1644, but there lay be-

neath them the principle which Confucius so broadly propounded,—the importance of personal virtue in all who are in authority. Now that Great Britain is the governing power over the masses of India, and that we are coming more and more into contact with tens of thousands of the Chinese, this maxim of our sage is deserving of serious consideration from all who bear rule, and especially from those on whom devolves the conduct of affairs. His words on the susceptibility of the people to be acted on by those above them, ought not to prove as water spilt on the ground.

When we endeavour to discover the means by which the personal character of the ruler, which is so important in the system of Confucius, has to be formed, his views seem to our apprehension ludicrous. "Self-adjustment and purification," he said, "with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety—this is the way for the ruler to cultivate his person."

Upon the general tendency of the maxims of Confucius, Dr. Legge remarks—

First, they are adapted to a primitive, unsophisticated state of society. He is a good counsellor for the father of a family, the chief of a clan, and even the head of a small principality. But his views want the comprehension which would make them of much service in a great empire. Within three centuries after his death the government of China passed into a new phase. The founder of the Ts'in dynasty conceived the grand idea of abolishing all its feudal Kingdoms, and centralizing their administration in himself. He effected the revolution, and succeeding dynasties adopted his system, and gradually moulded it into the forms and proportions which are now existing. There has been a tendency to advance, and Confucius has all along been trying to carry the nation back. Principles have been needed, and not "proprieties." The consequence is, that China has increased beyond its ancient dimensions, while there has been no corresponding development of thought. Its body politic has the size of a giant, while it still retains the mind of a child. Its hoary age is but senility.

Second, Confucius makes no provision for the intercourse of his country with other and independent nations. He knew, indeed, of none such. China was to him "The middle Kingdom," "The multitude of Great States," "All under heaven." Beyond it were only rude and barbarous tribes. . . .

The only passage of Confucius' teachings from which any rule can be gathered for dealing with foreigners, is that in the "Doctrine of the Mean," where "indulgent treatment of men from a distance" is laid down as one of the nine standard rules for the government of the empire. But "the men from a distance" are understood to be *pin* and *leu* simply,— "guests," that is, or officers of one State seeking employment in another, or at the imperial court; and "visitors," or travelling merchants. Of independent nations the ancient classics have not any knowledge, nor has Confucius. So long as merchants from Europe and other parts of the world could have been content to appear in China as suppliants, seeking the privilege of trade, so long the government would have ranked them with

the barbarous hordes of antiquity, and given them the benefit of the maxim about "indulgent treatment," according to its own understanding of it. But when the governments interfered, and claimed to treat with that of China on terms of equality, and that their subjects should be spoken to and of as being of the same clay with the Chinese themselves, an outrage was committed on tradition and prejudice, which it was necessary to resent with vehemence.

I do not charge the contemptuous arrogance of the Chinese government and people upon Confucius; what I deplore is, that he left no principles on record to check the development of such a spirit. His simple views of society and government were in a measure sufficient for the people, while they dwelt apart from the rest of mankind. His practical lessons were better than if they had been left, which, but for him, they probably would have been, to fall a prey to the influences of Taoism and Buddhism; but they could only subsist while they were left alone. Of the earth earthy, China was sure to go to pieces when it came into collision with a Christianly-civilized power. Its sage had left it no preservative or restorative elements against such a case.

It is a rude awakening from its complacency of centuries which China has now received. Its ancient landmarks are swept away. Opinions will differ as to the justice or injustice of the grounds on which it has been assailed, and I do not feel called to judge or to pronounce here concerning them. In the progress of events, it could not be but that the collision should come; and when it did come, it could not be but that China should be broken and scattered. Disorganization will go on to destroy it more and more, and yet there is hope for the people, with their veneration of the relations of society, with their devotion to learning, and with their habits of industry and sobriety;—there is hope for them, if they will look away from all their ancient sages, and turn to Him, who sends them, along with the dissolution of their ancient state, the knowledge of Himself, the only living and true God, and of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

Finally, he observes :—"After long study of his character, I am unable to regard him as a great man. He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful; but it will henceforth wane.

My opinion is, that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away."

Our space would not permit us to give any adequate account of the works attributed to Confucius, or compiled by his disciples. It would be easy to extract passages which contain sententious remarks, or, in a contrary sense, paragraphs which have no meaning, or none which we are capable of appreciating. It is hard, for instance, to extract meaning from the following—"The Master said, 'There is the hen-pheasant on the hill-bridge. At its season! at its season! Tsze-loo made a motion to it. Thrice it smelt him, and then rose.'" We commend this to the ingenuity of our readers. It more than rivals the subtleties propounded by the schoolmen.

The other religious systems prevalent among the Chinese need not long detain us. We have already adverted to Taouism. The system is materialistic; but comprehends also much addiction to conjuration, necromancy, and devil worship. Its power consists in the fascination which sorcery and the magical rites have over unenlightened minds. Much more popular is Buddhism, which was introduced into China about A.D. 66. In a certain sense it may be considered superior to Confucianism, inasmuch as it holds out a system of future rewards and punishments, and so far, although in a very gross and material way, meets the wants of man's religious nature, which the cold and irreligious creed of Confucianism fails to respond to. The idolatrous worship and religious superstitions, which have so much in common with those of Rome, as well as its showy feasts and rites, please and captivate the multitude. Its temples are costly and numerous; its priests number over a million; its rites and superstitious observances are long established and almost universal: hence it is very popular among the masses of the people. The three foregoing religions are not considered by the people as antagonistic sects; the same persons very commonly profess and perform the rites and worship of them all. We might therefore, without impropriety, consider them as collectively forming the one national religion of China, although diverse in their origin, and Buddhism being an exotic in a land peculiarly tenacious of its ideas and customs.

We now proceed to review those other religions, which have at various periods endeavoured to gain a footing in China, with more or less success. At the head of these must be placed Christianity. There is, to say the least, a strong probability that the Gospel was preached in China, and Churches founded during the first century. The introduction of Christianity would therefore have been simultaneous with the introduction of Buddhism. For a time it seems to have prospered. In the sixth century the Nestorian Christians had Missions in China, and in the seventh and eighth centuries the Churches were very flourishing, and enjoying the special patronage of six or seven emperors of the Tang dynasty. This we learn from an inscription upon a marble tablet erected A.D. 781, and discovered A.D. 1625, in Sigun, the capital of the Shen-si province. Christianity of a purer type than Romanism made great progress; portions of the Bible were translated into Chinese; churches were built, and priests were supported by the Chinese emperors; high officials were warm friends of the foreign Missionaries and zealous supporters of the faith. About A.D. 845, however, persecutions arose, and the priests were ordered to retire into private life. Still the Churches continued to exist, and were ministered to by priests from abroad; but such supplies must have been uncertain, and inadequate. When, then, another fierce persecution arose about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Christians were scattered, and their churches changed into heathen temples. Since that time it is not certainly known that a single Nestorian Church has existed in the empire. The remnant left lapsed into idolatry. We have not far to seek for the cause of this overthrow. In military phrase, these Nestorian Churches were too far from the base of their operations, and when troubles and calamities over-

took and well-nigh ruined the parent Churches, it is not much marvel that distant dependencies were left to perish in a land peculiarly hostile to strangers.

In chronological order, the next in succession were the Mohammedans. They began to come from Arabia as early as the seventh century. Their number has greatly increased, it is said, by emigration from Mohammedan States, and by natural descent, but not until recently by proselytism. They are now found in all parts of the empire, have mosques in all the large cities, and number a population of over a million. To the statement that the increase of the Mohammedans was not by proselytism there is a most remarkable exception in the province of Yunnan. Mr. Cooper, in his travels, gives a most striking account of Mohammedan progress in this quarter, which is peculiarly interesting as an almost exceptional instance of modern Mohammedan proselytism. The great strongholds of the Mohammedan Chinese have always been Yunnan, Kwei-chew, and the North-western provinces of Kan-soo and Chen-si. In 1850 the Chinese Mohammedans formed fully half the population of Western Yunnan, the majority of whom were of Chinese race. At that time all was peaceful, but five years later a revolt against the Chinese empire broke out. The revolt was immediately directed against the Imperial Viceroy, who had embraced the religion of the Prophet, and had subsequently, by some arbitrary act, given offence to his new co-religionists. The white flag was unfurled: the faithful were called to arms, and, under the successful leadership of a man named Dow-win-she-ow they were so successful that Western Yunnan was conceded to the Mohammedans, and Dow-win-she-ow was acknowledged by the Viceroy as Emperor of Western Yunnan. Mr. Cooper narrates in detail the futile attempts of the authorities at Peking to quell this rebellion, or to get rid of the Viceroy. He remarks, "that bribery and falsehood have so long usurped the place of truth and justice, that the people are totally estranged from any sympathy with their rulers. The exclusiveness, unprincipled extortion, and absolute power of the Mandarins and their satellites combined, seem to have broken the spirit of the people, and rendered them indifferent to the affairs of Government. There are few men of thought among the Chinese who do not acknowledge that their country is in a bad way, and this feeling is very prevalent among the educated and governing classes." Mortification must have set in when a member can drop off without, apparently, consciousness or power to remedy being felt at the seat of central power. It was so in India when the empire of the great Mogul began to be but the shadow of a name. Mr. Cooper says that the Imperial Viceroy was as much an enemy to the Emperor of China as the Mohammedan insurgent. The war, like all Mohammedan wars, has destroyed, or driven from their homes, half the population of the magnificently fertile province of Yunnan. The war itself was, so far as can be ascertained, a jihad, or religious war.

We now approach the more intricate question of Romish Missions in India. They were first commenced by the Dominicans and Franciscans, in 1292. In 1368, when the Mongols were expelled from the throne of China, these Missions were broken up, and for a period of two hundred and thirteen years we hear nothing more of them. In 1581 the Mission of China was resumed by the Jesuits, and prospered for nearly one hundred and fifty years. What their notions of the work in which they were engaged was may best be gathered from the propositions extracted from the "*Nouveaux memoires sur l'état present de la Chine*," "*L'Histoire de l'édit de l'Empereur de la Chine*," and "*Lettres sur les cérémonies de la Chine*," works of the Jesuit Fathers. In them "they affirmed that the people of China had preserved for near two thousand years the knowledge of the true God, and had honoured Him in a manner which might serve for a pattern and an instructive lesson to Christians. That the moral character

of their religion was no less pure than the dogmas, pure morality having prevailed in China at a period when Europe and almost the whole world was plunged in error and corruption. That the Chinese Emperor ought not to regard Christianity as a new or strange religion, inasmuch as it was precisely identical in its principles and fundamental articles with that which had been professed for ages by Chinese philosophers and sovereigns. They worshipped the same God which Christians worship, and acknowledge Him no less devoutly as the Lord of Heaven and earth." Pope Clement XI., although, as a ruler, predisposed to favour the Jesuits, found it necessary to pronounce unequivocally condemnation of this treaty. He sent Cardinal Tournon as his legate to China. The Jesuits defied his authority, and subjected him to a savage persecution. After enduring much privation and cruel suffering at their hands, he died in the Society's house at Macao with the courage worthy of a martyr. At the present day the symbols of Buddhist idolatry are found before the tombs of Ricci and others. Incense urns, candlesticks, and flower jars cut in marble are arranged in the order followed in all Buddhist temples, and no priest has ever ventured to deny that the old Missionaries should be worshipped with incense and prayers. Can it be said that up to the period of 1720, Romish Missionaries had done aught else than introduce a fresh and spurious Buddhism to the notice of the Chinese? Since that period Romish Missions have been conducted in a manner more conformable to European, if not Christian nations, and as the opposition to Confucianism has been greater the hostility to the Missionary operations of Rome, on the part of the Chinese authorities, has increased. Several severe persecutions have arisen, and the Missionaries have repeatedly been exposed to suffering, which they have endured with a fortitude worthy of a better cause.

In 1866 the statistics of Roman Catholic Missions were as follows:—Bishops 20; Colleges 12; Foreign Priests, 233; Native Priests, 237; Native Christians, 363,580.

It was in 1807 that Protestant Missions were first attempted in China by the Rev. R. Morrison, of the London Missionary Society. As the East India Company were opposed to Missions, Mr. Morrison was not at liberty to preach openly; but "he held secret meetings with a few natives in his own room, where, with locked doors, he read and explained the Gospel every Lord's-day." It was under these discouragements at the hands of their countrymen, that Englishmen began Mission work in China, Sixty years have scarcely elapsed, and already more than 300 Stations and Out-stations, 400 Native preachers, and 10,000 Native Christians, can be numbered up. Mr. Knowlton, from whom we have taken the above statistics, dwelling upon the fact that China, which was once at the very ends of the earth, is now at our doors, ventures upon the following curious interpretation of prophecy—"In the Pacific railroad, crossing the rugged Sierra Nevada and the lofty Rocky Mountains, have we not a striking fulfilment of that prophecy in Isaiah (xli. 11), 'I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted.' While we read in the next verse, 'Behold, these shall come from far; and these from the North, and from the West, and these from the land of Sinim.'" With pardonable national enthusiasm, he exclaims, "Is there no marked Providence in thus bringing that old, exclusive, populous heathen nation so near our Christian land (America)? Is there no significancy, also, that China is pouring on our shores her heathen population?"

Before we dismiss the subject, there is a point to which it is necessary to advert, and that is to the relative conduct of Romish and Protestant Missions, which is canvassed in several of the works whose titles are prefixed to this article. Mr. Cooper, who is apparently one of those "dispassionate lay travellers" in whom Dr. Littledale delights, is warmly enthusiastic in favour of Romish Missions. He was much indebted to the

clergy conducting them for facilities in the enterprise which he attempted of an overland journey from China to Calcutta. In this he failed, after encountering many hardships, and was constrained to return to Shanghai. Now we cannot feel disposed to quarrel with him for speaking well of the bridge which, more than once, carried him safely across; but assuming that he is any sort of a Protestant, he might have rested therewith content. So far as we can gather from his book, few persons ever went forth on an expedition less encumbered with religious scruples. Universal conformity with whatever might for the moment be in the ascendant seem to have been his guiding principle. Once he was placed in a great difficulty, when the test of whether he would or would not partake of some boiled pork which was set before him. To the great triumph of the faithful, and the discomfiture of the Chinese, he refused the test; but it is nearly the only act of religious partisanship which we can recal, and policy had more to do than conscience with the act. On the spiritual work of the Romish Missionaries he pronounced no judgment; it is probably quite beyond his province. He has given a *couleur de rose* account of the early Jesuit Missions which probably was furnished to him by his entertainers, and which contrasts oddly with the real facts of the case. Still his account of what he saw of the actual working of the Romish system in the interior of China may be read with interest. It is our deliberate conviction, however, that as a wise and reliable mode of carrying on Missionary operations it is to be eschewed. We say this, being at the same time quite ready to give our full meed of praise to the self-devotion evinced by the Missionaries: it would be unjust and ungenerous to depreciate this feature in their conduct, mistaken as we deem them to be. Our contention with him is, that in his zeal on behalf of his friends he cannot refrain from casting aspersions on Protestant Missions. We quote the passage from the end of his book in which he ventures on his injurious remarks:—"As we steamed past the city of Yang-Chow, in the province of Nyan-hoei, we saw the British fleet, which had been sent up to demand satisfaction for an outrage committed on some Protestant Missionaries, who had been beaten and otherwise maltreated. The sight of a British fleet on the Yang-tse for such a purpose was curious indeed, and must, I have no doubt, have done much towards convincing the people of Yang-Chow of the force of Protestantism, if not of its pacific nature. For myself I remembered the patient French Missionaries, whose only resource had been flight into mountain-fastnesses, and then recalled the rebuke given by the Master to the disciple for drawing his sword against the High Priest's servant; and it seemed hard to reconcile the presence of a fleet at Yang-Chow for such a purpose with the doctrines professed by His servants. Probably, however, times have changed since Paul preached Christ crucified and suffered martyrdom; and it may now be more expedient to proclaim the Gospel from the cannon's mouth, and summon gun-boats to exact reparation for our modern martyrs."

Now it would probably be too much to expect from a Pioneer of Commerce that he should have any recollection of history; if he had had the faintest consciousness of the annals of the Romish Church, and how her Missions have been carried on at the expense of those who may be her co-religionists, he would hardly have committed himself at the end of an amusing book to such idle rhodomontade. However anxious to repay the kindness he had received from his Romish friends, judicious silence on what is by no means a strong point in Rome's mode of propagating the faith might with advantage to them have been observed.

The question, however, is so far of general interest, that Mr. Cooper's strange assertion may furnish a convenient opportunity for putting the matter in its true light upon evidence of the most unimpeachable character. We hardly suppose that Mr. Cooper means that the conduct of the French Missionaries, which he so highly lauds,

was of an exceptional character in one particular instance, but that it is their normal mode of procedure, at any rate in China. This opinion is not shared by others equally well informed with himself, especially in Chinese matters. Among the books we have noticed is one entitled, "The Foreigner in Far Cathay," by Mr. Medhurst, our well-known Consul in Shanghai. In it he observes the most rigid impartiality between Romish and Protestant Missions, scrupulously assigning their respective merits to each but sensibly observing that "the two classes of labourers go out under such diametrically opposite systems of church organization and discipline, and they pursue their objects in such entirely different methods, that no comparison, except as regards the several results of their labours can be either just or accurate, and this it is next to impossible to institute in any satisfactory degree." The interests of truth, however, compel him to remark what is at total variance with the assertion of Mr. Cooper.

It was, I think, an unfortunate incident in the history of the Roman Catholic Missions, and, by association, in that of Christian Missions in China generally, when the French Government initiated the measure of exacting toleration of Christianity from the Chinese as a treaty right. It had the effect of withdrawing the Romanist labourers from the seclusion which, until then, had been a necessity, of emboldening them to claim the restitution of properties and privileges which had long ago been forfeited on political grounds, and of encouraging them latterly even to go the length of asserting judicial rights over the native members of their Churches, and seeking to release them from their fealty to

their proper sovereign. As a natural consequence of such high-handed proceedings, the jealousy of the Chinese Government has been roused against foreign propagandism in general, a sympathetic enmity has taken hold of the minds of the influential classes and literati, and both have not been slow to profit by the occasion to incite the entire population against foreigners and their faith. Hence the agitations, persecutions, and massacres, which have left their bloody marks upon the relations of the past few years, and which are but a foretaste. it is to be feared, of what we may yet have to mourn for the future.

As regards Consular interference on behalf of Protestant Missionaries, he makes the following observations which most distinctly exculpate them from the vague charges which have been brought against them by Mr. Cooper and other "dispassionate lay travellers and residents." Mr. Medhurst, as the person really responsible for the measures adopted, has not hesitated to assume it. We may add, that if Mr. Cooper had been intimate with the Bible to which he refers he might have remembered that St. Paul appealed to Cæsar, and did not scruple, when necessary, to assert his right to protection as a Roman citizen.

The Protestant Missionaries, again, have shown no inclination to indulge the extravagant pretensions which have been ascribed to their Romanist co-labourers in regard to the withdrawal of converts from native jurisdiction. I have found, it is true, in my consular relations with them, a tendency to believe their converts always to be in the right, whenever a dispute has occurred with the heathen or the Mandarins; but it is pardonable weakness, which is easily accounted for under the circumstances, and any evil results likely to arise out of it can always be checked by the disinterested view which the Consul should take of the matter when brought to his cognizance. Our Missionaries have also been charged with habitual indiscretion in the conduct of their proceedings, and a too ready leaning towards advocacy or coercive measures whenever thwarted. That some of

them are at times indiscreet, may be granted; for, as a rule, they are not men of the world, and their minds are apt to be warped by the engrossing character of their pursuits. But it must be denied that they exhibit any settled partiality for recourse to force. They are by treaty entitled to full protection in the pursuit of their avocations, to say nothing of special stipulations which make propagandism lawful; and where they find reason to imagine that these rights are being interfered with, what more natural than that they should appeal to the Consul for assistance in the maintenance of such rights? It is for him to consider how far remonstrance on his part is called for, and it will be found in every instance of what are called Missionary troubles, that this process has been carefully followed out.

A still more important testimony to the same effect occurs in the very valuable letter which Sir Rutherford Alcock has recently addressed to the *Times* newspaper. We gladly quote it *in extenso*, although it travels somewhat beyond the bounds which we have prescribed to ourselves in this article.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EAST.

To the Editor of the "Times."

SIR,—The question raised by Archbishop Manning in his speech at Sheffield as to the relation of the Roman Church and Catholic subjects towards the State has a direct and important bearing on Christian Missions in the East. And as this also has been a subject much discussed in the *Times* very recently, I trust you will afford me space for a few remarks on the connexion between the two.

The letter of the "East-end Missionary," followed by that of Lord Lawrence in reply, and another still later by a "Japanese Student," presented the whole field of operations in the East from very opposite points of view, and yet I think failed to bring out the chief causes of failure. Taken together and in connexion with the contributions of other correspondents, it is impossible not to see that there are many and permanent obstacles to the conversion of Asiatic nations by any existing Church or denomination of Christians. The irreconcilable divisions among them is no doubt one of the most prominent causes. The painful contrast between example and precept, so manifest in the lives of many professing Christians, which is forced on the notice of Eastern peoples, is another fatal impediment, and the one principally insisted upon by an "East-end Missionary," and what he says of the kind of teaching is very true. But these pioneers of commerce and navigation—representatives of a kingdom as worldly as trade, ironclads, and rifles can make it—have not all to answer for in respect to Missionary failures. True as it is, that "every heathen nation whose spiritual destitution the Bishop of London deplores, has a material reason for rejecting our religious overtures"—the material reason which most determines the result, is not any moral scorn of evil example and inconsistency, but one which has deeper roots, and extends its influence far beyond the surface of things.

Both Lord Lawrence and the "Japanese Student" would seem to hold the influence of existing religious faiths the most serious of the obstacles to the conversion of the people of either race. This may be so in Hindustan, and it is far from my intention to question the authority of Lord Lawrence on a matter so purely Indian. But my experience, which has been gained chiefly among

the Chinese and Japanese, points to a very different conclusion. I believe it would be a great mistake to assume that any religious faith now existing, either in China or Japan, constituted a serious obstacle to the success of Missionary enterprise. I am, indeed, persuaded it is not a religious question at all in either country, and that any opposition experienced to the work of the Missions is political in its origin and its end. This is not to deny that popular prejudice and economic fears as to the alienation of property for Church purposes by devout converts, or the pretensions of Missionaries under French protection to recover Church property confiscated two centuries ago, may play a considerable part in China, thanks to the impolitic clause introduced into the first French Treaty, signed by M. Lagrene in 1844. But these are not religious grounds any more than those which dictated a law of mortmain in nearly every country in Europe. The Tientsin massacre of French Missionaries and Sisters two years ago was not due to any religious feelings, but to quite other causes of hostility. The Bonzes have very little, indeed, to say to such matters. They are neither active nor influential, being ignorant, lazy, and much discredited; they are altogether out of court. Any small influence they yet may retain, whether in China or Japan, would seem to be as limited, as Senor Zorrilla declared in the Cortes was the influence of the Roman Catholic priests in Spain—to the mothers and daughters among the people. All the educated men, as a class, are either Taoists or Confucianists, and sceptics, so far as the tenets of Buddhism, or any other form of religion with which they are acquainted, is concerned. In the temples it is very rare to see any congregation except women and children; the men, at any time, are very few, and those generally of the lower classes. Among these there may be some lingering superstition, but of religious faith I have seen no evidence during a residence of twenty-three years among them. I cannot, therefore, agree with the "Japanese Student" that any difficulties experienced by the Missionaries in his country arise from this cause. It is true that pilgrimages to certain shrines and sacred places are much in vogue in Japan, and among the men more exclusively for the women were only allowed this privilege as an Imperial favour once in a series of years.

But I doubt the existence of any religious motive for the excursions, and agree entirely with another of your correspondents, "A Resident in Japan," that Hinduism has as little hold upon the minds of the people as Buddhism. With regard to the hostility of either ruler or people—Chinese or Japanese—to Missionaries, I am convinced that religion has very little or nothing to do with it. It springs exclusively from other sources, and those of an Ultramontane character, and taking their rise from very similar feelings and motives as the opposition manifested in so many centuries, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, at the present moment. Its real cause is jealousy of a foreign rival to the allegiance of the people, and a power which claims authority higher than any Sovereign's and inimical to the free exercise of any power independent of the asserted spiritual dominion of a Church.

Some of your readers may be disposed to ask, "What has Ultramontanism to do with the Missionary question in China?" And I think a perfect and complete answer is to be found in Archbishop Manning's exposition of his speech at Sheffield on the loyalty of Roman Catholics, which appears in the *Times* of this day, together with the able leader commenting upon it. Although Dr. Manning denies having said that Catholics must be out of sympathy with a State which admits freedom of worship, or that he spoke of the Ultramontanism he professed as involving allegiance to a foreign Power or Sovereign, he clearly admits that it does so "*within a certain circle*." And that circle, although he would limit it in words as one which surrounds only his faith, embraces, as you have clearly shown, so much of civil affairs, and so many matters on which the Civil Power has, and always has had, much to say, that practically the limitation goes for nothing. The question of education—a subject of actual agitation here—in France and in Germany at the present moment, and the toleration of diverse creeds and forms or doctrine, are both matters of such essential importance that an uncompromising opposition in obedience to the mandate of a Pope or Church of Rome might create a civil war, and rebellion against the National Government. Yet, in both these, if Roman Catholics are pledged beforehand, as you point out, to principles laid down for them by the infallible authority of the Pope, how can it be maintained that allegiance to the State and submission to the law are unaffected? It is the

independence of this power within a State, this *Imperium in Imperio*, which the rulers of China and of Japan alike object to, as fatal to their own authority and supremacy; and they resist its encroachments within their territories as the Emperor of Germany and the Queen of England resist all similar pretensions to the assertion of a power above the law.

There have been two pioneers of Western civilization and intercourse in the East—the Merchant and the Missionary. And the experience of the past has taught all Eastern races, China and Japan more especially, that of these by far the most dangerous to their independence, and the most fruitful in external wars and internal conflicts, is the Missionary. Cochin China, not thirty years ago, became a French conquest as the consequence of Missionary enterprise. China itself was invaded by the French, in alliance with us, on a Missionary quarrel. The Corea has been an object of attack for similar motives. The protectorate of France for the Roman Missionary in the East is, to these people and their rulers, regarded as a mere mask for usurpation and invasion.

I do not speak here of this policy either in praise or condemnation. I am dealing with facts and results within my own experience. The question has arisen, Why do Missionaries fail to convert the heathen populations in the East, and what are the obstacles to a more complete success? And I answer these are the causes—the permanent and principal causes—which no Missionary efforts are likely to remove, because their source lies beyond the sphere of their operations. They are, in a word, political and not religious at all, in so far as either China or Japan are concerned. Those operations, in Romanist hands at least, rouse the fears alike of rulers and people. They not only conflict with their superstitions—and a people may be very superstitious with very little religion—but with their love of property and of national unity. They clash with their traditional sense of loyalty to the Sovereign, by creating in their midst isolated communities, who are "Catholics first," and Chinese only in so far as a foreign priest and their Church permits. That Protestant Missionaries are less open to these charges, and are in some lesser degree objects of distrust and hatred, is rather due to the non-interference of the Protestant Powers on their behalf than to any discrimination of differences of creed or teaching. Beyond the necessity of pro-

tecting them from actual violence, they recognize no obligation to intervene, and these limits have hitherto, as a rule, been scrupulously observed. No attempt has been made to withdraw their native converts from the jurisdiction of their own civil authorities. But, notwithstanding all this, the Protestant Missionaries share, as we have seen, in the general condemnation, and have often been objects of attack. The authorities may—and, for the most part, do—regard them with less hostility than their Roman Catholic brethren, but only because their jurisdiction is never disputed.

Under such circumstances, what success is to be looked for? Lord Lawrence urges as regards India that, in the face of all difficulties and retarding causes, it is important that there should be a special class of men of holy lives and disinterested labours living among the people, and seeking at all times their best good; and I am very far from disputing the influence, moral and spiritual, which might be exercised, or underrating its value in China and Japan. The “Japanese Student” himself suggests this as one of the most efficacious means of spreading the light of the

Gospel and converting his countrymen, and only objects to the application of all the “moral and material forces of the West” to promote the end, as tending not to peace on earth and good-will among men, but to conflict and confusion. There lies the offence. I believe that if it were possible for Christian Missionaries to dwell in these countries under the “implied condition that they (and their converts) should obey the law, and should refrain from insulting the religion of the State,” and live with as little disturbance to the political rule they found established as the Buddhists, they would be as free from active hostility or molestation, and might make as many converts as they pleased without interference from the authorities, and, possibly, with little active persecution from the heathen population. But I am by no means sanguine that the experiment will ever be made under the required conditions, or that France, whether Republican or Imperial, will change her policy as the protector of Eastern Missions.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

London, Jan. 27.

These testimonies are not from Missionaries, nor are they by any means all that could be adduced from other equally authentic sources. It would be no difficult matter to bring evidence which would lead to a conclusion exactly the opposite of that which Mr. Cooper would wish to establish, and to prove that the most serious difficulty which Missionary operations have to contend with is the political propagandism, subversive of the temporal authority of heathen rulers, which is urged on, or at least intimately associated with, Romish Missions in the East.

Such, then, would seem to be the conflicting elements which (excepting, of course, the Nestorian Church, now effete and dead) are affecting the religious condition of China. So long as it was a country virtually isolated from the rest of mankind, Confucianism for the governing classes, and Buddhism for the mass of the people, sufficiently answered the very limited spiritual aspirations of fallen man, whose chief aim might be embodied in the fearful words, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” The Chinese are neither devoid of strength of intellect nor of solidity of character. During many ages they were the centre of light and civilization to Eastern Asia. In practical wisdom and common sense they are superior to all other Oriental races. But the defects of their religious system have been such that they are now in a deplorable state of ignorance and superstition. Mr. Knowlton, with great justice, remarks that their memories have been developed to the neglect and detriment of their reasoning faculties, while all freedom of thought and originality of character have been discouraged and precluded. No science is taught in their schools. The people have no voice in the Government and no politics. Torture is in general use in their courts, and in war indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children is the rule. “The rudest warlike and industrial implements, handed down from ancient times, are still in universal use; the nation is characterized by a prevailing lethargy, as if struck with paralysis, that gives it an air of senility and the stamp of decay and death.”

So long as external influences were kept apart such a system might continue, as an

aged tree may stand when not exposed to the blast of the tempest; it may crumble away for centuries. But even from what we have advanced it may be gathered how helpless China is to cope even with the decaying energies of Mohammedanism, still less with the restless civilization of Europe and America. One main defect of Confucianism was the total absence of all provision for the management of such intercourse, and the recent overthrow of Chinese policy may be in good measure traced to this. The millions of China, upon whom as yet the scanty number of foreigners can produce but small influence, are at present their only real bulwark. The T'aeiping rebellion, and the Mohammedan revolt in Yunnan—the establishment of Europeans in Peking, extorted reluctantly from the authorities—all prove how powerless are government authorities and priestly influence to resist foreign aggression. When this foreign influence is multiplied and extended, the power of resistance will be enfeebled in a degree disproportionate to its amount. There is no natural incapacity in the Chinese for the reception of new ideas. On the contrary, it is manifest already, that, despite abounding obstacles arising from inveterate prejudice, strong attachment to ancient customs, depraved character, vicious habits, and singular difficulties of language very hard for foreigners to overcome, labour has not been in vain, either for the spiritual or secular improvement of the people. Mr. Williamson in his most interesting and important work, observes—

We are left in a great measure dependent upon Protestant Missions for the advancement of knowledge, civilization, and true progress among the people. This department has not failed us. And in this connexion I shall take the liberty of stating what has been done by Protestant Missionaries, and that mainly since 1850. And here I need not speak of the translation of the Scriptures and the numerous religious works which they have given to the Chinese; or of the dictionaries and grammars in common use, which, without a single exception, have been the work of Missionaries: for Thom's "Chinese Reader" and Wade's "Tsu-ur-chi" are mere lesson-books. Nor need I speak of the weekly periodicals published by the Missionaries, nor tell of the extent to which they have aided the Chinese newspapers just referred to; nor need I allude to the information on China which Missionaries have communicated to the public. "The Supreme Court and Consular Gazette," November 14, 1868, says, in reference to them—"To such men are we indebted for more than nine-tenths of our knowledge of China and Chinese." Nor need I say anything regarding their schools. I refer only to works of a strictly scientific character. Dr. Hobson has given them works on Physiology; on the Principles and Practice of Surgery; on the Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica; on Diseases of Children; on the Elements of

Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Mr Wylie has given them the whole of "Euclid;" De Morgan's "Algebra," in thirteen books; Loomis' "Analytical Geometry and Differential and Integral Calculus," in eighteen books; a work on Arithmetic and Logarithms Herschel's "Astronomy (large edition), in eighteen books, and also the first part of Newton's "Principia," which is now in process of completion. Mr. Edkins has translated Whewell's "Mechanic," and given them many other contributions on science and western literature. Mr. Muirhead has produced a work on English history and another on universal geography. Dr. Bridgman has published a finely illustrated work on the United States of America. Dr. W. P. Martin has translated Wheaton's "International Law," and just published an elaborately illustrated work, in three large volumes, on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Other Missionaries have given them works on Electro-telegraphy, Botany, and elementary treatises on almost every subject of Western science. And, what is very important, the greater number of these works have been printed *verbatim* by native gentlemen, and some have also been produced in Japan by the Japanese; thus vouching not only for the adaptedness of the works, but also for the literary attainments of the authors.

Barely sixty years have elapsed since Protestant Missions can be said to have had any real opportunity for presenting truth to the mind of the Chinese, and this in the midst of many painful discouragements which ought never to have existed. We therefore entertain good hope for the future, and trust that the hands of the new

Bishop of Ningpo, and of our Missionary brethren, who have toiled with so much and such noble devotion, will be upheld by Christian sympathy and liberality. It was the remark of Neander but eight days before his death—"It is a great step towards the Christianizing of our planet if Christianity gain entrance into China." This was spoken twenty years ago. Since then, how much there has been to check and to encourage! Not only has an entrance been gained, but a lodgement has been effected. Not only has the truth been offered, but it has been accepted. If the reaping has as yet been small, it has been more than proportionate to the sowing. It has been the deliberate indgment of the ablest Europeans and Americans in Pekin, men who had the best opportunity of knowing the true state of matters, that there is no hope for China in herself. Some external element must be introduced to save it. "Is there not balm in Gilead? Is there not a physician there?"

JOURNAL OF THE REV. G. M. GORDON.

It has constantly been the privilege of the Church Missionary Society to have amongst the ranks of its Missionaries those who have been willing to preach the Gospel "at their own charges," and who "have kept themselves from being burdensome" to the Churches amongst whom they have laboured. With very many the case has been otherwise. They have offered themselves freely to the work, and have devoted to it all the faculties of body, soul, and spirit which they have possessed. They have, however, been constrained from circumstances to say—"Silver and gold have we none, but that which we have (ourselves) we give to you." Such have been cheerfully sent forth, and the Church Missionary Society has been at those charges for them which they could not undertake for themselves. Among those who have thus laboured without fee or reward in the service of the Society has been the Rev. G. M. Gordon. For some time, as is well known, he was an itinerating Missionary in the neighbourhood of Madras, until illness, contracted in his wanderings, warned him to seek a change. After recruiting his energies in Australia and his native land, he has now again gone forth to India, with the view of becoming a fellow-helper in the work of the Rev. T. V. French at Lahore. In order duly to qualify himself for this he has been studying Persian in Persia, and, having sufficiently accomplished this object, has now proceeded to India.

In our Number for last October we inserted a very interesting letter written by him from Shiraz in April last. He therein mentioned that, by Mr. French's advice, he was prolonging his stay in Persia until he could arrive in India at the close, instead of the beginning of the hot season, and so run less risk of fever. The journal which we present contains an account of his journey down the Tigris to Bussorah, and from that port to Bombay. It describes scenes in countries which, having long been shrouded in darkness, are now gradually emerging into light, and engaging, in many ways, attention. In pursuance of the doom pronounced upon Babylon—"Fanners have fanned her, and have emptied her land; her cities have become a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, whereon no man dwelleth, and neither doth any son of man pass thereby; the broad walls of Babylon have been broken, and her high gates have been burned with fire." For centuries the land has been desolate, and the judgments of God, spoken by the mouth of his prophet, have been fulfilled to the very letter. So, too, Nineveh has become "a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in."

Within, however, recent times, attention has been directed to these ancient cities; their ruins have been ransacked, and the contents have become the precious freight of

vessels, which have borne to the far West what the deserts of the East have so long concealed. The earth has, as it were, given up her dead, and from her bosom have proceeded marvellous utterances, confirming in the most astonishing and unexpected manner, the records of Holy Writ. Infidels, who went there to scoff, have remained to pray, and have found among their feet the confirmation of a revelation, which they had heretofore spurned from them with contempt. Very recently, through the laborious and skilful investigations of a young London engraver, who managed to spend his holidays and spare moments in the halls of the British Museum, most marvellous discoveries have been made, opening up, from independent testimony, the story of the Deluge, and confirming the epoch when Jehu, king of Israel, paid tribute to Shalmaneser. With the consent of the Government and the authorities of the British Museum, Mr. George Smith, to whom these discoveries are due, is now on his way to Mesopotamia at the head of an expedition organized and subsidized by the *Daily Telegraph*, to see what fresh records can be procured and added to the treasures which we already possess. Need we say with what interest every student of the Bible will watch his progress and sympathize with his research? But not only has much attention been concentrated on the countries of Mesopotamia in consequence of the records of the past which they have yielded up, but the interests of the British empire have led many to devote anxious concern to them. A glance at the map will show how immediately they are situated between us and our possessions in Hindustan. Stimulated, no doubt, by the progress of the Suez Canal, there has been for some years past a scheme in contemplation for making a railway through the valley of the Euphrates, which should annihilate a thousand miles of the space which separates us from India, and bring England some six or seven days nearer her possessions there. So far back as 1857 a deputation waited upon Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, who assured them that the Government were alive to the great importance of the Euphrates route. Since then, a Select Committee of the House of Commons has reported, in the course of last July, upon the subject of railway communication between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. In that report the importance of having a second, or alternative route to India, in case of the first being impeded, is fully recognized. Whether it should be carried along the course of the Euphrates or the Tigris is not decided. In the more sanguine language of a gentleman who has interested himself much in this undertaking, it is asserted that "it is not unreasonable to believe that the opening of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the resuscitation of the great nations of antiquity, are amongst the works designed to minister to the growing wants and improvements of the human race." There would need to be a great change in the system of misgovernment which has perpetuated the desolation of these countries before such changes are realized, but they may fairly be contemplated as within the range, not only of possibility, but also of probability, if the beneficent influences of commerce and railway traffic succeed to the ruin which has devastated what was once among the fairest and most prosperous regions of the globe.

Important, however, as such speculations may be to military, to political, and to commercial men, they only concern us in so far as they affect the interests of Missionary enterprise. Sad, then, as is the natural desolation which has overtaken the region of Mesopotamia, the cradle of the human race and of the Church of God, still more fearful has been the moral prostration and the religious ignorance which has overtaken it. Most limited, hitherto, has been the access to the millions who inhabit Western and Central Asia. And yet they, too, need the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Some most interesting details of the stir which there is in this valley of dry bones will be found in the recent report of Bishop Gobat's Fund, which has fallen under our notice.

In it there is a most interesting account of the religious movement carried on by Bishop Migerditch, who was late Archbishop of the Armenian Church, but who has resigned his high office, and of course his revenues, and declared himself desirous of casting in his lot with the Church of England. It must have been a curious spectacle to have witnessed this man, formerly an Archbishop arrayed in the gorgeous vestments of his dignity, but now clad in a plain surplice, standing by a table, on which was a Turkish Bible, Prayer Book, and Hymn Book. "Here was the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society bringing forth its fruit far away in Syria; here was the Prayer Book of the English Church, compiled by martyrs and confessors, translated into Turkish, and the hymns composed by English Christians sung in that language." There are many congregations in North Syria in communication with Bishop Migerditch, expressing their desire to join this movement, which would place them under the framework of their own Armenian Church without abrupt change of government or ecclesiastical dislocation, while they would use the Liturgy of the Church of England." We can only indicate what is going on; information concerning it is readily accessible to those who may feel interested in making themselves more intimately acquainted with this most remarkable effort at emancipation from very dark superstition. If enlightenment should extend among the Armenian community, it would communicate a thrill of spiritual life throughout the East. One other point, and that we can only very briefly advert to, in connexion with the opening up of these regions, so long, comparatively speaking, ignored by the philanthropy of English Christians, and, had it not been for the most praiseworthy and zealous efforts of our American brethren, forgotten, is the approaching visit to our shores of the Shah of Persia. It would be out of place to dwell upon it here, but it, too, serves to turn our thoughts in the direction of the lands which Mr. Gordon has been traversing. Hitherto Persia has been excluded from close and intimate communion with other nations, but it now seems overpassing the barriers within which it has been confined. There is, therefore, on all hands, so much change and movement in these countries, that although the labours of the Church Missionary Society have not yet pervaded them, we feel assured that it will not be without interest that Mr. Gordon's account of his journey down the Tigris will be perused by those who, out of the Word of God, are familiar with the ancient history of the lands which he has been beholding in their ruin and overthrow. Nor will his brief reference to the East-African slave-trade pass unnoticed.

On the Tigris, Oct. 20, 1872—I am now steaming down the Tigris and hope to reach Bussorah to-morrow night.

As I look out of my cabin window the scene is monotonous and flat. I see low sandy banks and an Arab encampment in the foreground. Some of the Arabs are mounted, others with their flocks of buffalo, sheep, and camels, which have come down to the water to drink. I am the only "first-class" passenger on board, but the deck is covered with Arabs, Chaldees, Indians, &c., some smoking, some eating, and some chatting with their families around them—150 altogether. The captain and purser are English. The latter is amusing himself by knocking over poor pelicans on the bank with his rifle, a sport against which I have protested. The captain has just called me out to look at a fragment of an ancient bridge, by which Alexander the

Great is said to have crossed the river on one of his expeditions.

The most interesting (and, indeed, the only) vestige of these ancient cities, which once studded the banks of this noble river, is a ruin called Tâk i kest, which I visited some days ago. It consists of an immense vaulted chamber 100 feet high, with two flanking walls, and other signs of what was once either a palace or a temple. The name signifies Arch of Kest, or Chosru, one of the mightiest monarchs of ancient Persia, and it is believed on good authority that here stood the city of Ctesiphon. On the opposite side of the river the site of Seleucia may be traced, founded 291 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's generals, and destroyed by the Romans in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 165.

Ctesiphon shared the same fate, but recovered itself, and successfully resisted the

Emperor Julian in 363. It was at last destroyed by the Saracens in 636. Now the wandering Arab feeds his flock on the mounds which cover royal palaces and silent cities, and the lion seeks his prey in the low jungle which has supplanted the monuments of man's pride and power. The Arch of Ctesiphon (as it is commonly called) is most impressive and sublime, certainly the finest arch I have ever seen. Grecian, Roman, and Egyptian ruins have nothing to show in comparison to it (as far as size), to the best of my recollection. It is devoid of ornament, inscription, or sculpture, and stands alone in the plain with a defiant aspect that looks as though it intended to hold its own till the end of time.

Fortunately I had some books to read, otherwise, the voyage of the Tigris (like that of the Nile in some places) would be dull at this season, for the water is very low, and we are continually sticking on sand banks and dancing round and round. The course of the river, moreover, is so tortuous that we often go three miles instead of one, and the sun looks in at my window when he ought to be looking in at the people on the other side of the ship. In the winter the whole distance from Baghdad to Bussorah is done in forty-eight hours. At this season it *has* taken sixteen days, but I hope *we* shall be only seven. Yesterday I changed ships in consequence of a shallow part with rapids which the other steamer could not get over. This is the fault of the Pasha of Baghdad, who, thinking to mend matters, cut a canal which turned the river out of its course. The result is, that his canal is dry while the river is unnavigable. While they were changing the luggage and passengers I was glad to take a nice walk of eight miles into the jungle with the Purser, who shot some partridges. We saw no lions or wild boar, although the latter are very plentiful.

Oct. 22—We have been delayed a day by an accident to our boat last night. We are now passing "the Garden of Eden." I will ask the captain to let me go on shore.

I have been on shore and surveyed the spot which is supposed to be the site of Paradise. It is at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris. A long line of date palms fringes both rivers on either side. A few boats are lying at anchor. Some Arab houses appear between the trees, and a Turkish flag-staff and guard-house stand stiffly and formally in front. Otherwise all is natural and primitive, even to the children, who run about in the

costume of their first parents. I cut a stick from the "Tree of Life," as it is called by Western visitors. It has, of course, no claim to this name, even as a descendant from the parent stock, except that it stands alone among the surrounding palms, a species of mimosa. I looked in vain for the "fig-tree;" but, after all, it is not so much the "garden" that one expects to find, as the "*wilderness*" sown with briars and thorns; and what one longs for these poor untaught Arabs is, that they should pluck some of the leaves of *that* tree which are "for the healing of the nations," and know the blessings of redemption, as they have known the curse of the fall.

It is, of course, mere speculation which places Eden in this locality. The fact that we find here *two* rivers only, instead of the four mentioned Gen. ii. 11—15, leads us to inquire, May not the flood have altered the courses of these rivers? And, if so, then the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris may have been elsewhere. We know that the course of these rivers has materially changed (higher up) in the last few centuries. This is proved both from history, and from the researches of Captain Jones and others who have surveyed the districts of Nineveh and Babylon.

This morning we passed the tomb of the prophet Ezra. A handsome building in the Eastern style, surmounted by a blue glazed cupola, marks the prophet's resting-place, close to the river's bank, and the shrine has been enriched by wealthy Jews, such as Rothschild and Sassoon. Every year the Jews of Baghdad and other places visit the spot in pilgrimage. A little Jewish boy from among the passengers came up to the captain, as we approached the spot, and begged (on behalf of his mother) to be allowed to go ashore and visit the tomb. I felt strongly inclined to support the little fellow's petition, but I knew that the captain was in a hurry to land his 150 passengers at Bussorah before dark, and that he would not stop the ship at the request of two. The answer was, "Tell your mother to pay 20*l.* and I will stop;" so the mother's wish, alas! was ungratified.

We are now in a broad, magnificent river, with no more sandbanks, the joint contribution of the Tigris and Euphrates, and there is Bussorah, with its shipping, in a forest of palms.

Bussorah, Oct. 23—I think that I closed my last letter somewhat abruptly, for want of time to continue it. I will therefore try and recal some of the incidents which I did not

relate. After recovering from the slight attack of fever at Karind, I reached Khanakin, on the frontiers of the Turkish territory. The neighbourhood was said to be highly dangerous. A caravan had been attacked the night before, and fourteen mules, with their burdens, carried off by the Arabs. I therefore took an escort from the previous station, consisting of five Khoordish soldiers. It was about midnight when our journey was half over, and my escort came to a halt. I asked the reason. They said, "It is dangerous here; we can't go on." I said, "If there were no danger I should not have taken you. Go on." They said, "You must give us 12 kraus (francs) if we do." I said, "I will give you nothing till we get to Khanakin" (the question of payment being entirely optional and conditional on the good behaviour of the escort). They then tried intimidation; but, finding that device fail, they left me and returned. I told my servant and the muleteer to go on, but the latter was so frightened that he lay on the ground and refused. At last I coaxed him to proceed, but he was in the greatest terror till daylight, pointing to the spot where the previous night attack had occurred, and saying, "Then the two men were killed there last night! What shall we do if the Arabs come!" Seeing a man alone in a dark valley, he sprang upon him with his gun, and I thought would have shot him; but fortunately he did not, for the poor man turned out to be a solitary wayfarer, as much frightened as himself.

At Khanakin I asked for the Caravanserai, and was shown an ominous building with tents round it. "What's that?" "The quarantine: you must go there for *ten days*!" I said, "Oh, but I am not infected, nor do I come from an infected city, and I am in a hurry to get to Baghdad." "No matter, it's the law for every one who comes across the frontier." I found myself in a wretched stable, with no kind of accommodation except for horses. The place had not been cleaned since it was built. It consisted of a large court, with stalls all round. Not a room nor a door did it possess. A few miserable people who looked diseased and sickly, and a horse-dealer with fifty horses, were the occupants. Amongst these, swarms of flies and mosquitos revelled, and gusts of wind, blowing across heaps of refuse and filth, covered every hole and corner with dust, so that a seat could nowhere be found. I sent a letter of introduction to the Governor of the town, and a telegram to the English Resi-

dent at Baghdad, to ask his help. The former despatched his Secretary with proper assurances of "attention and consideration," and I was bidden to "make myself comfortable, and ask for whatever I wanted!" I at once demanded my release, but this was politely refused, and I learnt what Turkish courtesy meant, for I saw nothing more of the Secretary, and received no more assurances. A day passed in suspense and discomfort: it was Sunday, and although I had my usual "service," yet it was never under circumstances more uncongenial. On Monday a telegram came from Baghdad. To my great delight the quarantine was suspended, and I was free once more. I quickly ordered horses and started that night. As I passed through the suburbs of Khanakin I found that it was not without its attractions, gardens of date-palms, laden with such gorgeous clusters of gold and crimson fruit as I had never seen before. It was just the season for the fresh dates, and they were delicious.

We encamped (or rather halted) at a place outside the walls, and waited for the coming morn. A very large company of pilgrims to the holy shrine of Kerbela, beyond Baghdad, redezrouised in the open plain, and made the air vocal with their noise. Many of them came from the distant mountains and forests of Lenkoran, on the south border of the Caspian; others from the highlands of Kurdistan and the plains of Persia. The former were sturdy men, with the high sheepskin cap, which I had become familiar with in the Caucasus. They formed a troop of about 150, and a better mounted troop of cavalry I never saw. From the uniformity of their dress, arms, and accoutrements, I thought at first that they were soldiers, but was told that they were *bond fide* pilgrims, and travelling at their own expense. I rode in their ranks for several nights, and amused myself with the study of them. They were no less curious about me. They spoke to me in some unknown tongue. I answered them in Persian, but they could not understand. At last they got an interpreter, and I found that they set me down for a Russian, the only species of European with whom they were acquainted, and believed that I must be a pilgrim, like themselves, to Kerbela, and therefore, of course, an orthodox Mohammedan. England they had never heard of; India puzzled them as much; so I fear they did not carry away very distinct ideas of my nationality. I found that many of them were women, the wives of the party. They bestrode

their horses with an erect and martial air and seemed to think nothing of a nine hours' ride through the night. Some of them even carried a child or an infant, and one had a musket slung across her back. Every night on mounting, and at intervals on the march, these cavaliers joined in a hymn, the refrain of which was very effective, breathed forth from a hundred deep bass chests. One night their hymn was of a very pathetic character. The trader carried on a recitative in a plaintive tone, and was responded to by sounds of lamentation and grief. I have no doubt it was about "Imâm Hoon," the saint whose tomb they were going to visit, and whose death they commemorate every year by frantic expressions of woe.

It was pleasant to think that my long journey of 600 miles from Ispahan, which had occupied six weeks, was nearly over. I reached a place called Sharaban one morning, and was congratulating myself that in two days more I should be in Baghdad. I waited for my servant, who was on a mule with my bedding and clothes, and wondered why he did not come up, as I had given him strict orders to keep up with me during the night's march. After two hours he arrived, but empty handed! "Where are my things?" I inquired. Then came a long story of how he had fallen into the hands of the robbers, who had attacked him with spears, and carried off everything that was in his charge.

I immediately went to the Turkish Governor of Sharaban, and represented the case of the robbery, and demanded redress, telegraphing at the same time to Baghdad. The Governor said that the place where the robbery occurred was out of his jurisdiction, but he would telegraph to the Governor of the next district.

Knowing that Turks will do nothing without compulsion, and having no authority to back me up, I proceeded without delay to Baghdad, stopping at Bakuba on the way. Here I met a messenger from Colonel Herbert, the English Resident at Baghdad. He brought a kind note, and a promise that everything practicable should be done to recover my property. I drew up a list of the articles missing, and sent it to Sharaban for the purpose of identification. I found that I had lost the whole of my travelling outfit, consisting of bedding, cooking utensils, clothes, and a few things which I valued as specimens of Persian manufacture, and books. Most of my travelling kit had done good service, many little articles were old

travelling companions in India and round the world. I always make a point of travelling light—not so light, I fear, as St. Paul travelled, but much lighter than my countrymen. One mule sufficed me for all these, and my servant besides, who sat upon the top of them. Another mule carried my two portmanteaus, and was in the charge of the muleteer, and I cannot be too thankful that this part of my property (the more valuable of the two) was saved. The loss which I have sustained was through the fault of my servant. He loitered on the road, fell asleep, probably, on his mule, was alone, and became an easy prey to a dozen mounted Arabs, who were prowling about in search of stragglers, but did not dare to attack the caravan, which was numerous, and well armed. The whole district is notorious for thieves. A few months ago two English travellers were attacked on the same road, and under the Turkish Government the greatest insecurity prevails. On reaching Baghdad I was very kindly received by Colonel Herbert, who had already communicated with the Pasha on the subject. Unfortunately Colonel Herbert was just about to leave Baghdad on business for some weeks. The result was, that the Turks would do nothing. Telegrams passed between the Pasha and the local authorities, and the latter had the assurance to say that there was not a thief in their neighbourhood! Hence I have no chance of recovering my property. The Turks will laugh in their sleeves, and smoke their pipes; the robbers will continue their practices with impunity; and the English traveller (unless he be a Government official) will be robbed without redress.

Baghdad is a disappointing place, for two reasons; 1st, You naturally hope to see an ancient city, such as you read of at the time of the Caliphs, or such as you imagine from the "Arabian Nights." But you find hardly any remains of ancient Baghdad, so completely has it been destroyed by successive invaders. The city used to be built on the west side of the Tigris, but as one now sees it, it is all on the east side. A small piece of the old river-wall, an inscription on a gateway, and a venerable "khan," are almost the only relics of ancient splendour. The only thing to remind you of the "Arabian Nights" is the tomb of their authoress, the Lady Zobeidah. This tomb is covered by a handsome old monument, which is fast crumbling to decay. If you reproach the gallant Mohammedans with this shameful neglect, they

say, "What would you have? It's a *woman's* tomb." They are careful enough of the tombs of their old Sheikhs, which present a marked contrast to that of the queen of the great Haroun Al Raschid. An enthusiastic American was going to repair Zobeidah's tomb at his own expense, but was dissuaded by the intimation that if he did the Moham-medans would certainly pull it down! The second source of disappointment in a visit to Baghdad is, that there never was a time when the city was at so low an ebb as the present. It is suffering from an irremediable disease, the blight of Turkish government, and will only sink lower and lower. The history of its decline is melancholy, but instructive. Founded in A.D. 762, it flourished for 500 years under the Caliphs, till 1257, when it was stormed and sacked by Halaku and his Tartar hordes, and its streets deluged with the blood of 160,000 inhabitants. In A.D. 1400 it was again taken by Tamerlane, who raised a trophy of 90,000 human heads of its principal men outside the gate. In 1508 it was invaded by Shah Ismael Sufi, and fell into the hands of the Persians. In 1534 Suleiman wrested it from the Persians, and made it a Turkish province. Subsequently Shah Abbas recovered it for the Persians, but they finally lost it in 1638, since which time the Turks have held it against two Persian invaders. Its revenue, under Caliph Al Mamun, was 56,000,000*l.* a year. Its revenue in 1854 was only 350,000*l.* I do not know what it is now, but probably much less; and in the same proportion has its population diminished.

The author from whom I have borrowed these few statistics adds that it is probable that Baghdad, like Seleucia, will eventually be no more than a name, swept away by the waters of the Tigris, and plundered by the wandering Arabs. In 1832 it was devastated by a flood and by a terrible plague, which carried off one-third of its inhabitants. Every year the river is becoming more unmanageable, through a neglect of proper precautions to direct and utilize its impetuous current. The cultivation of its banks is checked by oppressive taxation, its channel is continually shifting, and the Arab chiefs, who offer to build dams and dykes, are unable to do so because no remission of their burden is made, and no encouragement given.

Still for all this the streets and bazaars, and even the government of Baghdad, contrast favourably with those of any city in Persia, while the view from one of the minarets, as your eye ranges over 737 acres of flat house-

tops, varied by Oriental figures and costumes, and graceful date palms, and blue glazed mosques and battlemented walls, and shining river, or to the wide sandy plain of Arabia, is interesting and effective. Here also are the evidences of a toleration secured by the British Government after the Crimean war. Four large synagogues are attended by contented and prosperous-looking Jews (unlike, their care-worn brethren in Persia), while 1200 of their children are saying their lessons in school. Christian churches rear their heads on all sides, French, Latin, Armenian and Chaldee, while the public baths are frequented by Mussulmans and Christians alike irrespective of caste, creed, or religion.

Oct. 28—I am afraid this letter is growing into a most wearisome length, and, by the time it reaches home, it will also seem very stale. I am detained a week at Bussorah, waiting for the mail steamer, and as there are no antiquities to visit, and no excursions to make, I have plenty of time for writing and reading. My hospitable host, Mr. Carter, Agent of the Tigris Steam Navigation Company, has a nice house and garden on the bank of the wide river, but he feels much the lack of society, and consoles himself with a monkey and two lions. The latter have not yet attained the age of maturity and fierceness, and therefore can be stroked and played with. They are interesting specimens of their class, but have no mane like the African lion.

To continue my journal at Baghdad. One evening I hired two horses and started for Babylon. The road lay over the flat plain of Mesopotamia, with nothing to diversify the scene except a solitary khan (corresponding to the Persian "*Caravanserai*") every eight or ten miles. As I travelled at night I had a mounted escort of Arabs by way of precaution, but on the second night they lost their way, and I was wandering about for several hours, as there was no moon to help us. At last we judged it better to lie down and sleep till daylight. Then we easily found the road, and I saw in the distance the huge mound where all that remains of Babylon is entombed. It is called by the Arabs "*Mujehbo*," that is "*overturned*." No name could better express the desolation of the oldest and proudest city of the world. I crossed a dry canal, and marked how the ground was strewn with ancient bricks. Then I came to a large quarry where men were digging out bricks by thousands, and carrying them away on donkeys. The modern town of Hillah has been built with the bricks of Babylon, as was

also the ancient town of Seleucia. I climbed the huge mound (in size like a small hill), and walked from end to end of it. It is composed entirely of bricks and rubbish. Here and there an excavation has been made, and a wall, or chamber, or well laid bare. Why has this mine of interest been left so long unexplored? Surely some Layard might be found to raise a fund for the excavation of Babylon. Mr. Rich (formerly Resident of Baghdad) and his eminent successor, Sir H. Rawlinson, have brought to light so much, that the wonder is that a complete survey as well as above ground is not made. People go to Babylon and come away saying, "there is nothing to see." I confess I went there *prepared* to see nothing—nothing, at least, like Thebes, or Baalbec, or Persepolis. But what one does see is the exact fulfilment of Scripture, and surely this is a rewarding study—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby (Jer. li. 37—43). The wild beasts of the desert are now the only occupants of what was once Nebuchadnezzar's boast, the centre of a kingdom which stretched from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates, and none of the beaten tracks of pilgrimage or traffic so much as pass the spot. It is difficult to sit on that ground and try to reconstruct in imagination the stupendous temple of Belus (the "Bel" of Scripture), or the "hanging gardens," or the miles of streets, or the lofty walls. So complete was the destruction of the temple by Cyrus, that history tells us even Alexander the Great, when he wished to rear it again from the heaps of rubbish, failed in the attempt. It is difficult to realize that here Daniel witnessed a good confession, and rose to be the first minister at a court before which the world trembled, and that here the three children passed through the fiery furnace. From this mound I had my first view of the Euphrates, a stately river like the Tigris winding between belts of date palms, and fertilizing wherever it flows, the "waters of Babylon," beside which the captive Jews hung their silent harps upon the willows. It seems the one gladdening feature of a country which is bound with a curse, threading its way through barren lands, like the "promise of blessing" to Abraham, which has ever been sustained through the darkest periods of his descendant's apostacy.

From the mound I followed the river's

course to a spot called the "kasr," or "palace." Here Mr. Rich made some excavations, and laid bare some walls of great thickness and height, forming several chambers, and looking as if built but yesterday. He also disentombed a large granite lion which was then standing erect, but has since fallen upon its side for want of support. These cities of the plain are as completely buried beneath waves of sand and clay as Sodom and Gomorrah beneath the salt waters of the Dead Sea. What a commentary upon Is. xiii. 19—22 and xiv.

It is curious to observe how the modern Arabs pursue the customs of their ancestors. You see the same primitive dress and the same manner of life which fancy pictures in the days of Nimrod. They navigate the Euphrates and Tigris in the same round wicker boat, lined with bitumen, which are seen depicted in Assyrian sculptures, such as those in the British Museum. These boats, called "guffa" (literally, "a basket"), are perfectly circular, and warranted not to upset. They are propelled by two men, who stand upright, each with a paddle, the alternate strokes of which direct their course. Sometimes you see the guffa floating with the stream, and laden with corn or fodder for horses till their rim is almost on a level with the water. There are also other boats of a much larger size and more modern construction, which are rigged with sails and a rudder.

After a refreshing bathe in the river, and a caution from the Arabs against sharks, which make up in these rivers for the absence of alligators, I reached the town of Hillah, and crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats. A few hours sufficed to rest our horses, and before sunset we were again in the saddle, with our faces towards Birs Nimrod (the town of Nimrod). I had scarcely left Hillah when I saw it, at the distance of seven or eight miles, rising from the plain, which corresponded strikingly with one's conceptions of the tower of Babel. Soon the shades of evening hid it from our view. We came to an Arab encampment, and my escort proposed a halt. I knew there was another Arab camp further on, and refused to yield till we got nearer to the tower. An hour more brought us to the sound of voices, and the barking of dogs, and the tents and fires of a camp. The chief received me with Oriental politeness, and bade me welcome to all that he possessed. I asked for a little milk and firewood, spread my plaid on the ground, and soon enjoyed my cups of tea over a book which carried me

back to the days when men journeyed from the East and found a plain in the land of Shinar, and said, "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven." Meanwhile the fire-light flickered upon the fine bronzed features of a ring of Arabs who sat mutely watching me, and upon picketed horses, and ruminating camels, and low tents, with tall spears stuck before them in the ground; and inside Arab women chatted and sat grinding at the mill, the one turning the upper stone round and round, the other pouring in the grain. I found that the Arab dogs showed the same hospitality as their master. No sooner was I an acknowledged guest than they ceased barking, and commenced wagging their tails. The largest and most powerful of them took charge of me for the night, and walked round and round me as I lay, with all the grave dignity of a sentinel at Buckingham Palace. If any intruders, dog or man, came near, one growl was enough (he knew that a *bark* might disturb me, and refrained). Of course he got his "baksheesh" in the shape of some chicken bones, and our mutual friendship was firmly cemented.

I rose at earliest dawn, and soon reached the foot of Birs Nimrod. A high mound is surmounted by a ruined and unfinished tower of brick, the summit of which is 235 feet above the plain. An examination of the mound shows that it is composed of the same elements as the mound of Babylon—masses of brick and rubbish, interspersed with broken pottery. These bricks are all of them inscribed on *one side* with cuneiform characters. The cuneiform is the ancient Assyrian, and is supposed to be the oldest written language in the world. *To look at it*, it seems as hopeless to decypher as though one were to gaze upwards in a starry night and try to construct sentences out of the stars. There is generally a touch of the ludicrous mixed with all one's contemplations of the ancient and sublime. Our countrymen are unfortunately given to the habit of commemorating their travels and handing down their insignificant names to posterity by scrawling upon rock or wall, and thus defacing the hoariest monuments of antiquity. I was searching for specimens of cuneiform among the chaos of bricks that strewed the mound, when my Arab guide came up to me, and insisted that I was looking for inscriptions in the wrong place; he would show me some really good ones. I followed him with some little incredulity, when he led me to the tower itself, knowing that there were

none there. "Look here!" he exclaimed triumphantly, and pointed with the utmost gravity to a series of recent scratches, which spelt "TIMOTHY SNOOKS, 1856," "JOHN THOMAS, 1862," &c., &c. My laughter quite astonished him.

There is something truly mysterious about this remarkable ruin. On one side, where excavations have been made, you may see walls of brick ascending tier above tier with masterly ambition. On another, all is convulsion and disturbance—huge masses of brick-work, rent and overturned, yet so solid in their ruin that it is easier to pulverize the brick than to separate it from the mortar. One of these blocks has rolled bodily to the foot of the mound. Others are vitrified or fused by a process which can be none other than electricity or fire. Curiously enough the Arabs have a tradition that it has been destroyed by fire from heaven." The sides of the mound are pierced with holes and strewed with bones, which plainly indicate the lairs of wild beasts. The view from the summit at sunrise is distant and varied. The broad sheet of the Euphrates winds for many a mile, till lost in the distance in a "sea-like plain." Looking along its bank to the south you see the white minaret which marks Ezekiel's tomb. Modern cities appear like miniatures of the ancient Hillah, Tamasia, Mohawil. In the foreground are the "tents of Kedar," and the flocks, with patches of tall green corn, which the Arabs call "idlewa."

It is difficult to resist the conviction that Birs Nimrod is the tower of Babel, the oldest ruin in the world. There are those who (like Mr. Rich) believe it to be the tower of Belus, and regard it as a part of the ruin of Babylon, but I prefer to hold the older tradition. And surely it is when standing on ground like this that the language of Scripture acquires a vividness and reality which rewards the toil of patient investigation, and makes the privations of travel forgotten; and a voice seems to breathe from the resting-places of the prophets beside these mighty rivers which is daily more heard and felt, rebuking the sneer of the scoffer and the sceptic. "I have cut off the nations: their towers are desolate. I made their streets waste that none passeth by; their cities are destroyed, so that there is no man, that there is none inhabitant. Therefore wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey. . . For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent."—(Zephaniah iii. 6, 8, 9.)

Oct. 30.—I embarked yesterday on the ‘Cashmere,’ British India Steam Navigation Company, a fine large steamer bound for Bombay. The cabin and saloon seemed luxury itself to a man who has travelled in Persia. We have been taking horses on board all day. The captain, for want of other passengers, has filled his decks fore and aft with these interesting creatures, to the number of nearly 100. They are all Arab horses, consigned to Bombay, and are most of them very fine animals. They came alongside in boats, and it was very interesting to watch the process of lifting them on board with a sling and pulley. They were very quiet as they rose into the air, and were carried aloft some thirty feet, and did not evince any sign of fear. A well-bred Arab horse is the most docile thing in creation, but full of spirit and intelligence. Standing in a stable he looks dejected and tame; but saddle and mount him, and then up goes his head and his tail, and his neck arches, and he treads the ground like air. A curious and most unpleasant adventure happened to this very ship as she lay at anchor here last June, which illustrates the daring character of the Arabs.

The cargo, passengers, and crew were all on board, and ready to start for Bombay the next morning, when they were roused at midnight by a scuffle on deck, and the captain, on going forward to see what was the matter, had a musket presented at his head. Several of his officers were wounded with cutlasses as they got out of their cabins, and it then appeared that the ship had been boarded by about thirty ruffians, some of whom were attacking every one who offered resistance on deck, while the others went below and forced open the treasure-room, and carried off more than 4000*l.* of specie. In about twenty minutes they had got clear off without losing one of their number, having killed one of the ship’s crew, and wounded twenty. An inquiry was of course instituted, and a great amount of correspondence and investigation carried on between the English, Turkish, and Persian officials. The result has been that notwithstanding all the oriental cunning and rascality and subterfuge employed to screen the culprits, all but five have been captured, and are now in gaol at Bussorah, and about half the specie has been recovered. The English representatives insist upon the remainder being produced, and will no doubt eventually succeed.

I very much regretted that I could not stay longer at Baghdad, because I naturally wished

to visit Nineveh, and see the site of the most ancient city of which we have any record. Layard has left little to look at except some winged bulls, which were so large that no power could move them: hence, of course, you see most of Nineveh in the British Museum; but the associations of the spot are deeply interesting, and they show you the tombs of Jonah and of Nahum in the neighbourhood. It is an expedition which takes ten days, riding post, or twenty-five days marching there and back. Mosul, the head of the Chaldean Patriarchate, is the principal modern town of the district. Many visitors vary the journey back by coming down the Tigris on a raft.

Another rewarding study (besides antiquities) which one longs to prosecute at Baghdad is the history of the Christian Churches which have taken root there, or in the neighbourhood—Nestorian, Chaldean, Armenian, Sabean, &c. Of the last-named very little is known, owing to the reticence and reserve of its professors. I happened to meet the Sabean chief priest, and having heard a report of the peculiar tenets of his followers, was anxious to obtain further information. It was at the ‘Garden of Eden,’ that I first saw him. His village is within a short distance of the place, and as I was cutting a stick from the ‘tree of life,’ I was accosted in English by a venerable old man in Arab dress. I did not know who he was at the time, and my steamer was just starting, so that there was no opportunity for conversation; but two days ago he turned up at Bussorah, and called at the house where I was staying. I found that he had learned English at the Residency, Baghdad, and has had much intercourse with travellers who have visited him in his village; but my experience only confirms the testimony of the rest, that he is a most uncommunicative old man, and, for some reason or other, will not indulge the curiosity of inquirers. We tried him in English, Persian, and Arabic, but failed to gain any intelligible information from him. The Sabeans (or ‘Soobies’ as they call themselves) are believed to be followers of John the Baptist, and baptize by immersion. The old man insisted that his religion ‘is as old as Adam,’ and that he has books written by God. He has been offered very large sums for these books by travellers, but he will not part with them. He told me that they have infant baptism and adult baptism, but declined to say anything about the form. They have no church, and I could

make out nothing about their religious observances, except that they have a feast once a year, which lasts five days, and at which they partake of bread and wine. They number about 500, scattered in different villages, and it would seem that they have no land of their own, but gain a livelihood by working in iron, gold, and silver.

They were formerly molested by the Arabs, but are now free from annoyance. He wished me to write a letter for him to the Queen. I told him that I would willingly be his amanuensis, but he must dictate what I was to say. The letter was very brief, the gist of it being that he was very poor, and wanted assistance, and that he always prayed for her Majesty. I suggested that he should inform her Majesty about his history and religion, but he declined to do so. They have a distinct language of their own, and he wrote me some sentences as a specimen. They are said to allow a plurality of wives, and will not eat till sundry purifying ceremonies have been performed.

Persian Gulf, Nov 5—We touched at Bushire on the 2nd, and I was gladdened by letters from home and from India, some of which had waited for me a long time. We are now lying off the town of Lingeh, on the Persian coast. I have been ashore with the mails, just to see the place. It is inhabited almost exclusively by Arabs, with a large mixture of the sable race imported from Zanzibar. These are all slaves, as much the property of the Arabs as their date-trees and cattle. I had frequently seen negroes at Shiraz attached to the harems of the rich Persians, but I never saw such a large proportion of the population black as here at Lingeh. They seem almost as numerous as their masters. I inquired their price, and was told from thirty dollars to sixty dollars (the dollar is 4s.), according to age, &c. I asked if many were imported yearly. They said, "No; they are afraid to bring them; they only bring a few." There, within a few hundred yards of the steamer, are the dhows which bring them—long open boats, with a high poop and two low masts and long painted sails. The misery which these trading boats witness, with a closely-packed cargo of human "live stock" in the heat of an Arabian summer, must be inconceivable. Some people say that the lot of these slaves is by no means unenviable.

Their masters are kind, they are well fed, and always on the grin: if they wished to run away they have opportunities, &c. Now I do

not think the Arabs are naturally more cruel than other Orientals, and I cannot deny that these negroes look merry and sleek. But how can a deed be justified which forces them to "better themselves" against their will, which rends them from their home, and lacerates their affections, and deprives them of their freedom? Can they ever forget the violence which first enchained and dragged them for weary days and nights across African jungles to the sea, or the horrors of the sea passage, with its sacrifice of life? All these things have been again and again depicted by philanthropists, and now Dr. Livingstone's recent letters prove that the evil is going on, spite of England's pledge to suppress it. The argument that they "don't run away" is absurd. Where can they run to? They have the broad sea between them and their country, and wherever they turn they would starve, without a penny in their pockets. Opposite Lingeh, on the Arab coast, is an island called El Bârein, a great place for pearl fishing. Here there are very remarkable springs, which force their way up through the bed of the sea, half a mile from shore, and rise to within a few feet of the surface. I am told that ships sometimes fill their casks from these springs by means of skins, which are made into a bag and closed. A diver goes down with the skins into the fresh water, opens, fills, fastens them, and they rise naturally to the surface, fresh water being lighter than salt. What a striking type this is of those "living waters" of God's Holy Spirit, which have so often refreshed the believer in his bitterest experience of adversity, and supported him in his conflicts with the cares of this troublesome world!

Nov. 16—I must now close this letter, with many apologies for its length. We are approaching Bombay, having touched at the ports of Bunde Abbas (in Persia), Muskat (in Arabia), Guada (in Beloochistan), and Kurrachee, in India. I spent a very pleasant day at Kurrachee with our Missionary, Mr. Sheldon, and visited his school, and stood by his side as he preached in the bazaar.

In the evening he asked me to address a Bible class of inquirers, young men mostly, belonging to his school. One of the class was a man who had read very extensively in English literature, and showed remarkable familiarity with what he had read. He wishes to be baptized, but his mind is rather disquieted by doubts about matters of form, and he seems to have been shaken by Roman Catholic arguments.

The Lord grant him clearer light!

P.S.—I wish to make one correction for the sake of accuracy. Since writing about Bagdad I was told that I am mistaken in supposing it to be on the decline; that, on the contrary, it is a rising place. I confess that I had very little information on the spot, partly because of Colonel Herbert's absence, partly because others whom I applied to seemed to have taken no pains to ascertain. I cannot understand any place in the world being a

rising place under such a Government as the Turkish, but I am willing to believe this statement (which was made by the Vice-Consul at Bussorah) in a qualified way. I can't understand how any traveller can have the courage to write a book with "useful information," &c., because *my* experience is, that whatever he hears from one quarter under this head, is sure to be contradicted from another.

EDUCATION AS A MISSIONARY AGENCY IN INDIA.

A LETTER TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, BY JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D.

MADRAS, 1872.

DR. MURDOCH has not prefixed any motto to this brochure. He might, however, readily have found a very apt one. We refer to the line in Horace which says,

Quidquid agunt homines nostri est farrago libelli.

His letter professes to be an answer to an article which appeared in our volume for last year; he fears, it "is calculated to have an injurious effect upon Missionary education in India." He addresses it to the Church Missionary Society, partly because he holds the "Intelligencer" to be the Society's principal organ, which, in a certain sense, it is; but partly, also, because the opinion of "the Home Committee of the Society is respectfully solicited on certain points discussed in the pamphlet." Before entering into any discussion with the excellent Doctor, we must, with reference to the foregoing statements, premise, that although the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" is an organ of the Society and is a medium through which the great principles of the Society are sought to be upheld, there is not such constraint put upon the editor as that he is a mere mouth-piece through which the views of the Society or the Committee are unconditionally enunciated. It would be impossible for him, in justice to the Society, or with due regard to his own self-respect, to hold his office if he were so completely to merge his own individuality, and were never to state his own opinions, even though they might now and again, to a certain extent, clash with the views of some of the members of the Society. Latitude is honourably conceded to him: if the bounds of what is mainly accordant with the principles of the Society are overstepped, then, and then only, would he be judged unduly trespassing on the liberty permitted to him. In the case which Dr. Murdoch has raised, the Editor cannot, as at present advised, tell whether the Society will express their opinion upon the points which he has mooted; still less can he distinctly foresee the judgment which they will arrive at if they do. He is, and must be, now writing upon his own individual responsibility, as Dr. Murdoch has expressly issued his letter upon his responsibility; in both cases, we trust, with an earnest desire of arriving at the truth, and also promoting the glory of God and the best interests of the people of India. Having so far cleared the way, we will proceed to break a friendly lance with one whom we most highly esteem for his work's sake, though it may be in some points we differ from him. We do not profess to answer his pamphlet for the reason which we have hinted at in the motto we have ventured to suggest to him. In his letter he has heaped together a mass of "orient pearls," but they are not even "at random strung," reminding us of the jewels of a native potentate on which, in days gone by, we once feasted our eyes. They were exceedingly valuable in themselves, but they were tossed at random on the table, and they lacked the art of the

lapidary to bring out their brilliancy. We are very grateful for the information which the Doctor thus communicates. With some of it we heartily agree, and are glad to receive it furnished to our hand. From some of it we occasionally differ, but it has usually no reference to our article beyond this, that in both the article and pamphlet education in India is discussed. At the recent Allahabad Conference he must have had ample opportunity of explaining his opinions among our Missionary brethren, who are best qualified to judge of them. We trust, therefore, that the Doctor will not consider us guilty of any intentional disrespect if we do not wander with him through the stores which he has amassed, specifying our assent to, or dissent from, each particular fact or opinion alleged. We hope our readers will, if possible, make acquaintance with the Doctor's pamphlet, for though, in a certain sense, written against ourselves, it is well that it has been elicited from him. A very few remarks upon such portions of it as relate to our article, which has been what the French term "l'agent provocateur," will probably suffice for the present.

The Doctor has very fairly prefaced his pamphlet with a lengthy quotation from our article, which amply enunciates the views we maintained. In his next section he describes it as "an exponent of the views of the Home Committee on the subject." We have striven to show how far, and how far only, this description is just. The views of the Home Committee are usually embodied in carefully-worded resolutions after most mature deliberation; in many of them the statesmanlike sagacity of our late and deeply-lamented Secretary was easily discernible. It is in such resolutions, not in articles in which opinions are ventilated, and materials are furnished on which resolutions may be eventually founded, that the judgment of the Home Committee is to be sought. Dr. Murdoch, in his position, would have no difficulty in getting access to such resolutions, even if they were not made public for the information of all parties interested in them.

In the next paragraph, which is entitled the "Real Question at Issue," the Doctor, in his zeal, has unluckily mingled up personal questions with public ones. It may be most convenient to dispose of the personal matter first. The Doctor is a scholar, and will remember how Turnus, to his great grief and indignation, followed a phantom instead of the foe whom he was bent on annihilating—

*"vociferans sequitur, strictumque coruscant
Mucronem; nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos."*

Such a phantom, but one of his own creating, Dr. Murdoch has evolved from his inner consciousness; he then proceeds to slay the image, which eludes his grasp. He says "the explanation of the article is very simple. It is evidently written by a Bengal Missionary." If this is the foundation upon which the Doctor's superstructure rests it crumbles to pieces around him. He will permit us to assure him that it was not written by a Bengal Missionary; the very simple explanation, therefore, fails of explaining anything. Nor was it inspired by a Bengal Missionary in any other sense than it was inspired by Dr. Murdoch himself. The writer procured from all quarters, sometimes very conflicting ones, the best data which he could; he gave to all, and especially to Dr. Murdoch's statements, so far as he had access to them, the utmost consideration and then strove, to the best of his ability, to give the result in the most dispassionate manner which he could. Some very highly-valued friends coincided with his opinions; some, as highly valued, differed from them; but in the midst he exercised his own independent judgment on the question before him. This may seem strange to Dr. Murdoch, who apparently can hardly imagine the possibility of any one differing from what he admits to be "one-sided" views, which he is zealous in maintaining, but, nevertheless, it is the fact. We trust this explanation will help to relieve the Doctor's

mind of prejudices which manifestly distort and interfere with the clearness of his views.

With this unfortunate and most incorrect assumption as to the origin of the article in the "Intelligencer," which pervades his next paragraph, and haunts him perpetually, the Doctor states the question at issue: he asserts it to be the following:—1. Should education be pervaded as far as possible with Christian truth throughout all its teaching **IN ADDITION** to direct religious instruction. Or, 2. Should Christian teaching be limited to "the direct inculcation of religious truth," while secular books are used for reading, geography, and history?

We demur to being impaled on the horns of the dilemma which the Doctor presents, and think we can express our own views in a somewhat different and preferable form. Dr. Murdoch, however, does not appeal to us, but to the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society, for a categorical response. It is unquestionably a matter within their province, and from them alone any binding resolution can proceed. We would not reiterate our own judgment, which can only be accepted for what it may be worth, but the Doctor has implicated us in the controversy. We are thankful, then, to find that he does us the justice to believe that we held the first view to be "infinitely" preferable. If the decision of the question rested with us, and the authority wielded by the Governor-General in Council and the Home Government were at our disposal, we would unhesitatingly, to the very uttermost of Dr. Murdoch's wishes,—it would be impossible to go beyond them,—carry out his views, and resolve the question in conformity with the first alternative he offers. Unfortunately, however, the decision of the question does not rest with us, nor with the Church Missionary Society. We therefore would not, holding it to be necessary, shrink from acquiescence in the second alternative, and submitting in India to what we are submitting to in England, that the rising generation of Hindustan may not be transferred, bound hand and foot, to the mercy of secularists and infidels, of Hindus and Mohammedans, armed with all the prestige and influence of Government. We object to the manner in which the Doctor has framed his second alternative as not sufficiently describing the situation. We prefer submitting it somewhat in the following shape:—

"Should Missionaries, rather than that education should pass out of their hands altogether, so far conform to the requirements of the State as to furnish in their schools a specified amount of secular education, using in their schools secular books for reading, geography, and history, so long as they have perfect freedom of, and sufficient opportunity for, inculcating religious truth?"

If need so require, we cannot blame Church Missionaries or any Missionaries for acting in conformity with this, and thus exercising potential influence over multitudes whom they could not otherwise retain. At the same time we would heartily join in a crusade with Dr. Murdoch to obtain as much alteration in the terms on which the State furnishes its quota of assistance as may be possible, and feel grateful to him for the information which shows where there is necessity for a change.

From this Dr. Murdoch diverges into the most multifarious statements, gathered from all quarters, and illustrating every aspect of the question affecting education in India. His pamphlet is a most valuable collection of telling facts, which will be most serviceable to those engaged in carrying on the controversy with Government, but, without meaning the slightest disrespect, it presents a jungle into which we decline to follow him for fear we should be lost. The references to our article are few and far between, nor do we know that we can say, or wish to say, more upon the statements which he impugns than we have said already. We would only object to the gloss which (at p. 111.) he has put upon our remark, "that publications could be prepared

which, from their undoubted merit, could find admission even in Government Schools, and help to elevate the tone of the teaching there." We still think that by "wise management" this might be effected, but we may be wrong. In such books it might be that much "distinctively Christian" might be excluded if the object were to effect their introduction into Government Schools, as contradistinguished from Mission. But if any of the books already in use in Government schools are so bad and so mischievous as Dr. Murdoch represents, it would be clear gain to introduce books in which a large infusion of "natural religion," recognizing the existence of God, and referring to Him as the Supreme Governor of all things, and Judge of all men, might have distinct place. We do not, however, lay any particular stress upon the topic, for in a certain sense it does not concern us as interested especially in Missionary effort. Dr. Murdoch in the conclusion of his pamphlet, puts a question, "Can the Divine blessing be expected to attend schools where *reading-books* are used from which the name of Christ is deliberately excluded?" As we have already reiterated, we wish, as much and as heartily as Dr. Murdoch himself, that such books were not used; but so long as in these schools the Bible, which is the Word of God, which is able to make men wise unto salvation, which tells the whole tale of Jesus Christ and Him crucified, is daily read, taught, explained and enforced, unmutated and undefiled, we can believe that the abundant blessing invoked by prayer can be poured out upon these schools. We think that, upon more mature reflection, the Doctor himself will agree with us, lest he should be found most unintentionally yet rashly putting dishonour on the efficacy of the Word of God and the power of prayer. We are sorry to differ from one whom we so much respect; but we should not be honest to our own convictions, and what we really feel to be the cause of truth, if we did not thus meet his direct challenge with a direct reply. At the same time we most heartily subscribe to the wisdom of the resolution of the Church Missionary Society sent out to its Madras Committee:—

"That in the choice of school books it is important to use such as have a Christian tendency in preference to those from which all Christian truth has been eliminated." We do furthermore most cordially agree with Dr. Ewart's rule, that in all Missionary Institutions "the conversion of sinners to God should be the chief aim, and all the other machinery of the school subordinate to this (p. 115).

THE GOSPEL AT FORT SIMPSON.

(Continued from page 64).

July 9: Lord's-day—A storm came over this morning when we were at Indian service, and another when we were at English service. The timbers at the end of the church creaked very much, so much so as to make some of my congregation rather nervous and fidgety. The body of the church leans to one side, and the tower is twisted, but I do not think there is any danger of it falling at present. The wind blew down the flag-staff whilst we were in church. Nearly twenty Indians present in the afternoon. I had written out in large characters and pinned upon the wall the creed, decalogue, and four hymns, which seemed to interest them.

July 10—Recommended school.

July 16: Lord's-day—Nearly all the Pro-

testants at English service in the morning, but not so many in the evening. The intense heat prevented several from coming. A good attendance of Indians in the afternoon.

July 18—Three additional scholars this morning. The last few days have been intensely hot. Been busied in the garden.

July 23: Lord's-day—Owing to the great heat we were obliged to have English service in the open air under the shadow of the church in the evening. Not many Indians at service in morning, but between thirty and forty in afternoon.

July 29—Visited the Indian camp.

Aug. 2—An Indian woman, who had gone across the river to gather berries, gave birth to a little boy there. She was, of

course, quite unprepared with any thing to wrap the baby in, so the poor little thing was put in a bale cover. None of the other women would allow her to return in the canoes with them; so they tied two together, and she sat between them on two sticks, and returned in that way. In this uncomfortable position she had to remain until they reached the Fort, a distance of more than a mile, and partly against a strong current. When they reached the Fort, instead of landing her near her own lodge they deposited her above the camps, whence she had to make a circuit through the trees to the back of the encampment opposite her own lodge. From thence she was carried on a pole by a couple of wives. All this, is the result of superstition. A woman who has just been confined is not allowed to walk upon or cross a man's track. Sometimes, for the same cause, a poor woman is obliged to walk through the deep snow when there is a beaten track close by.

Aug. 13: Lord's-day—All the services well, attended to-day. In the morning I spoke about the small attendance at evening service and was pleased to see most of the people present this evening.

Aug. 20: Lord's-day—Attendance at Indian service pretty good, but not quite so large as usual. Evening service poorly attended owing probably to the rough weather.

Aug. 21—The Peel's River boats arrived about noon. A Loucheux chief accompanied them, and eight other Loucheux and Peel's River Indians. I received a very interesting letter from Mr. Andrew Flett, giving some encouraging news about the "good work" at Peel's River, and two from the Rev. Mr. McDonald. Held prayers this evening in church. All the Loucheux attended. I was much pleased with their conduct. I could not speak to them nor understand them, so they repeated and sang a hymn, and repeated the creed, after which I addressed them through the interpreter. They then sang another hymn and repeated two or three prayers. A hunchback, called Peter, led them in the prayers and hymns, and another Indian in the creed. I was very much pleased to learn from Mrs. McLeod, who came up with the boats, that she has been endeavouring to instruct some of the Indians at Fort Norman. She has taught two or three of them the two short prayers I wrote out for her, and one of them the decalogue in addition. Nideshi assisted her in instructing them. She has

been somewhat better since I left Fort Norman.

Aug. 23—Been through some translations with Mrs. Leask. Visited the sick Indian. Prayers in Slavé only; only one Loucheux present, Peter, who sang a couple of hymns and repeated the creed and three prayers by himself after the others had departed. He seems an earnest Christian. It is most cheering to see how well these Loucheux remember what they have been taught, and how seriously they perform their devotions. Surely our brother's work has not been in vain in the Lord. I thank God and take courage.

Aug. 25—Prayers in English and Loucheux. No Slavés present. Vaccinated the remaining Loucheux. A fair wind for the Portage boats, but they have not arrived yet.

Aug. 27: Lord's-day—Services pretty well attended. The Loucheux did not attend in the afternoon, owing probably to their fear of taking cold upon their inoculated arms, as it had been raining hard.

Aug. 28—To our great relief and delight all the boats (13) arrived about noon, bringing with them Mr. Kenneth McDonald and our supplies, both of which we were very pleased to see. A Roman Catholic bishop, three priests, and a brother also accompanied them. The bishop, two priests, and the brother are going to Fort Good Hope, the other priest to Fort Liard. All the crews have had good health. There never was less sickness.

Sept. 1—I was much discouraged yesterday by the conduct of Yamitsu's brother, whom I have been visiting all the summer. I visited him three or four times every week, read and prayed with him, and gave him meat and barley whenever he liked to send. He appeared to receive my visits with pleasure, paid great attention to what I read, and audibly repeated the prayer after me. But on going to him yesterday he told me he belonged to the priest and did not wish me to read to him. This I suspect is the priest's doings. In fact, the reason he gave was that the priest had given him some medicine. He has been suffering all the summer from a very bad whitlow, along with other diseases, and been scarcely able to move from his lodge; but I had no medicine to do him any good, nor any bread to make poultices. Had I a good stock of medicines I might have many more opportunities of doing good. Even when the doctor is at the Fort I have many applications for medicines.

Sept. 2—Been busily engaged all the week in opening our supplies, reading our letters and visiting the people. Prayers every evening. They have not been well attended. There is too much bustle and excitement.

Sept. 3: Lord's-day—Much larger congregations to-day, but not so large as I expected considering the number of people here. Preached a sermon on the preciousness and power of the Bible, in aid of the Native Pastorate Fund. Collected upwards of 30*l.* for it and the Clergy, Widow, and Orphans' Fund, and shall probably receive some more subscriptions.

Sept. 5—Three boats left for winter quarters—two for Peel's River, one for Good Hope. Mr. K. McDonald accompanied the former. May he be accompanied by God's presence and spirit, and add to the number of those whom his brother has already brought into the fold of Christ. Have had several applications for medicine.

Sept. 15—Left Fort Simpson on the 7th, and reached Fort Liard this morning about 8 a.m.; left again in the evening about five p.m.

We received another instance of the bigotry and opposition of the Romanists. Last winter a dying Indian gave his little daughter, a girl of eight or nine years, to Mr. Brass, the post-master at Fort Nelson, with an earnest injunction never to give her to a half-breed. Ever since that time one of the half-breed women has been using her utmost endeavours to get possession of the girl, in order to hand her over to the priest. The grandmother also wished to have her: but owing to the ill-treatment which the child received at her hands (she one day cut her head with an axe), Mr. Brass would not give her up. Twice the grandmother tried to kidnap her, but failed, and to-day again, in conjunction with two other Indian women, she tried to carry her off. They were only prevented after a long struggle with Mrs. Brass, by Mrs. McLean calling in a man to her assistance. The girl's arm was nearly broken in the struggle. Mr. Brass having a family of his own does not wish to keep her, and agreed to hand her over to me, and to send her back with me. This got wind in some way, hence the attempt to carry her off.

Sept. 26—We reached Fort Nelson about three p.m., having been eleven days coming from Fort Liard. Had prayers every evening in English and Indian when practicable. The Indians have not yet arrived.

Sept. 29—Two large brigades of Indians have arrived to-day. The first brigade of twenty-eight canoes arrived just as we were at dinner. They fired their guns as they drifted down the stream, and were saluted in return by the Indians at the Fort. By the time I had finished dinner they were all on the top of the bank. I went up to one of them, a tall, fine-looking man, with a cap gaily trimmed with ribbons and feathers, whom I mistook for the chief, and held out my hand. At first he would not take it, until one of the others said something to him; he then shook hands with me. Soon another brigade of twenty-six canoes hove in sight. They were saluted as the others. Two other canoes came up the river, so that fifty-six canoes have arrived to-day. There are about seventy adults here. Only a few of the families have come. As soon as they had deposited their meat, &c., in the store, the three chiefs, and some of the others, assembled to have a palaver. I spoke to them, telling them I had come to teach them about God, and to instruct them in those things, which belong to their everlasting welfare. One of them replied that as many of them were sick, they would have felt very grateful if I had brought some medicine to do them good, and they would also be very thankful for some tobacco. I said I was sorry I had no medicine; but if I lived to come again, I would endeavour to bring some, and try to heal them; but as to the tobacco I had not come to trade with them, but to try to benefit their souls. I spoke to some of them again in the course of the evening.

Oct. 2—Left Fort Nelson this morning. I cannot speak very encouragingly of my visit. The Indians appeared very cold and careless for the most part. Mr. and Mrs. Brass have treated me with great kindness during my short stay. May God reward them.

Oct. 5—Reached Fort Liard at sunrise, and left at sunset. Baptized two children belonging to Company's servants, and expounded 1 Peter iii. 8, &c. There are several Loucheux Indians here, Company's servants or wives of Company's servants.

Oct. 8: Lord's-day—I hoped, by drifting with the stream, to reach the Fort by mid-day, in time to have service, but, in attempting to run the rapid, we first half filled the boat with water and nearly swamped it, and then broke it. These accidents caused so much delay that it was nearly dark when we arrived. Found all well at home.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF NEW ZEALAND.

IN his very interesting book, "Christianity among the New Zealanders," the Bishop of Waiapu remarks that 10,000 of the men of Kent were baptized under the direction of Augustine before he had lived twelve months in his new diocese. The Christianity of the converts must have been of a most superficial character, and their ignorance extreme, even of the superstitions into which they were indoctrinated. Still, among the converts there were doubtless some conscious of the truths contained in the new religion which they had adopted, and through them it was propagated to succeeding generations. In New Zealand, on the other hand, after nearly twenty years of labour, the Native Christians did not exceed fifty. Infinite pains had been taken to furnish them with solid instruction, and so solicitous had the Missionaries been to obtain an insight into general character. "The consequence was, that of the number baptized there was scarcely an instance in which there was cause for regret." When, at a period shortly subsequent, the Christian leaven began to work potentially, and candidates for baptism to increase much, the Bishop remarks that the Missionaries felt the necessity of using extreme caution in receiving their professions; fearing that they might often proceed from a desire to conform to the views of their neighbours now that an avowal of their principles no longer drew on them shame or reproach. The utmost care was then, as far as possible, exercised with each individual case, but general indications of a change of feeling, such as a total cessation from war and discontinuance of petty quarrels to which they were addicted, had, to a considerable extent, to be relied on when numbers had to be dealt with. At a later period, when Christianity came to be received on an extensive scale, there would often be an incongruous mixture of the good and the bad. The new doctrines were frequently engrafted upon a stock which yet retained much of the old superstition, and there were many in whom the change was little more than external. Where there was a wide field to be occupied, and a limited number of Missionaries, it could not well be otherwise. While there were many who were Christians indeed, there were numerous cases of painful inconsistency freely acknowledged by the Missionaries, such as are frequently to be met with in a Christian Church newly established. This was the aspect of the Maori Church in 1839, twenty-four years after the first introduction of Christianity into the island.

Up to that period New Zealand might be said to have been in the hands of the Maoris and the Missionaries. Few Europeans, and those mostly of a disorderly character, had with difficulty obtained a precarious settlement here and there on the coasts. These examples, so far as it extended, had been evil, but the mischief had not spread far, nor had it wrought serious damage. The Maoris generally knew the Europeans who had ventured their lives among them to be beneficent. They had witnessed in them holy lives, and had received from them the Gospel of salvation. If we make all reasonable allowance for human infirmity, Christianity had come before them, not merely as a revelation contained in a book, but there had been also within their reach "living epistles" which could be known and read of all men. Without, then, any adventitious aid from secular power, or any collateral help beyond what superior intelligence in many arts of civilization could supply, with, too, most defective means for exemplifying them, the religion of Jesus Christ had won its way to the hearts and consciences of multitudes, while the rest of the Maori race were almost persuaded to be Christians. It would be a curious matter for speculation to imagine what might have been the future of the Maoris if they had been left to themselves, thus transformed and subdued so far under the powers of the Gospel. Whatever else might have been the result, there would have been time for the gracious influences which they had experienced to become thoroughly amalgamated with all their thoughts and feelings. In 1840, to the mass of the Maoris who had become obedient to the faith, Christianity was still a new and untried thing.

With few exceptions, all who had embraced it had been trained up in the midst of the most debasing idolatry, and the most revolting superstitions. Without any impeachment of their sincerity, there must have been among them, in their past lives, the most thorough familiarity with evil. It must have been a hard struggle for them "to put off the old man which was corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, and to put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness." Still it is possible to conceive, that if no powerful adverse influences had been brought to bear on them, there might have been much spiritual growth. The rising generation, trained with care in the doctrines and practices of Christianity, and witnessing the rapid decay of the ancient superstitions of their fathers, might, under such auspicious circumstances, have presented a most wonderful spectacle of the efficacy of Gospel teaching, as well as have been adequately prepared to resist effectually the counter influences which too soon made searching trial into the secret of their strength. For our own part, we marvel at the faith, the perseverance, the holy consistency which are recorded in numerous instances of these neophytes, and can therefrom appreciate the care and the fidelity of these wise master builders, who, out of such materials, had raised up a living Church.

It may be convenient to remind our readers that it was in 1839 the first settlement, under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, was formed at Port Nicholson. We do not know that we can do better than place before our readers the wise and dispassionate view taken by the Bishop of Waiapu on this most important change in the relation of the Maoris to the Europeans.

For twenty-five years a Mission had been carried on among the New Zealanders, for the purpose of instructing them in the principles of Christianity, which was now beginning to bear fruit, and there was much reason to fear that this new scheme might hinder a work which was happily progressing. Besides which, although the most liberal professions were made by the Company in favour of religion, and the welfare of the native race, the first and only object aimed at was the interests of those who took up this matter as a speculation, while the Company was wholly irresponsible even to the English government for the course it might pursue. On the other hand, it may be justly argued that it was unreasonable that a country, as extensive as the whole of the British Isles, should be reserved for the sole occupation of a race of people who numbered no more inhabitants than are to be found in a moderate-sized English town. When the Divine command was given to our first parents, that they should replenish the earth and subdue it, without doubt it was intended that the earth should be occupied by their descendants as it might be required, and that its wild wastes should be subdued by cultivation, and made serviceable for the human race. It soon became apparent that colonization would proceed, and the English government felt it necessary to interfere. A large body of colonists were going to a new country with-

out any reference to the government, and it became necessary that they, as British subjects, should be kept under the authority of the state. Captain Hobson, therefore, was appointed to negotiate a treaty with the natives for the cession of the sovereignty of the country, in order that colonization might be conducted in immediate connexion with the state. He arrived in New Zealand in January, 1840, and the Treaty of Waitangi was signed on the 30th day of that month. In carrying out these measures, which were attended with some difficulty, the governor received every assistance from the Missionaries, who obtained the signatures of the native chiefs to the treaty, and thus secured the quiet settlement of the government. This was afterwards most handsomely acknowledged by the governor.

The colonists began now to crowd rapidly into the country, and it must in all fairness be acknowledged that the body of settlers introduced by the Company were as unexceptionable as could have been chosen. Many gentlemen of the highest respectability were the leaders of the undertaking, and the mechanics and labourers who accompanied them were, as a whole, a well-selected and respectable class of people. A large proportion of them were from the agricultural districts of England, and were ready at once to fall into those occupations which they had followed at home.

Although these new arrangements were effected amicably, and in the first relations of the two races there was great consideration shown to the Maoris, still the advent of the colonists was not unmixd with evil. It is often a charge brought against Missionaries that they denationalize their converts. Some changes in their habits, and even in their dress, it may often be necessary to introduce. In certain cases, decency absolutely requires it. In New Zealand, however, it was from the introduction of European customs by the colonists that the Maori was led to lay aside many of the peculiarities of his forefathers, and to transform himself, often with doubtful success, into an European. Far more fatal, however, were the habits of drunkenness which were engendered in the natives, which law became powerless, in manifold instances, to restrain. Still, for a time, the accessions to Christianity continued to be unceasing; they increased in number rapidly. In an old Report we read, "It is with feelings of holy astonishment, no less than of thankfulness, that the Committee reviews the progress of the Society's labours in New Zealand." Before advertng to more painful matters, we cannot refrain from quoting the following description of the Maoris furnished in lectures delivered by Mr. Swainson, H.M. Attorney-General for New Zealand. It is an account of the development of industrial pursuits, and the movement towards civilization among the natives during the sixteen years which elapsed from the period when Captain Hobson was appointed the first governor of New Zealand:—

Not only have the New Zealanders become converts to Christianity, but instead of being occupied, as formerly, in a state of constant and destructive warfare, they are now, for the most part, a peaceable and industrious people, occupied in various departments of productive industry, acquiring property to a considerable amount, and the principal producers of the bread-stuffs grown within the colony, and large and increasing consumers of British manufactures.

Large numbers of their children are now receiving religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language,

and are boarded, lodged, and clothed in schools which receive aid from the public funds.

For Scripture history, writing, geography, and mental arithmetic, they are found to possess considerable aptitude. Of 104 adult labourers, employed some time ago by the Royal Engineer Department, it was found that all were able to read the New Testament (in their own language), and that all but two could write: a statement which could probably not be made of an equal number of labourers so employed in the most civilized country in the world.

From the foregoing, it may be gathered that a season of much external prosperity attended the Church of New Zealand during the period immediately antecedent to the colonization of the islands, and for some subsequent years. Nor was this prosperity wholly specious and unsubstantial. To many the Gospel came, "not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." There was much hope, and joy, and peace in believing. Many, too, died in the faith of Christ, and, we may confidently believe, are before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple. If the work of the Church Missionary Society had ended there, it would not have been labour in vain, or money and time been unprofitably spent. The risk of life endured by the early Missionaries would have been more than amply repaid by the ingathering of souls in the garner of the Lord.

Unfortunately, however, from the very outset of the colonization of New Zealand there were difficult questions springing up. These might be briefly summed up in the formula that "the Maoris had land and the Europeans wished for it." In defence of the latter it might be urged that vast tracts of this land were turned to no account by those who claimed to be its owners, and that the prudent regulations enforced by Government for the sale and appropriation of territory were in reality a defence to the Maori, who would have, if left to himself, despoiled himself of his possessions for the grati-

fication of any passing fancy, much as Esau sold his birthright. Still, if we approach the question, as the Maori no doubt approached it, it must have been with uncomfortable feelings that he witnessed the appropriation and fencing in of tracts over which he had heretofore roamed the undisputed lord and master. He ought, perhaps, to have submitted more cheerfully, and with less repining, to the change; but we have only to look across the Channel to see how deadly are the feuds springing out of territorial quarrels, and how prone men are to bring in feelings of ill-will arising out of them into all their dealings with strangers and rivals. The hostility in Ireland against England in more recent years may partly be traced to religious differences, but the animosity has been inflamed by the ceaseless feuds arising out of disputes about land questions, dating from a period antecedent to the existence of the terms Protestant and Romanist. Be this, however, as it may, while Christianity was yet a new thing to the Maori, he had to encounter the shock of beholding his ancestral possessions passing into the hands of those professing the same creed with the teachers of his new faith. At first these lands were so practically illimitable, and there was, we believe, such an anxious desire to do as much justice as possible to native claims, that the difficulty was not severely felt. Still it had an existence. By the Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed in January, 1840, by a large portion of the chiefs, on the express stipulation that their territorial rights should be respected, the sovereignty of the islands was ceded to the Queen. A fair equivalent was given for such lands as were required, and, during the two and a-half years of Captain Hobson's administration "considerable tracts of land became, by purchase, the demesne lands of the Crown." The New Zealand Company had, however, been most precipitate in their action. Though officially warned that their proceedings would not be sanctioned by the Government in England, they disposed of lands in New Zealand, which they offered for sale by lottery, to the amount of more than 100,000*l*. These lands had not yet been purchased by their agents, and when the colonists proceeded to take possession of them, the natives, who had not been parties to the sale, viewing the settlers as unauthorized intruders, opposed their occupation of the land. In July, 1843, the first collision occurred, about seventy miles from Nelson, in which "upwards of twenty Europeans, including nearly all the leading members of the Nelson settlement, were tomahawked or shot." About this time a resolution was come to in the House of Commons, violating the stipulations of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was to the effect, that "measures ought to be forthwith adopted for establishing the exclusive title of the Crown to land not actually occupied and enjoyed by the natives." Out of this resolution arose serious disturbances, headed by Heki, in the northern part of the island, which were with difficulty quelled, and which would not have been subdued if the masses had not, by the devoted exertions of Bishop Selwyn and the Missionaries, among whom may be specified the Rev. O. Hadfield, now the Bishop of Wellington, been brought to believe that there was no intention on the part of the British Government to set aside the Treaty of Waitangi, and seize their lands. It is natural, however, to suppose that there must have been thenceforth much rankling discontent still abiding in many, especially in those who, not having heartily received Christianity, might still be much alienated in heart from the Gospel, and those who taught it.

We would not wish for a moment to depreciate the noble self-devotion, and the unwearied and self-denying labours of Bishop Selwyn, who, almost immediately after the colonization of New Zealand, had been consecrated as Bishop of the newly-created See. We would be forward to recognize the large-heartedness with which, without sparing himself, he flung himself heart and soul into the work to which he had been called. But it is a subject of ceaseless regret that at this most serious crisis there

should have been sent out into the colony a Bishop whose chief qualifications for the task were fervent zeal and chivalrous gallantry. Missionary experience he had none. His antecedents were those of a College Don and an Eton Master. It would be doing him grievous injustice to imagine or assert that he placed for one moment knowledge above love. But it no doubt presented serious difficulty to the accomplished scholar, who had just recently quitted the precincts of the finest learning, to realize the fact that men who, as he himself described it, could "readily find any passage in the New Testament which might be quoted," and who delighted him, "above all, by their acquaintance with the Scriptures," could lay claim to no other literary qualifications. It was a hard thing for him to send them forth without them, as Native Missionaries, to edify their countrymen. In a recent publication, "Under her Banner," the significant fact is stated, that although Bishop Selwyn arrived in the diocese in 1842, no native was ordained deacon till 1853, eleven years after his arrival. A college was established, through which every candidate for holy orders was required to pass, which eventually proved a failure. We shall not be suspected of being what is commonly called Sacramentarians, but we cannot help adverting to another curious fancy of the Bishop's. This was an attempt to establish a lengthened diaconate. Several of the Society's Missionaries were kept in deacons' orders for nearly ten or fourteen years, notwithstanding the entreaties and applications of the Committee; and these ministers, being at the time in charge of large districts, containing many hundred native communicants, there not unfrequently occurred an interval of twelve months before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper could be administered by some distant Missionary in full orders, and many aged and infirm persons were wholly cut off from an ordinance which, by the Native Christians of New Zealand, is greatly prized. A European catechist, subsequently ordained, the Rev. T. Hamlin, but whose ordination had long been delayed, and who, as a catechist, had to meet in the best way he could the requirements of a large district complained—

I am sorry to say the priests have gained a considerable advantage here, from the weak state in which this district has always been left. No ordained minister having been placed here, our people always have been, and still are, put to great inconvenience for the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and are thus become a reproach to their Popish neighbours. They are con-

sequently much discouraged; and, as I have before remarked, some of them have joined the Papists. I hear, indeed, that the Rev. Christopher Davies has been appointed to Whakataane by the Bishop; but, as he is only in deacons' orders, this will not facilitate the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

A Missionary who had laboured effectively in the Mission from the year 1830, but who was not admitted into priests' orders until 1852, remarked:—

What, then, remains, but to urge upon the consideration of that branch of the Christian Church to which we belong more comprehensive measures than have hitherto been adopted for evangelizing New Zealand? And, to be effective, these measures must include the organization of a system that shall gather into the bosom of the Church—not negatively, but operatively—the thousands who, having received baptism in

infancy, are growing up in ignorance and disregard of all that belongs to their baptismal vow. This must soon be done, or we shall have done nothing. Everywhere, where first steps have been taken, first-fruits have been gathered in: but the harvest has not been secured, and the seed-corn for the coming season is left to mildew, if not to perish.

It was thus that, in the pursuit of some fancied ideal, an excellent and enthusiastic prelate, in the hour of the Church's great need, deprived her of the efficiency of ordained ministrations, and of "the most comfortable sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." It is highly probable that the candidates who had laboured zealously in the

conversion of souls, and had gathered in their hundreds and thousands into the bosom of the Church, may not have been learned scholars; but they had given more than abundant proof of their ministry, and there was sore and urgent need. Can it be any marvel, then, that when the Bishop, at a Synod summoned by himself at Wellington in 1859, proposed a resolution that the Church Missionary Society should resign into the hands of the clergy and laity of the country their present charge of the native settlement, it was met without a division with a direct negative, and there was a declaration made "that there had never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment?"

It is with extreme reluctance that we have adverted to these unfortunate errors of judgment, as we deem them, in one worthy of most high honour; but it is impossible to make it clear otherwise, how, at the momentous crisis which intervened between the treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and the outbreak of hostilities in 1860, the action of the Church was paralyzed, notwithstanding the personal zeal and activity of the Bishop, conceits which would not seriously have affected the well-being of the Church at home, and would have been corrected by the more sober judgment of the rest of the Episcopate, were well nigh fatal in an infant Church just emerging from the slough of heathenism. It was the last body on which curious experiments should have been tried, and dreams attempted to be realized. Had there been then, during that period, in full activity an efficient, Scripture loving and Scripture teaching, if not learned native ministry, who would, from their position, have acquired influence among their brethren, and spoken to their hearts as no stranger can, while their status would have been identified with the European clergy; and if, moreover, the sacrament of our Lord's institution had been freely and constantly administered, forming a bond of union throughout the Church, we cannot help thinking many subsequent troubles might have been largely diminished, if not wholly averted.

It would be impossible within our limits to review in detail the course of events between the first colonization of New Zealand and the outbreak of hostilities at Taranaki in 1860; nor if our limits would permit, do we care to re-open vexed questions, and to apportion blame or to vindicate right. We content ourselves with accepting the fact that disturbances arose about land, and that many of the natives, in the irritation of the period, sought to shake off the authority of the Queen, and to establish a King of their own procuring. Probably the most ardent colonist would admit that in some respects the natives had been hardly treated, and the most enthusiastic partisan of the natives that they had been guilty of some wrong. It is rather with the results of this fearful contest, than with the causes of it, that our contention is just now.

The smouldering jealousy, which had so long existed, burst out into a fierce flame. In the beginning the war was carried on without any disgraceful excesses. Without any impeachment of the humanity any more than of the gallantry of our soldiers, it may safely be asserted that the Maori, under the influence of the Christian teaching which had replaced his old superstitions, was not found deficient in such honourable and kindly conduct as is compatible with the stern requirements of war. We refrain from reproducing instances which have been duly recorded in the various publications of the Church Missionary Society. So far, however deeply the struggle was to be lamented, there was nothing unusual in the circumstances of it. The strain, however, was very great on Christianity which had been nominally accepted by masses who, from shortness of time as well as lack of suitable ministrations, had not become rooted and grounded in the faith. With too many the seed had fallen in stony places: they had heard the word, and with joy received it; yet had they no root in themselves, but had believed for a while, and in time of temptation they fell away. As the struggle

was prolonged, passions became embittered; the prejudice against the foreigner waxed stronger and stronger; defeat overwhelmed the spirits and soured the tempers of the Maoris, who saw the fair land for which they had spilt their blood so freely passing away for ever under the strong arm of the stranger. There were some—we can rejoice in believing that there were many—who held fast the faith, and would not, even in such trying circumstances, let go hold of the hope of their salvation. But it was not so with all. And then arose that fearful outbreak of native superstition designated as the *Pai Marire*. It is such a singular combination of native superstition and of Romanism, that it is impossible to refrain from saying, "An enemy hath done this." *

We have already adverted to the spiritual destitution in which Opotiki, where Mr. Völkner was murdered, was so long left. When, in 1854, Mr. Davies was compelled from ill-health to withdraw, the place was left for five years without a Missionary, with a Romish priest living in the midst of 500 natives. In 1861 the Rev. E. B. Clarke, who visited the place, found that the communicants had dwindled from sixty-four in the previous year to twenty-six. "They are indeed," he said, "as sheep without a shepherd; and if there be one place in New Zealand which needs the prayers of the Lord's people, that place is Opotiki." ("Church Missionary Record," 1861, p. 388.) Had there been even a native clergyman in full orders there, how different might have been the conduct of the people?

We repeat, then, that we cannot sufficiently deplore that such a fearful calamity as this terrible war should have overtaken the New Zealand Church, with the builders so far separated one from another. "Bishop," said one of the chiefs of Opotiki to Bishop Williams, "many years ago we received this faith from you; now we return it to you, for there has been found a new and precious thing by which we shall keep the land." As it has been heretofore stated in our own pages, there can be no question that in a frenzied moment the great body of the Maori nation cast Christianity away from them, at any rate for a season, and under the turbulent excitement of warlike passions inflamed with a sense of real or fancied wrong.

Such may be described to be the condition of the Maori race in 1866. The adversary will say, "Will you revive the stones out of the heaps of the rubbish which are burned?" To this we would unhesitatingly answer, "Yes, God helping us, we will." The answer of a Missionary of forty years' standing, when consulted at this crisis, was, "I certainly think that we should not relax in our efforts in gathering in the scattered portion of our Native Church as opportunity offers; but, on the contrary, put forth all our energies to repair damages." In a similar spirit did the devoted Missionaries of the

* The followers shall be called "*Pai Marire*."

The angel Gabriel with his legions will protect them from their enemies.

The Virgin Mary will constantly be present with them.

The religion of England as taught by the Scriptures is false.

The Scriptures must all be burnt.

All days are alike sacred, and no notice must be taken of the Christian Sabbath.

Men and women must live together promiscuously, so that their children may be as the sand of the sea for multitude.

The priests have superhuman power, and can obtain for their followers complete victories, by uttering vigorously the word "*Hau*."

The people who adopt this religion will shortly drive the whole European population out of New

Zealand. This is only [prevented now by the head not having completed its circuit of the whole land.

Legions of angels await the bidding of the priests to aid the Maoris in exterminating the Europeans.

Immediately the Europeans are destroyed and driven away, men will be sent from heaven to teach the Maoris all the arts and sciences now known by Europeans.

The priests have the power to teach the Maoris the English language in one lesson, provided certain stipulations are carefully observed, namely, the people to assemble at a certain time, in a certain position, near a flag-staff of a certain height, bearing a flag of certain colours.—"Church Missionary Intelligencer," 1865, p. 237.

Society, who, in some cases at the peril of their lives, had endured throughout all these troubles, address themselves to the work of restoration. While faint-hearted bystanders would fain have urged them to desist, they resisted manfully, and ventured boldly into the central seats of the disturbance. In our review of events we allow a little time to elapse that there may be some opportunity for recovery from the perturbation which had filled the land with bloodshed and violence.

In December, 1870, Mr. Burrows writes:—"You will doubtless learn from our Missionary brethren that there is an improvement in various parts of our Mission field, in the attendance of the people upon the services of the Church. The Hauhau superstition seems to be dying out; and some of those who practised it have returned to our worship."

In 1871, at the Synod which was held at Dunedin, the Bishop of Waiapu reports:—"The great cause of all the evil, and out of which grew the Hauhau superstition, was the land. After a great destruction of life and property, both on our part and among the natives, his Excellency the Governor, with the advice of his ministers, came to the conclusion that we were wrong in the step we had taken about Waitara (the cause of the war), and it was decided that it should be given up. This decision was never objected to by the House of Representatives." He then goes on to say:—

Amidst all the adverse circumstances through which the Christian party has to struggle, they have not only held their ground, but there is a decided improvement going on. There are seven Native Clergymen, all active and zealous men, whose income is derived from separate endowment funds which have been raised by the natives. The best criterion of sincerity may be drawn from the number of communicants. From the year 1865 to 1867, while the fighting was almost continuous, there was a general depression in religious matters. In 1868, the communicants along the East Coast were 400; in 1869 they increased to 540; and during last year they were upwards of 600.

The Bishop of Wellington has given us the following information relative to his diocese:—

"Many natives who had professed to be Hauhaus have recently returned to the Church. In the Otaki district there has

been a larger attendance at both Sunday and daily services. I have not been able to form a definite opinion as to the districts of Wanganui and Wairarapa. The former has, till lately, been much disturbed by war, many of the population being employed as soldiers in the service of the Government.

"The most striking feature of the Maori Church is, that so much work is done by laymen acting as preachers and teachers. Many men have acted consistently and perseveringly during many years in these capacities, from a mere sense of duty, without any remuneration of any kind. The average number of communicants in the Otaki district is 150."

The whole number of the Native Clergymen in connexion with the Church of England is 14, and there are many applications for additional clergymen, whose support the natives are ready to undertake.

But there were also brighter prospects. In the "Church Missionary Record" for December, 1871, there is an interesting account furnished by Archdeacon Clarke, of the consecration of two churches by Bishop Cowie. Both these churches owed their existence to the exertions of a Christian native, Reihana. Each of them cost 300*l.*, which was collected by the natives only. The Archdeacon pertinently asks, "In the face of these evidences of life, who can say that Mission life amongst the Maoris is a failure? We admit," he says, "that there has been a great falling off, and we joyfully hail these signs of returning vitality." In a similar strain, Archdeacon Williams, writing in June, 1871, after detailing the interest manifested by the Native Church Board at Waiapu in parochial organization and education, and also in the support of a Native Minister, for which liberal collections had been made, observes, "It is quite evident that a decided reaction is now taking place from the apathy and demoralization which was the result of the war; and, with God's help, this may be so followed up and

directed, as to be made productive of permanent good for the people, by the advancement among them of the kingdom of our blessed Lord and Saviour."

We forbear from multiplying quotations to a similar effect, which abound in the communications made by the Missionaries to the Committee in England; but those who care for further confirmation of hopeful prospects in New Zealand will find many in an interesting article on the subject in the "Church Missionary Record," for 1872, among them letters from Native Ministers, which will repay perusal.

Such, then, is some imperfect delineation of the bright side of affairs in New Zealand so far as regards the spiritual condition of the natives. It might have been largely supplemented, and the effect proportionately heightened; but there is unquestionably also a dark side, to which it is necessary now to advert. It would have been a miracle if so furious a contest as has raged now for years in New Zealand should have swept over it without desolating and demoralizing influences. As war brings famine and pestilence in its train, so it also affects perniciously the souls of men; in its origin, as in its course, the worst passions of our fallen nature predominate. The Christian Maoris were not angels; they still retained many of the failings and evil propensities incident to humanity: these were called forth by the bitter feelings engendered by the contest. Many broke loose from the restraints of Christianity, to which, in happier times, they had voluntarily submitted, and cast away from them the light yoke of the Lord Jesus Christ. It was as though a deluge had swept over the land: when its fury was spent, and men went to contemplate its effects, they witnessed desolation. The same letters which speak of hope tell also of ruin: if they promise light, it is light which is to arise out of darkness. For instance, Archdeacon Browne writes, Nov. 80, 1871:—

I have been looking through the Journals kept by me for the past year, and I would willingly avoid a response to the question, "Watchman, what of the night?" Clouds and darkness have compassed us around.

Our trials in the early days of the Mission were altogether different in kind to those we now experience. We had then to grapple with unmitigated heathenism and its attendant horrors of cannibalism, murder, and infanticide, yet the Word and Spirit of God brought the Maoris into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and year by year we were permitted to rejoice in a gathered Church. Then commenced trials still more trying to faith and patience. Civilization began to flow in,

drunkenness was introduced, and other vices shed their baneful influence. War soon followed. Then followed lukewarmness in the means of grace. Schools, public worship, prayer-meetings, the reading of the Bible, were all neglected; fanaticism in its bloodiest form was introduced; and "God, even our Saviour," forsaken for another god and another gospel; and though with the decline of war opposition is gradually becoming less, and a few are returning to the fold, yet the great majority are still wandering on the dark mountains. I speak of course only of the Natives in those districts where war has raged.

About the same time Mr. Taylor observes, on his return to the country, "that the natives, as a whole, have gone back, and it would be wonderful if they had not. Can any state be more demoralizing than that of war? I trust there is, in some respects, a reaction. They do not drink as they did, but they do not seem to think of things eternal as formerly; their first love has grown cold. Still the old men remain steadfast." In a later communication he speaks of the indifference manifested to religion at Putiki. "Some few," he says, "attend church, but most of them totally disregard the Sabbath; although they have given up the rites of Hauhauism, they entertain a very bitter feeling towards Europeans, which fear only keeps them from showing more openly." The Bishop of Wellington, with the observation that the natives no longer present the same uniform aspect that they once did, acting either for good or for bad as tribes and communities, but now individually, adds—"The effect of the late war in seriously lessening,

if not destroying confidence in the white man, is everywhere painfully visible. No less evident is the utter indifference of many to Christianity." He then proceeds to add some tokens of encouragement. On Hauhaism he observes that he has always regarded it as nothing more than a temporary and transient protest against absolute dependence on the white man. He views it as an effort towards independence, in reference to Church matters as Kingism was to the Government. Mr. Burrows remarks on the absence of any expression of regret that those who have returned from Hauhaism, for having engaged in so degrading and foolish a superstition. A very singular incident is mentioned in a letter from Mr. Taylor, dated April 10, 1872, showing the curious connexion between Hauhaism and Popery:—

We reached Koiro, where there are two huge crosses erected, which are very conspicuous objects. They are surmounted by some nondescript Hauha emblems. In the morning we passed Marai Kowai mill: this was built by the lay associate of the priests, professedly for much less than it would have

been done by others; and this sum was still further reduced by 50% on condition that they turned over to him; and those two crosses were the sign of their having agreed to do so. The mill is now in ruins, and the natives who thus sold themselves became Hauhaus.

Further on in the same letter he observes:—

I cannot doubt that Hauhaism, which took its rise from political causes, will die out when those causes cease. I find, also, that Popery has received a severe check since its agents tried to gain converts in such an unworthy way, by buying them over and making them faithless to their vows, and also by getting them to place confidence in them as being independent of the Queen, when they served the priest as he had taught them to serve their God, for they left him and became Hauhaus, and now, I have good hopes, are beginning to see their sin. After an abundant feast made for us, we took our departure with many kind farewells, and on

entering my canoe I found a large pig for Te Teira. At Kirikiriroa I preached from Ps. lix. 6, showing that some folly similar to Hauhaism existed even in the time of the Psalmist: that verse is singularly appropriate and descriptive of it in the Maori translation, "grin like a dog" being rendered by the word *tau*, to bark, which is the same as *hau* here used; and Hauha means a constant barking, which is most descriptive of their pretended worship, and a mere continuation of the way they formerly sung their song of defiance, one of the chief obstacles to the present progress of the Gospel.

In a later communication, dated July 3, 1872, he states:—

It is very perplexing to know what is the best to be done, so much deadness and indifference now prevails. The war has made a sad change, and it is doubtful which section of the native race has suffered the most, the hostile or loyal ones. Those only who managed to escape being drawn into the war

either on one side or the other seem to have retained the fear of God in their hearts; so that at present dear Mr. Venn's suggestion about training up young men for the ministry cannot be carried out, but only be borne in mind. I trust a reaction is perceptible.

In a most painful communication, dated November 26, 1872, Archdeacon Clarke writes:—

My last annual letter was a hopeful one; it spoke of a manifest improvement amongst the natives of this district; but, so far as the Waimate itself is concerned, I have been disappointed, though, I trust, not discouraged. The enemy has come in like a flood, and swept away many of my hopes. The last year has been one of cloud, though not without some sunshine, enough to keep us from thinking that our work is in vain. The cause of all this retrogression is the unresisted importation of spirits, and a corresponding amount of intemperance. During the worst times

November 26, 1872, Archdeacon Clarke

formerly, this settlement was held sacred; however much drink were sold in the neighbourhood, none was ever sold here. Now the charm is broken, and within five minutes' walk of the church is a place where intoxicating liquors can be bought wholesale. The spirits supplied are distilled in Auckland, which, while just as injurious as those of foreign manufacture, can be procured at a much cheaper rate. With the drink thus brought to their very doors, as it were, there are very few who can resist the temptation. To give an idea of the consumption, I may

mention that in less than eleven months about 2,500 gallons of spirits have been sold to a population of from 700 to 800 natives, including women and children. I have heard of as much as 120 gallons being consumed at one gathering, about fifteen miles from here. I have appealed to the Government to put a stop to this crying evil; but, owing to a flaw in the Act relating to the matter, the party thus selling is not acting illegally. I intend still to agitate the question, and to leave no

stone unturned until the object is attained.

Though this terrible work is going on, our services are well attended, and that by many who, while acknowledging the error of their ways, are unable to withstand their besetting sin. I am thankful to be able to report favourably of all the out-stations. There is an improvement in the tone of all those who are remote from the centres of—shall I say, civilization?—I mean drink.

Mr. Ashwell furnishes a painful account of the decrease of the population in the Waikato, where the war raged. During the period from 1856 to 1860 he had in the Taupiri district about 500 communicants and thirty chapels. Now, as near as he can calculate, there are only from 380 to 400 natives on the Waikato, while all beyond are Hauhaus. It seems needless to prosecute further this painful record, which tells its own sad tale. It can, then, be no matter of surprise that one most experienced Missionary should, after surveying the mournful prospect, declare, "When so much backwardness exists our work is in fact to be recommenced."

Such we really believe is the work which is before us. The spectacle may be compared to that which met the gaze of Nehemiah when he "went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon-well, and to the dung-port, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed by fire." So, too, we may say to the Church at home, "Ye see the distress we are in, how Jerusalem doth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach." As Nehemiah told of the hand of his God, which was good upon him, so we have indicated what grounds there are for help, and yet more we propose to add. We trust the response will be, "Let us rise up and build." So shall our hands be strengthened for the good work. Among these cheering indications we may notice especially the following most interesting account, furnished by Mr. Taylor in a letter dated Otaki, September 25th, 1872, and also notes of a meeting which was held two days previously:—

On Sunday, the 22nd September, an interesting sight was witnessed in the Otaki church. That large and fine specimen of Maori architecture was filled from one end to the other with a native congregation, and also with a fair sprinkling of Europeans, on the occasion of two natives being ordained as deacons by the Bishop of Wellington. The sight was extremely interesting. The building, with its congregation, were in unison with each other. The marked attention and air of reverence which pervaded the whole could not but make a favourable impression upon all who were present, and we trust it is also an evidence, that however low the state to which the Maori race has fallen during the continuance of the late sad war, their better feelings have not been altogether destroyed, and that more peaceable times will develop more satisfactory results. Of the two newly-ordained deacons, it is due to them to say that the elder, Rawiri Te Wannui, was bapt-

tized fully thirty years ago, and, during that long period, he has been a zealous teacher, without receiving any salary, and been equally respected by his minister and the natives as an uniformly consistent character. The same must also be testified of the other, Heneri Te Herekan, during the whole period of years which have elapsed since his baptism, both as a Christian and teacher; and if any further testimony were required, it would be the deep emotion evinced by the natives themselves on the occasion. To the Bishop himself it must have been deeply interesting to receive as deacons those who were so long ago baptized by him, the first-fruits of his labours, whose whole Christian life he had seen without having once had occasion for reproof. The Bishop's affectionate and stirring sermon drew tears from many of his native auditors. The offertory amounted to 5*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*

On the following morning we were requested to attend a large meeting summoned

to bid us welcome, and to consider the best way of supporting their ministers. I mentioned the kind offer of the Church Missionary Society to double the sum they might raise, but the great difficulty is sustained action: everything they do is by jerks: the effort is made, and then they think nothing more is required; but certainly at present they seem most anxious to do something: it appears as if a revival had commenced. They seem to be quite aware the Church is endeavouring to promote their best interests. One speaker stated his belief that the Government was doing no more for them as Christians than the Hauhaus; that it merely gave them public-houses and facilities of becoming sots; whilst the Church sought to raise them temporally as well as spiritually. Another speaker, alluding to the present state of the Church, and the efforts of its enemies, the Hauhaus and others, to destroy it, said the Church is like a rock standing up in the ocean, which, when the waves rage, is concealed by froth and foam for a short time, but when the storm has passed by it stands up as before. I think we may now hope for better things from our new ministry. Mr.

It is with unfeigned satisfaction that we submit the foregoing to the consideration of our readers. To them we might add the further good news of the ordination of a young chief, William Pomare, on the 18th of October, by Bishop Cowie. Mr. Ashwell, in a most interesting letter, dated October 26, 1872, writes:—

I had the privilege and great satisfaction on Friday last, Oct. 18th, of presenting for ordination the young chief, William Pomare, to Bishop Cowie. I do believe and pray he will be a faithful Missionary and minister of the Gospel in New Zealand.

I take this opportunity of returning my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the Church Missionary Society for their kind counsel and help in bringing about this event, which I feel convinced, with the blessing of God, will result in the conversion of many of his fellow-countrymen, and the glory of God.

The circumstances which led to William joining me will be remembered by the Church Missionary Society, viz., that, whilst visiting Mahurangi three years ago, I met him: he was then teacher of the Maoris residing at Te Muri, near the Mahurangi river.

I was greatly pleased with the neatness of their church, the attention of the people, and the order and cleanliness of the village. He told me that the Government had offered him two hundred pounds per annum to become a resident magistrate; this he refused,

Fox is no longer premier, and the policy of his successor is more equitable towards the Maori race: he is admitting a native chief into his cabinet, a man of ability, and now public opinion seems to be quite changing; instead of viewing the Maori as being inferior, they are actually giving him credit of being equal to themselves. Before, the Maori members were laughed at; this is no longer the case: their speeches in the last session were much thought of, and I find that the natives are extremely pleased with this new step. It will, I feel, give them greater confidence in the Government than they ever had before, and do more to unite the two races than any thing previously done.

This meeting has clearly proved that the natives love their Bishops and those who are labouring for their spiritual good; they view them as their real friends. Still it must be confessed that this is no proof of their being in a satisfactory state in spiritual things, but I trust it is an indication of a reaction going on in their minds. I cannot doubt the Lord will have a seed to serve Him in New Zealand, and that there is still good in store for them.

because (he said) so many in the employ of the Government learn to drink ardent spirits. I then said, "You are now teacher of your people; should you not like to be their minister?" His reply was, "That is my great desire." I said, "Think well of it; the work of the ministry is indeed a great and glorious work; but the responsibility is fearfully great. Let me know in one month; then come to me and study hard, and God will remove every difficulty." For the last three years this my dear native brother has, by his life and conduct, shown that the root of the matter (*real conversion*) is in him; I know him to be a man of prayer, and of a gentle and loving spirit; he is also a man of decision and faithfulness. Being of high rank among his countrymen, combined with his Christian character, his position, also, as a clergyman will give him great influence for good. I trust he may have the help of the Spirit of God to make him wise to win souls to Christ, and to adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things. He has lived with me as one of my family, taking his meals

and spending his evenings with us, in every respect as my son. The great difficulty in the way of his ordination has been a proper endowment for his maintenance as a minister of the Church of England. That difficulty has been partly met through the forethought

and kindness of our Secretary, brother Burrows, the particulars of which, I doubt not, he has informed you. I do feel grateful to him for his consideration, which has removed the difficulty and eased the funds of the Church Missionary Society.

To this may be added the ordination of Wiremu Turipona, reported by Mr. Burrows.

Plainly, then, there are still valuable materials out of which the New Zealand Church may be reconstructed, and we rejoice to find the willingness with which the Bishops receive all suitable candidates, and send them forth to labour in the work. Under ordinary circumstances, such ordinations would be tokens that the time was at hand when the Church Missionary Society might withdraw its aid and supervision. A Native Church ministered to by Native Pastors, and under the control of a Native Bishop, might well be reckoned the euthanasia of a Mission. And such at one time seemed likely at no remote period to be the peaceful and prosperous termination of the unwearied labours of the holy and elevated men who had jeopardized their lives, and spent all their energies in bringing the Maoris into the fold of the good Shepherd. But "*Deo aliter visum est.*"

It would, in our judgment, be as cruel as it would be impolitic, for the Church Missionary Society, at the present crisis, to desert the work in which they have been so long and so successfully engaged. On the contrary, just as, in 1859, it was resolved, "that there never had been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment," so would it seem to be once more. With so much alienation of feeling existing between the natives and Europeans, it does seem essential that there should go forth those who should be unmistakably mediators and messengers of good will to reconcile, and to rally once more to the standard of the Cross, those who have been so sorely put to confusion and rout. How potent such influence is may be seen in the hearty welcome given to those who have been to them fathers in the Gospel. In the old times, before so much bitterness and antipathy of race feeling sprang up, it was indeed a mighty element of power. But it has not yet lost its efficacy; the Maori can still distinguish those who seek his spiritual welfare from the ordinary European, who, for his own objects, has settled in his country. But in how many instances, through long service and advancing years, while zeal is undiminished, the old activity is lacking. Natural force has abated, eyes have begun to wax dim, and yet the work is such as to tax severely youthful energies. "The only way in which Missionary work can be done in any part of the island is by travelling and seeking out the natives who are scattered over the country in very small parties." As a specimen of these difficulties we annex the following graphic description from a recent journal forwarded by the Rev. T. S. Grace, for more than twenty years our Missionary in New Zealand.

On returning to Tauranga we had a narrow escape. We were in a very dangerous part. We saw and heard the waves coming on behind us like race-horses. We pulled for our lives to round a certain bluff. Had we been a quarter of an hour later we should have been caught in a position from which we should have found it difficult to extricate ourselves. We reached Tauranga about 9 A.M. The people pressed us to stay. I said I would do so if they would sit down for instruction. We spent a profitable hour.

Owing to the rains the lake had risen three feet, so that many of the rivers falling into it which are usually fordable were not now so. Rocks had now to be climbed. I led up the first horse and reached a place where it had to make a leap of about four feet. The horse tried and failed, and nearly went over the cliff. With great difficulty I led it down again, and we set to work to remove a great stone, which lowered the leap, and I led the horse up again. The poor thing made a jump, and barely succeeded in gaining the

p. I led it down the other side, and returned for another, and then for a third, which I stumbled over a rock six feet high. After examining it, we passed on. Next morning we waited for a native whom we expected, and found a ford, and rode on under some cliffs, where the horses were in the water most of

the way. Just before dark we came to our last river. The native took the ford first. My son's horse lost his feet, and had to swim. I followed, and was all right. The pack-horse had to swim with the packs. We soon had a good fire, and spent a comfortable night.

And now, of one we hear, "he begins to feel the infirmities of age, and is no longer able to pay frequent visits to the scattered Maori flock." Another says, "I cannot now travel; age and infirmities prevent my doing so." We need not, however, multiply such statements, for a mere glance at the period of service of our Missionaries in New Zealand tells its own tale. Plainly then, to our apprehension, there is needed, for a season at any rate, the counsel and help of younger men, who, in the spirit of those who for so many years have preached Christ crucified to the Maori, should go forth and once again "revive the stones out of the heaps" in which, through recent calamities, they have been overthrown. A few such men, filled with the spirit of Christ and love for souls, guided, moreover, and helped by the counsel, the wisdom and experience of such men as the bishops of Waiapu and Wellington, and some of our most faithful Missionaries, might do much to restore the work by going forth and seeking out those who have stumbled in their walk. Grace has been shown of the Lord, who has left a remnant to escape even unto the present time. It would be sad indeed if that should be witnessed in New Zealand which the prophet saw in his vision, "And they were scattered, because there was no shepherd: and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered. My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered upon all the face of the earth, and none did search or seek after them."—(Ezek. xxxiv. 5, 6).

If it has ever been the wise policy of the Society hitherto never to forego or forsake the work which has been commenced and carried on with much prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God, and where there have been manifest leadings of His Providence, the New Zealand Mission would not seem to be the one in which a contrary policy should be inaugurated. In that land the triumphs of the Gospel have been signal and manifest. For the vine planted there God had cast out the heathen and planted it; He had prepared room before it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land. So far from forsaking the work, shall we not, rather, bestow fresh energy and labour upon it; above all, shall we not in the spirit, and with the words of the Psalmist, spread our supplications before God, and say unto Him, "The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou then broken down her bulwarks, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine: and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch that thou hast made strong for thyself. It is burned with fire, it is cut down: they perish at the rebuke of thy countenance. Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, upon the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself. So will not we go back from thee: quicken us, and we will call upon thy name."—(Ps. lxxx. 10—18.)

THE TAMIL "BOOK AND ITS STORY."

BY THE REV. ASHTON DIBB, PALAMCOTTA.

IN Southern India and Ceylon more than twelve millions of the human race, that is to say, more than double the present population of Ireland, speak the Tamil language, which is one of the finest and most copious of the languages of India. It is interesting, therefore, to know that there is in that language an entire and excellent translation of the Holy Scriptures, and so that the Tamil people have the "book." But the "story" connected with that book, that is to say, the record of toils endured and of difficulties surmounted in providing it, is not so familiar as it deserves to be. Many may have seen the Tamil Bible as exhibited in the Bible Society's dépôt, or specimens of it in the volumes of Horne's "Introduction to the Scriptures," and may know that its translation was the work of the very first Protestant Missionaries to India. But few have marked the period when the first Tamil translation of the Bible was made. Few know anything of the subsequent versions, or of the advance, in one respect or other, which was made by each of them. Few have any idea of the difficulties with which the Tamil Scriptures were revised and circulated previously to the establishment of "the Bible Society," or of the invaluable assistance which that Society has subsequently rendered. A little information, therefore, on these points, is what we propose to give in the following paper.

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg is the honoured name of the first translator of the Holy Scriptures into Tamil. He and his colleague, Henry Plutsch, were the first Protestant Missionaries to India. They were sent forth by Frederick IV. of Denmark, and reached Tranquebar July 9th, 1706. They were engaged to stay in India for not more than five years, but when they had spent their first year in the work they resolved to live and die in it. As they had to minister in German and Portuguese, as well as in Tamil, a division of labour was necessary, and the Tamil share of the work, by mutual agreement, fell to Ziegenbalg, who laboured so assiduously in acquiring that difficult language, that in eight months he was able, "by the assistance of the Divine grace," to read, write, and speak it. In less than a year and a-half he had prepared a translation of the four Gospels into Tamil. By the 31st May, 1711, the translation of the whole New Testament was finished, and in the year 1714 it was printed and published. Ziegenbalg now made a brief visit to Europe; during which he was kindly received by Frederick IV. of Denmark, and was introduced to the King (George I.) of England, and to the Archbishop (Wake) of Canterbury. The Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also received this excellent Lutheran clergyman as their "reverend brother in Christ," and its Secretary, in commending the care and labour which Ziegenbalg had already bestowed in translating the New Testament into Tamil, added, "We earnestly beseech you, Sir, to give a like version to the other books of Holy Writ, and to publish them with all expedition." This was in December, 1715, and by the end of the next year we find Ziegenbalg again in India, and once more engaged in his excellent work. But his strength was overwrought. He had spent himself by over-abundant labour, and on the 23rd February, 1719, in the 36th year of his age, and when his Old Testament translation had extended to the Book of Ruth, Ziegenbalg fell asleep in Jesus. For seven or eight weeks he had been confined to his bed. His last agonies were very severe, and he earnestly desired to depart. The words of our Saviour, which he had translated for others, were his own support in his days of suffering. Almost the last thing he said was, "Christ hath promised, 'Where I am, there also shall my servant be.'" Thus leaning upon the Saviour's promise, which was well, Ziegenbalg departed to be with Him, which is far better.

Benjamin Schultze arrived in India in September of the same year, and upon him devolved the task of completing the Tamil translation of the Bible; a task which he accomplished, and that very efficiently, being a man of great ability, and a good Hebrew scholar. After careful and laborious study of Tamil for three years, he took up the work of translation in 1723, and after four years' toiling, at the rate of six hours a day, he finished the Old Testament in 1727. In the following year the Apocrypha was also translated and published, but it is doubtful whether a second edition of it was ever printed, or (we might almost add) whether the first edition was ever wanted. The Old Testament was published in three parts; the first in 1723, containing the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges; the second in 1726, containing the remainder of the historical and all the poetical books; and the last in 1727, containing the Prophets. Each part had a Latin title-page, as well as a Tamil one; the names of the translators appearing only in the former. The Tamil title-page merely states that the work was printed "at the printing press of the Padres of Tranquebar." The Latin title-page was more specific. A copy of that prefixed to the third part may be given here, not only as interesting in itself, but as proving the date at which the first edition of the Tamil Scriptures was completed.

BIBLIA DAMULICA
 Seu Quod
 DEUS OMNISCIOUS
 De Gratia in Jesu Christo Tempore Novi Testamenti
 Revelanda per Sanctos Suos
 PROPHETAS
 est
 vaticinatus
 VETERIS TESTAMENTI
 PARS TERTIA
 in Qua
 Prophetæ majores; Esaias, Jeremias, ejusdemque Lamentationes, Ezechiel, Daniel:
 Prophetæ Minores Hoseas, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Micha, Nahum, Habacuc,
 Zephanja, Haggai, Zecharias, et Malachias
 Studio et Opera
 BARTHOLOMÆI ZIEGENBALGII
 et
 BENJAMINI SCHULTZII
 Missionariorum ad Indos Orientales
 in Linguam Damulicam versi
 Continentur.
 TRANQUEBARI in Littore COROMANDELINO
 Typis et Sumptibus Missionis Danicæ.
 MDCCXXVII.

Before we say anything of the merits of this primitive version of the Tamil Scriptures, let us observe the remarkable period at which it was made. It resembled, indeed, that period in Jewish history when "there was no peace to him that went out or to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries." As for Europe, it was the period of that great struggle by which all Europe, from the Vistula to the Atlantic Ocean, was agitated during twelve years—the war of the Spanish succession. And as for Asia, it was the terrible period of the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire, which Lord Macaulay has so graphically portrayed. "Throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe," he observes, "the Mogul State, notwithstanding all that the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution; but after his death, which took place in 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks

from without co-operated with incurable decay within, and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition. The Mogul Empire in the time of the successors of Aurungzebe, like the Roman Empire in the time of the successors of Theodosius, was sinking under the vices of bad administration, and under the assaults of barbarous invaders. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, feasting, chewing bang, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey upon the defenceless wealth of Hindustan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away in triumph the treasures of the city. The Affghan soon followed, to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Sikhs ruled on the Indus. The Jats spread dismay on the Jumna. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, when they became sovereigns, cease to be free-booters. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard the peasant threw his bag of rice over his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyena and tiger."

Such is Macaulay's brilliant description of the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire. He bids us mark the year 1707 as the date from which its dissolution began to be "fearfully rapid." Surely it is a remarkable fact that it was exactly at that period that the first Protestant Missionaries to India began their work. Surely we ought to remember, that all through those forty years of danger and confusion, and in Tanjore, one of the very provinces referred to, those noble soldiers of the cross persevered in their arduous design. The Tamil Bible was translated in troublous times.

The circumstances of the translators shared the character of the times. True, they were sent forth by Royal authority, and enjoyed, it may be said, Royal patronage, but these availed little to save them from annoyance ten thousand miles away. Frederick the Fourth of Denmark might be their friend, but the Jesuit priests of Madura, the Rajah of Tanjore, and even the Danish Governor of Tranquebar were all their enemies, and the poor despised Missionaries must often have thought of the Proverb (xxvii. 10) "Better is a neighbour that is near, than a brother far off." At one time the opposition of the Danish Governor of Tanquebar rose to such a pitch, that for some alleged interference with his authority he had Ziegenbalg arrested and put into prison for four months. Still the Lord was with Ziegenbalg, and his faith seems never to have failed him. But before these difficulties were realized there was the primary difficulty of acquiring the Tamil language, and this was in their case a very serious one. There were then no dictionaries, grammars, or vocabularies for them to make use of. All the vernacular literature of those days was on Palmyra leaves. Nor had they any good teacher to instruct them. They therefore put themselves to school again, sitting down as the native children do, and writing the letters of the Tamil alphabet on the sand. Sickness, too, occasionally laid the Missionaries low; and, besides all these hindrances and difficulties, there was other occupation than Bible translating—that which came upon them daily, the care of Tamil and Portuguese schools and converts. Under these circumstances the work of Ziegenbalg and Schultze was truly noble, and is beyond all praise. With all its bad spelling and strange idiom, and with all its* free rendering of

* One remarkable illustration of this "free rendering" is seen in Gen. iii. 7, where "fig-leaves" are rendered "plantain-leaves." Another in Prov. vi. 26, where we are told that by means of a whorish woman a man is brought to want even "rice gruel." And a third still more remarkable is this, that

many passages, we feel that such a version, made under such circumstances, is beyond the reach of criticism. Ill at any rate did it become the Jesuits to criticise it, seeing that they had been 150 years in the country without attempting anything of the kind themselves. Yet their criticism, though not very sound, was very severe. It is preserved to us by themselves, so that we can judge of it at this day. Beschi, who was one of the greatest of European Tamil scholars, and who had been a Jesuit Missionary for more than a quarter of a century when the Tamil Bible was completed, distinguished himself by a virulent and scurrilous tone of writing against it. When, however, all his hard words are put aside, and the sum total of his actual criticism comes to be looked at, it appears exceedingly small. For instance, Beschi finds fault with the rendering of 2 Pet. i. 10, "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure." He says it ought to be, "Give diligence by good works to make your calling and election sure," and accuses the Missionaries of purposely omitting the phrase "by good works" in order to bolster up their doctrine of justification by faith only. Whereas they had the best possible reason for leaving those words out of their version, namely, that the original Greek epistle has not got them in. He objects again to their rendering of Heb. xiii. 4, "Marriage is honourable in all men." He says it ought to be, "Let marriage be honoured above all things," and adds, "the meaning is, All who are married should remember that marriage is a sacrament, and so that it is a sacred bond, not to be dissolved, nor sinned against." It may well be doubted whether his own rendering, if it had been adopted by them, would have pleased him any better than the other. But the passage which Beschi most delighted to ridicule was their version of 1 Cor. ix. 5, "Have we not power to lead about an own sister as a wife?" and it must be admitted he had just a little ground for sarcasm here. The word they used for sister was *koodapiranthaval*, which is equivalent to "own sister," and so by using it they laid themselves open to criticism. But the word which Beschi himself used is also too distinctive, and means not simply sister but "younger sister," and his version is, "Have we not a power to lead about a woman as a younger sister?" which is no great improvement. He is very angry with the Missionaries for translating the word *γυνή*, "wife," instead of "woman;" but if he meant that the word could not mean wife in any connexion, his own Rhemish translators had already decided against him. They translate it "wife" seven times in one chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. These are all the instances of unfaithfulness which Beschi alleges in his "Veda-Villakam," or "Treatise on Religion," in a chapter expressly treating on the subject, so we may fairly conclude that if he could have produced more real instances of corrupt translation he would not have failed to do so. The reputation of Ziegenbalg and Schultze will not suffer from the criticisms of Beschi. Those excellent Missionaries did what they could, and wheresoever the Tamil Scriptures shall be read the efforts they made to furnish them should be told as a memorial of them.

2. Having acquainted ourselves with the first Tamil *translation* of the Scriptures, we may go on to notice the principal subsequent *versions*, or revisions of that translation; for Ziegenbalg's Tamil Bible, like Wickliffe's English one, has been the parent of many versions. After completing the translation of the Old Testament, Schultze was removed from Tranquebar to Madras, and served the rest of his Missionary course in connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This service extended to fifteen

wherever the word "ass" occurs in the Scriptures it is rejected as a vulgar and abusive word, and some periphrasis is used instead. It is generally called "a vile steed." Thus in the Tenth Commandment we are forbidden to covet our neighbours' "man-servant, or his maid-servant, or his ox, or his *vile steed*, or anything that is his." In Matt. xxi. 5, also, the Prophet Zechariah is quoted, "Behold thy King cometh unto thee riding on a *vile steed*," &c. It is curious that the Romanists, who objected to other passages much more defensible, appear not to have objected to these.

years, until, in 1742, he returned to Europe, where he served the cause of Missions for eighteen years longer, and died in 1760 at Halle. On his leaving Madras in 1742, John Philip Fabricius succeeded him. This brings us to the name of the first reviser of the Tamil Scriptures; and before we notice what he did in this particular line, let us take a view of the whole career of this excellent man. He was born 1711 (exactly a hundred years after the publication of the authorized English version of the Bible), and landed in India in 1740. He spent two years in Tranquebar, and came to Madras in 1742, the same year in which "Mr. Clive" commenced his illustrious career. But when Lord Clive's career was run, and for sixteen years beyond, up to the time of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and the subsequent tedious delay in which, as it was said, "the Judges walked about, and the trial stood still"—all this time Fabricius was at his work, and at the end of it was an aged and well-worn Missionary. He never married, and he never returned to Europe; but died on the 24th of January, 1791, after a whole half-century's work in India.

He had done much and suffered much in those fifty years. In 1746, when Madras was taken by Labourdonnais, and Clive fled to Fort St. David's in the disguise of a Mussulman, Fabricius had to retire almost to the same spot. He was, however, rather an exile than a fugitive. The French authorities ordered him to depart, and he went to Pulicat. During his absence his schools were dispersed, his congregation scattered, and his Mission premises were occupied by Romish Missionaries.

In 1757, when Lally and his troops laid siege again to Madras, Fabricius and his people had all their property plundered by French troopers. Fabricius, himself, went to Lally's tent, and, throwing himself upon his protection, was again allowed to escape to Pulicat.

In 1767, when Tippoo Sultan, with 5000 Mahratta horse, scoured the country and advanced to St. Thomé, Fabricius and his people had to flee into the fort for safety.

In 1780, when Hyder Ali ravaged the same neighbourhood, and burnt village after village in sight of Madras, they had to do so once more.

Thus did this good Missionary "labour in the very fires of war." He suffered much also from the numerous famines and pestilences which were occasioned or aggravated by such a state of things. But in all these vicissitudes, John Philip Fabricius went on working; and what he actually accomplished is remarkable. Besides preaching in German, Dutch, Portuguese, English, and Tamil, he wrote probably more metrical hymns in the Tamil language than any one else has written either before or since; and these are so good, that, after a lapse of a hundred years, they are still sung in the churches of Tanjore and Tinnevely every Sabbath-day. Fabricius was a studious quiet man, had a heart full of patience and love, and was in the Saviour's cause mighty in word and in deed.

In his old age he ought to have been left to fulfil only the quiet and peaceful work of the ministry. But he was not. He was made a sort of banker for the Mission; and Schwartz and a Mr. Chambers, being executors for Colonel Wood, placed money belonging to his widow and family in Fabricius' hands at interest. This and other sums Fabricius put out at higher interest again. But high interest and bad security went together there as now, and Fabricius seems besides to have been most injudicious in trusting worthless men. He lent large sums to a Polygar, and a large sum also to a son-in-law of the Nabob, neither of whom of course paid him again. Nalappa Mudaliar, one of his creditors, filed a suit against him, and he was thrown into prison for debt. There he lay for more than a year, and there he spent his seventy-seventh Christmas-day. This was a sad sequel to a brilliant career, but the end was now not far off. With impaired faculties and enfeebled health he was set at liberty in 1790, and died

early in the following year; not with the hard struggle and the severe suffering which Ziegenbalg had experienced, but after a very short attack of illness, and, as it seemed, without any pain.

Such was the career of John Philip Fabricius, to whom the Church in South India is indebted for the first revised edition of the Tamil Bible. To what extent his labours on the sacred volume were applied is not at this interval of time quite clear. It is tolerably certain, in the first place, that when he arrived in Tranquebar in 1740 it was already agreed that when another edition of the Tamil Bible should be called for, a revision of it would be desirable; next, that in 1754, when Fabricius went from Madras to Tranquebar and met with other brethren, and, for the first time, with Schwartz, for three months conference, the work of this revision was entrusted to him; and lastly, that his revised New Testament was published at Madras in 1773. But how far his labours extended into the Old Testament is not so certain. The Old Testament version called Fabricius was published in four parts; the first about 1777 (the title-page of this part is wanting in the copy before me); the next in 1782; the third in 1791 (the year of his death); and the last in 1796. Probably he had done so much towards it that it deserves to be called by his name, just as the Commentary, mostly written by good Matthew Henry, is always spoken of as his, though the notes on the Epistles and the Apocalypse are the work of other men. An examination of the work enables us to perceive that Fabricius' version was made in a scholarlike way. He adhered faithfully to the Hebrew and Greek originals, and exercised his judgment on the Latin, English, and German versions. It may be doubted whether he was not, in some places, too literal to be intelligible, but it is certain that he enriched the vocabulary of the Tamil Scriptures, improved the idiom, and, upon the whole, greatly advanced the work.

3. Another fifty years rolled on before a fresh revision was attempted, and this interval brings us down to the era of the Church Missionary Society, and of that other noble Association which is, sometimes inaccurately but not altogether erroneously called "The Bible Society."

Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius, the next reviser of the Tamil Scriptures (though he lived to complete only the New Testament), was a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and his work was printed by the Madras Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was an earnest, able, and laborious Missionary; had a warm heart, a vigorous mind, and an exceedingly strong will; and these, in the latter part of his career, were painfully misapplied. He acted in such a manner in his ecclesiastical relations as obliged the Church Missionary Society to dissolve their connexion with him. But of this unhappy affair enough has been said and written already, and we only mention it here, to avoid the appearance of indiscriminate eulogy. He was a Prussian, born on the 5th November, 1790, and educated at the Cathedral School of Marienwerder and at the Missionary Seminary at Berlin. In 1812 he received Lutheran ordination, and came to England to prepare for Missionary work. Here he enjoyed for a year and a half the friendship and tuition of the venerable Thomas Scott. On the 4th of July, 1814, he landed in India and laboured abundantly in journeying, preaching, and correspondence, first in Madras for six years, and then in Tinnevely for eighteen more. Thus, after nearly a quarter of a century of continuous work in India, he died exhausted with labour and anxiety at the early age of forty-seven. During his last illness, which was only a short one, his medical adviser had enjoined him to abstain from mental labour and fatigue, but to this he could not consent. The revision of the Tamil Old Testament was still carried on in his sick room; and one of his last acts was

to write letters on behalf of the Bible Society. On the 5th of June 1838 his work on earth was finished, and on the evening of that day he "fell asleep" so gently that for some time it was uncertain to those around him whether he slept the sleep of death or no. His history, then, was briefly this:—"He spent half his life in voluntary exile from his native land. He laboured for a quarter of a century among the heathen. He lived for them. He died amongst them; and he left behind him writings by which, being dead, he yet speaketh to them. The Rev. Dr. Caldwell's testimony to the excellency of his work is notable and true. His system of working the Mission was, as a whole, greatly superior to that of the older Missionaries, Schwartz, himself, not excepted. He was the first Missionary connected with Church of England Missions in India by whom caste was in any degree practically repressed, female education systematically promoted, or Societies established among Native Christians for religious and charitable purposes. Such was the career of Rhenius; but we must say something of his version of the New Testament. It was published in 1826, and was an immense improvement in style upon either of those which preceded it, and made the Scriptures much more readable and intelligible than they had been before. But it was considered by scholars to be in many places rather a paraphrase than a translation. "Hallowed be thy name," he translated, "May Thy name be holily adored." "Lead us not into temptation," he altered into, "Cause that we enter not into temptation." In Rom. iii. 21, "the righteousness of God" is rendered "the way in which one becomes righteous before God;" and in 2 Cor. v. 21, the same phrase is rendered "righteous before God." In Acts xx. 26, he translated the phrase, "I am pure from the blood of all men," thus, "If any of you goes to ruin, the fault thereof will be none of mine." Even where the translation was faithful, it was often diffuse and wordy. The phrases, "the workman is worthy of his meat," and "he that is able to receive this, let him receive it," were lengthened out fearfully in translation; and so determined was the translator to be clear, that his Tamil was always express in one meaning, even where the Greek is capable of two. Moreover, he had crotchets as to certain words. "Temptation" was one of these. He would translate that word by whatever he thought it meant in the particular place where it occurred, and so it is sometimes rendered "affliction," and sometimes by such a phrase as "the means of bringing us into guilt!" Again, in his zeal for elucidation, Rhenius had constant resort to the habit of supplying words, and these were sometimes of doubtful correctness. After the phrase, "we fetched a compass," he added "round Sicily,* and sailed to Rhegium." Once more we may observe that he had such strong views of the difference between the idiom of the Tamil language and that of the New Testament that he used to invert the order of verses in such wholesale fashion that it was a puzzle to compare his verses with those of any other version. Rom. i. 1 in the English version was Rom. i. 6 in his. The "order of thought" he supposed required all this change. All these faults justified further attempts at revision; but they did not prevent Rhenius' version from being a most useful one for many years, nor will they interfere with the value of the book as a work of reference in days to come.

One consequence of the publication of Rhenius' version of the New Testament was that different "uses" were adopted in the Mission fields of South India. Rhenius' version was adopted by the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society,

* We have heard of men running upon Scylla in their anxiety to avoid Charybdis; but here was a man making St. Paul sail all round Sicily in order to avoid both, although the probability is, that he passed between the two.

the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and by the American Board of Missions; but the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Lutherans, still preferred and retained Fabricius. A quarter of a century passed away, and there was still no prospect whatever of one version being accepted throughout the Tamil Church; for each existing version had one excellency which the other had not. Fabricius' version was faithful, but unidiomatic; and Rhenius' was clear and idiomatic, but was admitted, even by those who preferred it, to be too paraphrastic.

4. This led to the preparation of the next version of the Tamil Scriptures, which was the third of the Old Testament, and the fourth of the New. It was made by a Committee of Missionaries in Jaffna, Ceylon, and was published in Madras in 1850. The style of this work presented a marked contrast both to the diffusiveness of Rhenius, and to the stiffness of Fabricius. It was the most beautiful piece of printing that the press of South India had ever produced. It was modestly styled the "tentative version," and proved to be a very valuable contribution to the work of Tamil Biblical revision. For, first, it was a version of the whole Bible, and so the style was uniform throughout, whereas, previously Fabricius' Old Testament and Rhenius' New Testament had been bound together, and showed remarkable difference. Next, it introduced that Tamil word for God which is most simple, most suitable to all connexions, and most likely to meet with general adoption. Indeed, it is the same word to which the latest Revisers of the Tamil Scriptures, though they took Fabricius' version and not this for their basis of revision, chose to adhere. Next, it introduced a distinct name for each of the books of the Pentateuch, and lastly, it had many real improvements in the style. But, unhappily, this version could not command general acceptance. It was regarded as not so thoroughly combining the admitted excellencies of Fabricius with those of Rhenius, as it was considered that a new version ought to do. Those who still used Fabricius' version, regarded the new one as inferior to it in faithfulness; and those who still adhered to Rhenius' version, thought that the new one was written in higher style than his, without being purer. It was considered to be a fault that it used Hebrew words where Tamil renderings would have done as well; or where other words had already been adopted, such as *allon* trees, and *Heres* trees, for oaks and cedars. It was felt that Sanskrit words had too often been made use of when plain, homely, good Tamil ones were available. In special passages, too, alterations had been made which were of doubtful correctness. Thus "the *College*" in 2 Kings xxii. 14, and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, was translated "hall of learning," according to the Rabbinical derivation. David's *carriage* was translated in 1 Sam. xvii. 22, "chariot," though baggage in Is. x. 28, and "the noise of the *bruit*" in Jer. x. 22 was rendered the "noise of the beast," though rightly in Nahum. iii. 19. In all these places, Fabricius' renderings seemed preferable. The tentative version had therefore only a limited use. The Old Testament part of it was never, we believe, reprinted, and the New Testament only once. Within a decade of the publication of the tentative version, serious efforts were made by the Madras Auxiliary of the Bible Society, to procure such a revision as would meet with general acceptance. But Church work is proverbially slow; and though it was in 1855 that it was resolved to attempt another revision, it was not until 1871 that the whole work was completed. To those, however, who know the steady and persistent way in which the object was being prosecuted all that time, it will seem an advantage to what it is hoped may be considered "the Standard version of the Tamil Bible that its preparation was hastened slowly."

5. Meanwhile, in the year 1857, the Romanists, who for 300 years, during which they had been labouring in the Tamil country, had managed to evade the necessity of publishing any portion of the Holy Scriptures in Tamil, were induced to publish, at Pondicherry, "by permission from Rome," a translation of the Four Gospels and the Acts. This translation, of only a part of the New Testament, is adorned with a few engravings, the frontispiece being a representation of the Virgin Mary bruising under her feet the serpent's head. It has, too, a preface of seventeen pages, and a number of "notes and comments." It does not appear to be the intention of these translators to extend their labours to the other books of the New Testament. The Four Gospels and the Acts (say they in their preface) "are the books which are most suited to promote the spiritual benefit of Christians."

The translation, as the preface also informs us, was made from the Vulgate Latin, and not from the original Greek. It has, of course, for "repent," "do penance," and declares that "there is joy in heaven over one sinner that does penance." Where the translation is good it may be regarded as a reproduction of Fabricius, with a still more excessive zeal for literality. Where it differs from Fabricius, though it sometimes succeeds in giving a happy turn to a phrase or expression, it more generally presents so curious a mixture of high and low Tamil, and is, in the general style of its composition, so rugged and uncouth, that the heads of the Romish community themselves need have very little fear lest this long-delayed, reluctantly-published, and high-priced translation of a portion of the Scriptures should be too generally read by their people. The most amusing part of the preface is that in which the translators gravely and seriously explain why their work was not done ages sooner. "The number of priests," they say, "was for a long time insufficient for ordinary duties, and it was needful to attend to them first." The pretence then is, that Beschi and others had not time to give to Bible translation. And yet they had time to give to the forging of Vedas, and to the composition of long and flowery poems like the "Témpavani." They had time to translate Hindu poems and Hindu fables, such as the "Cural" and "Guroo Simple" into Latin. They had time also to abuse Ziegenbalg and Schultze for doing what they had themselves neglected to do. All this they had time for, but for 300 years they had no time to translate the Holy Scriptures! The excuse is worthy of the proceeding which made it necessary.

6. We have now only to add a brief account of the last revision of the whole Tamil Bible, which was completed in 1871. It was executed on the basis of Fabricius' version. The Rev. (now Dr.) Bower was appointed principal reviser. His work was to prepare a revised text, and to circulate it amongst delegates chosen from the Missionaries of every Society labouring in the Tamil field. They went carefully through Dr. Bower's text at their leisure, marking such points as they considered to require discussion. After this a conference was held, in which the principal reviser, and the delegates chosen to assist him, met together and went carefully through what had been prepared, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph, in many cases more than once or twice, until something like an unanimous conclusion had been arrived at. A mere majority of votes was not allowed to settle the more important of the points discussed. When this had been done, it remained for Dr. Bower to carry through the press the revised text, he had made, with the delegates' corrections and amendments of it. In this manner eleven years passed away. Four meetings of conference were held, occupying in all about eleven months, of which three months and a few days were spent on the New Testament, and the rest on the Old. Dr. Bower

began to form his revised text on April, 1858. The first conference began on the 29th of April, 1861; and the last conference ended on the 23rd October, 1868. The whole Bible was printed in 1871, so that thirteen years were occupied in the work.

It was most providential that it was accomplished just when it was. A generation of experienced and able Missionaries, two of whom had taken part in the previous revision, were still alive, and still able to lend their valuable assistance in this. Of their younger brethren, who co-operated with them, the youngest was forty years of age; and had the work been deferred a few years longer it would have been impossible to collect a body of men so entitled to the confidence of the whole Tamil Church. The hand of death has already removed one of their number from the field. The Rev. Thomas Brotherton, M.A., whose thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Chaldee made his assistance in the revision of the Old Testament peculiarly valuable, died within a year of the completion of the work. The other delegates who took part in the labours of those years were the Rev. Dr. Caldwell and the Rev. C. S. Kohlhoff of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Rev. E. Sargent and the Rev. Ashton Dibb of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Dr. J. W. Scudder, the Rev. Dr. Spalding, the Rev. Dr. Winslow, and the Rev. Dr. Tracey, American Missionaries; the F. Baylis and E. Lewis of the London Missionary Society; the Rev. A. Burgess and the Rev. J. Kilner of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Others assisted by letters, and suggestions supplied to the Conference when they met. The final Report of the delegates to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society is dated April 27th, 1869. It sets forth the principles and plan upon which the revision had been conducted, and the various steps by which it had been brought to its completion. A few extracts only from that document need be given here. "The amount of time occupied at our last two meetings (*i.e.* upon the revision of the Old Testament) considerably exceeded our expectations. It was not merely that the quantity of printed matter we had to revise was more than three times as great as that of the New Testament. There were also reasons for the slowness of our progress involved in the very nature of the work we had undertaken. One reason was, that wherever Fabricius' style seemed dark and perplexed, and especially where his words and constructions were of an unusual character, it was found to be almost as necessary as it would have been if the object in view had been a new translation, to examine the original closely in order to see whether we had to deal merely with a faulty style or with a difficulty inherent in the original, and also to ascertain in what direction, and in what degree, the style was capable of being improved without altering the meaning.

"Another reason was the discovery, on a close continuous comparison of Fabricius' version with the authorized English, of a much larger number of variations in meaning from the English than we had expected to find. Every English reader of Fabricius' Old Testament must have noticed a certain number of variations of this kind, in which it was commonly supposed that Fabricius had followed the rendering adopted in Luther's German Bible, instead of that of the English; but as we proceeded in our work, a considerable number of these variations were found in every chapter—in some places they are found in almost every verse—and these variations, though generally minute, were in almost every instance found to be of so well-considered and scholarly a character, that it became evident that whatever might be the merits of the Tamil style we were dealing with, the version which was written in that style was a really critical version of the original. It was evident that Fabricius had followed neither the German nor the English, but had translated direct from the Hebrew, according to his own judgment, and with the very best critical helps available in his day."

Under these circumstances, the delegates decided in two classes of cases to follow the English version in preference to Fabricius. First, in reference to words occurring only once in the Bible, and subject to very various rendering by critics and lexicographers; and, second, in reference to the tenses of the Hebrew verb, and especially in the Psalms. These were rendered in accordance with the English version. On the other hand, they followed Fabricius in preference to the English wherever he had shown that the Tamil was capable of a closer adherence to the original than the English had found practicable, particularly in imitating, by an appropriate variety of expression, the variety of words found in the Hebrew, where the English has been obliged to content itself with the use of one word only; and in bringing out in Tamil the number and gender of the verbal forms of the original. The delegates, in the conclusion of their Report, observe one point of difference between their version and any that had preceded it. "While we are anxious to render the honour which is due to all who have preceded us in their work, . . . we yet cannot but feel that it is a special and peculiar excellence of the work on which we have been now engaged, that it is not the result of the solitary labours of any one man, however eminent (like the versions of Fabricius and Rhenius, and even like the tentative version, in which the style of one man is supposed to be generally predominant), but has passed through many hands, has been studied and criticised by many minds, and has finally been submitted, verse by verse, to the searching ordeal of a *vivâ voce* discussion, in which the peculiarities of sentiment and language pertaining to each individual present were neutralized by those of his neighbour. We trust, therefore, that this version will be found on the one hand more faithful to the sense of the original than any previous one; and, on the other hand, more perspicuous and freer from individual peculiarities.

"To us who have been entrusted with the execution of this work it has proved to be the most interesting task in which we have ever been engaged, and has also, we trust, been a source of much profit and edification. Never have we felt so deeply impressed with the wisdom, the truthfulness, the beauty, the moral goodness, or, to use a word which human philosophy knows not, the spirituality of these divinely-inspired Scriptures, as we have been for the last eleven years, but especially during our meetings for conference. Our daily work brought us so directly in contact with the great things and the deep things of God, that it was a source of continual refreshment to us, and continual delight; and the brotherhood of feeling in which we were united turned our toil into a pleasure. Our work was begun and continued in dependence upon the guidance and blessing of God, and now that it is complete we offer it on the altar of His service, in the hope that He will graciously accept it, make use of it for accomplishing the good purpose of His goodness, and send His blessing with it to the Church and people of this land."

Such is a brief retrospect of the history of the Tamil Bible for the last hundred and fifty years. But the half has not been told us. How many hearts have been comforted, how many minds have been elevated and enlightened, how many lives have been sanctified, and how many dying pillows have been soothed and cheered by the Tamil Bible, the great day alone can reveal. Only the literary and historical "story" can here be told, and it is something to know that the Holy Scriptures have become, not only a part, but the best part of the literature of South India. They have been followed by many other good books, written in the spirit of the Bible, and borrowing its light; but without the Scriptures the light that was in Tamil literature was darkness, and they only who have explored it know how great was that darkness.

It is curious to add that, as we have in our English Bible literature a "Breeches

Bible" and a "Vinegar Bible" (so called after misprints in various editions), so in the Tamil there is a "Wilderness Bible" and a "Camel Bible." In the edition of Rhenius' New Testament, published at Madras in 1846, the passage in Gal. i. 8, by the accidental misspelling of the word for "heaven" (*vanandhiram* for *vanam*) is made into—"Though we or an angel *from the wilderness* preach unto you any other Gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed." Also in the beautiful pocket edition of the whole Bible, published at Madras in 1863, the passage in Judges v. 20, by the accidental addition of a single consonant, and the substitution of a short o for a long one (*öttagam* for *öttam*) is metamorphosed into the remarkable statement that "the stars on their camels fought against Sisera!" We mention these simply as additions to the curiosities of literature. They will show how great pains have to be taken in oriental printing where the mistake of a letter is of such consequence.

We have only to add how deeply the whole Tamil Church is indebted to the British and Foreign Bible Society. There had been much done in the days of Ziegenbalg and Fabricius, it is true, but much more remained to be done, and was done at length by the Bible Society. In the year 1807 not an English Bible even was to be bought in Madras. In 1809 two copies arrived from England, and were sold at a very high price. In 1813 the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson wished to establish an Auxiliary Bible Society at Madras, such as had already been established in Calcutta in 1811, in Colombo 1812, and that year (1813) in Bombay; but the Governor of Madras (Sir George Barlow.) still full of alarming recollections of the Vellore mutiny, forbade the perilous step. He refused even to allow the sending round of a subscription list. All he could concede was, that if Mr. Thompson chose to collect subscriptions privately and in person he was at liberty to do so. This was done, and a supply of Scriptures was obtained from Calcutta. Still, in 1816, when the Rev. James Hough visited the long-neglected flocks in Tinnevely, he found 3000 people with only about a dozen copies of the Tamil Scriptures among them.

At last, in 1820, the Madras Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in Madras. It has now for half a century been promoting the circulation of the Scriptures in the five vernaculars of the Madras Presidency, but has done most for the Tamil. Under its auspices Rhenius' version, the tentative version, and the one recently completed, have been made, the printing greatly improved, and the circulation very much increased. For the wonderful improvement which has taken place in Tamil printing, we have to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to an American printer, Mr. Hunt, by whose assiduous care and skill Tamil typography has made more progress in the last twenty years than had previously been made in three quarters of a century. In this manner he greatly assisted the work of Bible circulation, and deserves to be remembered as one of the best helpers the Madras Auxiliary ever had, and as one who felt it a privilege to employ all his ability in such a cause. But if any one wishes to understand the peculiar value of the Bible Society as a grand Missionary instrumentality, he can hardly do better than ponder the words of the Rev. Henry Venn, spoken ten years ago. He acknowledged, with a candour which did him honour that he had discovered an error in his former estimate of the Bible Society. "I no longer (said he) look on the British and Foreign Bible Society, as I once mistakenly did, as the handmaid of Missionary Associations throughout the world, but I humbly confess that I look upon her as 'the King's daughter all glorious,' and upon the Missionary Societies as her companions that bear her company. I give the Bible Society this precedence (he continued) on many grounds. One is, that she renders aid to all Missionary Societies. She is not their handmaid, but the

Royal Predecessor. The Society prints whenever our Missionaries have a version ready for printing. It does more than this. There is a modest tone about those statements in her Reports that such a version was printed 'at the request of the Church Missionary Society,' and such a version 'at the request of the London Missionary Society, and so on. But the Bible Society has done far more than printing at the request of this and that Society. She has exerted a little gentle 'pressure on every Society.'

Another ground is, that the Bible Society is a centre of union among the various Missionary Societies, and exercises a moderating and binding influence upon them all. It takes our version, or the version of any other Society, and puts the broad stamp which is the seal of common property on each version it adopts, and then it is no longer the version of the Church Missionary Society, or of any other Society; it is simply an approved version of the Word of God. That little stamp which is on the backs of all the books which the British and Foreign Bible Society issues, is the broad arrow which makes it common property, no longer belonging to this or that Society, but to the Church of Christ in its catholicity. It has often been cast in the teeth of Protestant Missions that the Protestant Church presents to the native mind such a variety of sects, so many divisions, so many sub-divisions, and so much mutual opposition, that it cannot discover which among us has the true religion. To all this it is the common and obvious answer that the Bible is the point of union. But another question may be asked, namely, "Where would the Bible have been without the Bible Society? It would have been in each Mission a distinct Bible. We would have had an Episcopalian Bible, and a Presbyterian Bible, and a Baptist Bible. But now our Native Churches, raised up by different Missionary Societies, see this as a point of union for them all—they see that though we have separate Missionary Societies, we have one Bible Society, and so, that the Bible is the centre and foundation of the religion of them all. These words are weighty and true, and the facts they both set forth and imply are such as could not well be omitted in even the most general sketch of "the Tamil Book and its Story."

[It is with the utmost pleasure that we have inserted the foregoing most valuable communication. We trust it may induce others of our Missionary brethren to enrich the pages of the "Intelligencer" with similar monographs on important topics. A medium would be thereby furnished by means of which they could address the Churches on subjects vitally affecting Missionary progress, yet not exactly falling within the limits of ordinary official communications.—ED.]

In Memoriam.

THE REV. GEORGE PETTITT,

LATE MISSIONARY IN TINNEVELLY AND CEYLON.

WHEN God purposed to deliver Israel from the host of the Midianites by the hand of His servant Gideon, a great number of people gathered themselves together to him. It was not, however, His pleasure to deliver by this multitude. So proclamation was made that those who were fearful and afraid might return, and depart early from Mount Gilead. The sacred record informs us that twenty and two thousand availed themselves of the permission, and returned to their own homes. A farther inquisition was made,

and of the ten thousand who remained, three hundred only who lapped, putting their hands to their mouths, were chosen for the work. How they sped is a story for all time; a signal evidence that there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few. What is needed in His service is, that there should be men who, being harnessed and carrying bows, shall not turn back on the day of battle.

We do not for a moment pretend to say that those who offer themselves to the Church Missionary Society, expressing their readiness to go forth in the Lord's service as His soldiers and servants against Satan and his hosts, are ever a very great company. But it would be an equal mistake to suppose that all who offer themselves are, as a matter of course, accepted, and eventually find their way into the Missionary field under the Society's auspices. Many searching inquiries are made; many sifting processes are gone through, before a limited number, out of those who may originally have testified interest or eagerness, are, with many prayers, sent forth to their destination. We remember well hearing of an eminent man who was often observed taking diligent note of candidates rejected by the Society. When asked his motive, his reply was, "that they would answer his purpose exceedingly well." And probably many of them may have done so: there are many departments of labour in the Church in which they might do honourable and useful service. Indeed it requires no ordinary combination of qualities to make a first-class Missionary, who shall be able to do valiantly in the service of the Lord of hosts. Many who are sent out, even with the utmost care, fail to attain to such a high standard; but most diligently are indications sought, that the Church may at least be hopeful concerning them. When, after all, any prove "fearful, and afraid" they return, and seek in some more congenial sphere to employ whatever gifts and talents they may happen to possess. Amongst those who were not fearful, and were conspicuous among their brethren for admirable qualifications as a Missionary was the Rev. George Pettitt, whose almost premature decease—for had he not been in labours so abundant, humanly speaking, his life might have been prolonged—we would here affectionately commemorate.

But little information has reached us as to the earlier portion of his career. He first comes into notice as one on the Lord's side when, a mere youth, he was a teacher in the Sunday Schools of Christ Church, Birmingham, under the ministry of Archdeacon Hodson. From such useful labours, to which the Missionary service owes many of the choicest and most devoted who have been found in its ranks, he was, under the influence of most decided Christian principle, led to offer himself, in the year 1828, to the Church Missionary Society, to labour amongst the heathen. From the Society's College at Islington he was in due course ordained. For the notice of his subsequent career as a Missionary we are indebted to some valuable memoranda, furnished by one who was for a time his pupil, and for a long while his coadjutor in the Mission field.

"The Rev. George Pettitt," he says, "sailed for Madras February 22, 1833, and was followed soon after by the Rev. J. Tucker, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society's Missions in South India. Fresh, and with all the ardour of Missionary zeal, it was a matter of no small importance to him to have been associated, in the commencement of his career, with a person of such mature judgment and Christian character as Mr. Tucker. Evidence from this quarter was manifest when, within a couple of months, he was sent into active Missionary

life under circumstances which required great tact and circumspection. Mr. Pettitt had naturally an active mind and great tenacity in maintaining any opinion he adopted; but he was never happier than when discussing principles of Missionary work, or of Christian life, with one so well able to instruct in a wise and dispassionate manner; and that Mr. Tucker entertained the highest regard for Mr. Pettitt's character and ability is a matter which the writer can attest from intimate personal acquaintance with both.

"His great object at first was to acquire a

competent knowledge of [the Tamil language. Most beginners, at that time, made it a point of importance to employ a teacher who knew both Tamil and English. Mr. Pettitt took up a new course, and determined to do the work with a Munshi who knew nothing of English. The expediency of such a plan in his case was very observable; for by persevering application in this way he was kept comparatively free from those Anglicisms which mar the style of many Tamil-speaking Europeans. The plan involved greater trouble at first, but in the end made matters easier, and he thus acquired a clear and pleasing style of writing. With some learners it is tolerably easy to understand what others say, but difficult to express their own mind. In Mr. Pettitt's case it was otherwise. It took him a longer time before he could readily understand what uneducated natives said in conversation. We were both of us at fault once in this respect. Having been out to examine a school, and returning in the evening, our path led by a place where the cultivators were stacking their straw after the harvest. A man on the top of the stack, seeing us in the distance, cried out '*Kal udeindadu*,' and kept repeating it at the top of his voice. We immediately concluded that a man had *broken his leg*, so we rode up in a hurry, but found that they had mistaken us, not for surgeons, but engineers; and it was the *breached channel* they wanted repairing, not a broken leg. Mr. Pettitt was never deterred by any fear of making mistakes from addressing natives whenever the opportunity offered. The result of all this was, that within a fair period of time he was able to compose with ease and preach fluently.

"Shortly after his arrival in Madras it was arranged that Mr. Pettitt's services should be utilized in preparing agents for the Society in that part of the Mission field; but this plan, after a while, was interrupted by the necessity which arose of transferring his services to the Tinnevely Mission, in order to continue the work hitherto so efficiently carried on by the Rev. C. T. Rhenius. Here it was that Mr. Pettitt rapidly gained an insight into native character, and exhibited great tact in dealing promptly with difficulties. He seemed to grow and fit readily into the position and duties which to him were so new, but to which he gave his whole energy.

"It is not always a pleasing task to a Missionary to give up to others the work which has grown under his hand; but Mr. Pettitt not only consented to, but was himself the

promoter of, arrangements which divided the whole district into circles, and located a Missionary in each. The men then entering on their work always found in him a willing and wise counsellor—one in full sympathy with them in all their trials, and in all their successes.

"He attached much importance to personal intercourse with the natives, conversing freely with them. It became with him a matter of real pleasure to spend whole days, and sometimes whole weeks, examining the schools, visiting the congregations, and conversing familiarly with the people. No one in that part of the Mission field excelled him in the easy and instructive manner in which he catechized adults who might be candidates for baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper. In addressing the heathen he was particularly strong and happy in illustrations, a style the Hindus are always pleased with. Again and again has the writer gone into villages where the people still speak with delight of Mr. Pettitt's visit, and something he said or did is fresh in their memory.

"Mr. Pettitt had great decision of purpose, coupled with good judgment. This gave him much influence with all our Native Christians in matters affecting their temporal interests. No man with a trouble, that came to him, but found him a patient listener—a kind adviser and helper, so far as lay in his power. Hence a word from him went a great way in comforting the distressed, even if their difficulties and troubles were not always removed.

"In the social circle, in the relaxation allowed at certain periods of the year, when the oppressive heat of the plains drives Europeans to the neighbouring hills and watering-places, no one more thoroughly enjoyed himself and pleasingly entertained others than he did. Venturesome in making a way through jungles on wild mountains, or diving into deep cool pools embedded in the valleys, nothing pleased him more than a little emulation as to who should do it first or best.

"The writer has a vivid remembrance of an adventure at the Falls of Papanasam, which might have terminated in a less pleasing manner than it did. Every one who has visited that beautiful spot will remember the large, deep pool into which, at the farther end, the water falls in an immense body with thundering noise, and how the waves rise and roll on in proportion as the volume of water is increased by recent rains. At the

time referred to the waves were high and the stream rapid. Several of the gentlemen present were content to plunge in and keep within the basin on the right hand side; but the writer accepted a challenge from Mr. Pettitt to swim across to the other side of the river, and so get a more direct view of the fall. We made some allowance for the stream carrying us down a certain distance, and therefore, getting as far up near the fall as we could, we plunged in. We soon found that the stream was so rapid no ordinary swimming could prevent our being washed down and dashed among the boulders that lay in the bed a little farther below. We had, in fact, to swim for our lives; and at last, so exhausted were we, that, unable to reach the shore even when we had partially got beyond the line of danger, all we could do was to reach and hold on by the ridge of a sunken rock which was too slippery for us to attempt standing on, and, after thus resting for a while, to gain in a few strokes more the nearest shore, but a good way farther down the stream than we had marked out for ourselves. His remark on landing was, 'What a mercy that we were directed to the ripple on the sunken rock!' The writer has frequently made use of this adventure as an illustration in preaching to Native Christians, and he is sure Mr. Pettitt must have done so also. These occasional excursions, with the habit of regular daily exercise, gave Mr. Pettitt great physical power; and his naturally strong constitution, combined with mental vigour, rendered him capable of a very large amount of work. Whatever lay before him in the path of duty he did it with a will. The writer has seen remarks in some of the public papers reflecting on the lazy habits of Missionaries. No one who, from personal experience, knows what Missionaries really do, will place any reliance on such a sweeping charge. Mr. Pettitt's habits in his parish in Birmingham were the same he had contracted as a Missionary. Will any one say there was any toil he evaded, any trouble he declined in the duties of his office? "In labours more abundant," is the testimony borne regarding him by all who knew him.

For about two years the revision of the Tamil Prayer-book brought the Missionaries of the two Church Societies together every month, at one or other of the stations in Tinnevely. Mr. Pettitt, as Secretary, had the chief share in preparing the business of each meeting, and carrying the work through the press.

He enjoyed largely the confidence, esteem, and love of every member of that Committee. Those were pleasant days in the early career of some nine or ten men who had given themselves to Missionary work; and if these lines meet the eye of any still in the field, they will cheerfully testify to the truthfulness of what is here advanced.

It was always regarded a matter of regret by those on the spot, that Mr. Pettitt's services were subsequently transferred in 1850 to Ceylon; but the exigencies of the case seemed to warrant the Home Committee in sending him there, after a brief return from a furlough, for the purpose of organizing the Society's work, as Secretary of the Finance Committee, in that interesting island. Here again he turned his attention to the acquisition of a new language, and gained sufficient proficiency to be able to preach in it. He was much interested in helping forward the publication of the Singhalese version of the Scriptures. During his residence in Ceylon of five years, though his duties brought him much into contact with Europeans, and he had to supply them with three services every week, in a neat and substantial church which he built, yet his heart was with the natives, and he laid himself out by every means in his power to promote their spiritual good. Even before, while in Tinnevely, he had taken an interest in the condition of the Tamil coolies who go from India to work in the coffee plantations. He visited the island with the view of observing their state, and ascertaining what means might be employed to bring the Gospel to bear on them; a measure which has subsequently been carried out by other Missionaries of the Society with abundant success.

"It was to the writer a matter of much gratification, as he succeeded Mr. Pettitt in his work at Palamcottah, to receive from so many, in private conference, the assurance that their interest in true vital religion was due to the public sermons and private exhortations of him who is now no more in this world. How many were thus affected for good the great day will declare, but it is perfectly within the bounds of truth to assert that Mr. Pettitt left his mark in the Society's Mission in Tinnevely, and that much that is now manifest in the growth of the Church there had its rise in the wisdom of his plans, the clearness of his teaching, and the influence of his example.

"Mr. Pettitt published in 1851 a narrative

of the Tinnevely Mission, a work replete with interesting information. In 1872 he published the life of Rev. J. T. Tucker, a fellow-labourer whom he had known and esteemed for many years. In Tamil he has left a

volume of useful Sermons on the Apostles' Creed, and several Tracts on important subjects." * E. S.

Hastings, 7th March, 1873.

Upon his return to England in 1855, after having devoted the energies of his prime of life to Missionary work, and fulfilled most honourable and arduous service which would have overtaxed the strength of most men, and had affected his, he was elected chaplain to the General Hospital at Birmingham, at which he remained till he was presented to the living of St. Jude's in that town, where he continued to labour until the middle of last year. The cause of Missions, however, which was ever most dear to his heart, found him ever a most willing and most efficient advocate. Probably there are few of our readers who have not at some time or other listened to his earnest appeals for the Church Missionary and Bible Societies, and felt their hearts stirred within them, with recitals of labours which have gone far to make Tinnevely and the Tinnevely Missions a household word throughout the length and breadth of England.

Moreover, as Secretary of the Birmingham Church Extension and Bible Societies, and the Lord's-day Defence Association, his labours were unwearied. Nor were these valuable services rendered at the undue expense of the flock of which the Holy Ghost had made him the overseer.

We append some extracts from a funeral sermon, preached by the Rev. F. S. Dale, in Mr. Pettitt's church, among the congregation which had been his. Many and sincere were the manifestations of grief exhibited on that day, January 27th, in that church. After recording with emotion the tender and loving counsel with which Mr. Pettitt had bound up his sorrows in a season of sore bereavement, he proceeded to say:—

In considering the character of their late minister, the first point that especially struck them was the simplicity and genuineness of of his ways. He never seemed to be thinking of self, or searching for effect, or manœuvring even with a good purpose. He was eminently straightforward and out-spoken: this always kept his kind and considerate heart from the least appearance of harshness. He never seemed afraid of saying or doing what he felt to be right, but lived amongst his fellow-men as one who stood like the prophet of old before the Lord God, and so, conscious in the presence of his Lord, and confident in the power of truth, he neither feared nor courted man; he trusted not to shift and contrivance, but lived and laboured in simplicity and godly sincerity. Those of his congregation, he was sure, too, believed with the most certain conviction that he always meant and felt what he said—that he spoke from the heart—for his Master, not for himself, seeking by all means to save some. This gave greater power to a man's ministry than anything else. It was not what the preacher said, but what he was supposed to feel, that told upon the people. It was not the sermons

alone, but the sermons as they were illustrated and enforced by the life of the preacher himself. And no one could be long with their dear pastor without feeling that reality was stamped upon all that was his. A second characteristic was his hopefulness and cheerful energy. He never seemed to be going through a round of duties merely because they had to be performed, but he always worked as a hopeful man, encouraged by a good prospect of success. No doubt natural temperament and an unusually strong bodily frame had something to do with this hopefulness; but he felt, sure there was more of grace in it than of nature. The position and circumstances of the parish in which he spent so many active years of his life were not in themselves such as to make a man's spirits buoyant and glad; and yet few men had he known so uniformly cheerful and hopeful as their late Vicar. He never checked any expression of hope in another, and, although not fond perhaps of novelties and experiments, he never damped the ardour of another by saying, as some would say, "Oh, it will do no good; it is sure to fail." No doubt the spring of this ever-fresh hopefulness was his

* To the foregoing may be added a small tract, "The Bride and Bridegroom," published by Nisbet, very suitable for presentation to new married couples.

firm trust in the power of God's Word and the sufficiency of His grace. He never lost heart, even among the heathen abroad or among the godless and indifferent at home, because he knew and felt that the Gospel of Jesus Christ was "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believed." Taking a deep and lively interest in everything, great and small, concerning his own parish and his own Church, he led on those engaged with him to do the same, so that that congregation had, he knew, been remarkably united, and ready at all times to pull heartily together in any cause which commended itself to them and their minister as the cause of God. As instances of this hearty co-operation he might name the building of St. Jude's schools, and their maintenance from year to year, the improvement in their church, and such like things. They need not to be reminded of his constancy in the visitation of his parishioners—of his unwearied attention to the Sunday school and to the night-classes. His "work of faith and labour of love" would not soon be forgotten; and though now he rested from his labours, yet of his works they might truly say "they follow him." He had reason to know that his ministry, both public and private, had been much blessed and owned of God. To many a one had he been the honoured messenger of mercy and pardon through Christ. Many a young man had, he believed, been impressed by his candid but earnest manner of dealing with such intellectual difficulties as hindered the reception of the Gospel, and by his faithful, loving manner of warning the young against dangers yet more pressing. To the members of that Church had he specially ministered the Gospel of Christ, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commend-

ing himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God; and they knew how he exhorted and comforted and charged every one of them, as a father doth his children, that "ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto His kingdom and glory."

But he must also touch upon the more public work in which their dear brother was an invaluable helper. Not seeking it, but accepting it as a work to do when God's providence placed it before him, he took up heartily and vigorously the public defence of what he believed to be Christian principle. He had much at heart the defence of the Lord's day against the desecration of it so common around them, and nothing (as he had heard him say) ever so disheartened him as the decision of the Birmingham Town Council to open on the Sunday the Reference Library and Art Gallery. He looked upon that decision as the commencement of a more public disregard of the seventh day as a day of rest, and as the indication of a new and perilous policy on the part of their municipal authorities. He gave a helping hand to every project for the good—material and spiritual—of the people. When the poor had been suffering, owing to the inclemency of the weather, or the slackness of trade, he had been ever amongst them foremost to come to the rescue; and when it was felt that the church accommodation was altogether inadequate to the wants of the people, he, as the Hon. Secretary to the Church Extension Society, laboured more abundantly than all other men. Yes, he was a good and faithful servant of the Master he loved. He stood firm to his principles—immovable as a rock when he felt he had right on his side; and he worked on, even when surrounded by discouragements, with an admirable perseverance, as one who believed that God's cause *must* prevail. His record was now on high.

Such was the earthly judgment passed upon one who had been for forty years a minister of Christ, of which period two-and-twenty years had been spent in the Mission field. The text from which the preacher spoke was, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Rest was what he sorely needed: he is now in that world where "the weary are at rest." Into that which is beyond the veil we do not presume to enter. But we know that it is written—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." (Rev. xiv. 13.)



THE REV. HENRY VENN.

(From a Photograph.)

THE REV. HENRY VENN.

IN a notice which appeared in the newspapers at the time of Mr. Venn's death, it was remarked that the historian, Motley, has drawn a striking picture of that remarkable man, Philip of Spain—a little old man, sitting in his cabinet in the Escorial, poring over and noting with infinite labour despatches from all parts of the world, while mounted couriers waited for the replies he penned, which were to be transmitted to the confines of his vast empire.

It was noted also that until very recently, sitting in his room in Salisbury Square, might one similar in bodily weakness, in unflagging industry, in extent of correspondence, be seen—a form bent with age and struggling with infirmity; but in all else how different! how superior! a king among men!

With all his mighty power Philip was yet a contemptible person: his industry was little better than that of a common clerk; he was without any real capacity for business; he could barely read and understand the despatches which were laid before him.

"Those who worked with Mr. Venn and for him knew well the powerful mind, the perfect uprightness, the unfailing memory, the keen perception, the resolute will, the tenacious grasp of the man; but they knew well, too, the ready tact, the loving nature, the humour, the geniality, the kindness of manner, which constituted him a perfect Christian gentleman. They could also bear this testimony, that a harsh or impatient word was never heard from his lips."

Such was the Henry Venn with whom so many of the present generation were familiar, and upon whom they looked with feelings akin to wonder at beholding how marvellously the spirit could and did triumph over the infirmities of the flesh. None who were intimate with him can fail to remember with what reluctance the slightest assistance was accepted, and that it was true courtesy to allow him to travel on alone in the greatness of his bodily weakness.

There was, however, a period when the vigorous mind was lodged in a vigorous body, and his powers of the latter were devoted with as unflagging energy as were his great mental abilities to the cause which Mr. Venn had so much at heart. Many quaint stories have reached the writer from returned Missionaries who in the days of Henry Venn's prime felt themselves "driven furiously," walking wondrous distances to preach sermons, and speaking at remote meetings, under and with a leader to whom fatigue and feebleness were unknown. It is pleasant to recall the veneration with which, in the midst of what occasionally seemed murmurs, they spoke of the mighty leader whom they followed literally with faltering steps.

We do not doubt that in due season a suitable memoir will appear, which will relate all that is fitting of the private and inner life of Henry Venn, and which will be welcomed by all to whom his memory is dear. It will not, therefore, be necessary to do more here than to preserve a record of some leading facts of his life, devoting our space rather to a consideration of the relations in which he stood to the great Society to whom the powers of his life were consecrated. Our article will, therefore, be in some measure a review of the principles and progress of the institution of which he was so long the guiding and animating spirit. It was no error of judgment on the part of the public which identified the Church Missionary Society with Henry Venn, so completely had he transfused his soul into it, and become the life-blood as well as the exponent of its principles. When, however, it is borne in mind that probably in no Society which ever existed has there been more freedom for the expression of individual opinion than in the Church Missionary Society, and none where anything in the shape of dictatorship on the part of any individual, however eminent, would be more promptly resented, it is plain that such a result could only have proceeded from the

fact that from his earliest connexion with it Mr. Venn had heartily, thoroughly, and unhesitatingly accepted its "platform," and never at any period or moment swerved from it. It was in due season a recognized fact, that the voice which spoke in the Committee-room of the Church Missionary Society clothed in speech the sentiments of the leaders of Evangelical opinion throughout the length and breadth of England, expressing their views and their opinions. It has been often said that the Evangelical party are like a rope of sand, with no essential principle of union; but it is a marvellous testimony to the real homogeneity of their views that for so long a period one man could be trusted to utter them, and that in whatever situation he was placed those who were of the party to which he belonged accepted his utterances as theirs. We doubt whether any other party in the Church ever have yielded such steady allegiance to their leaders; in most cases they agree to differ from them, and are perpetually displacing their idols by fresh ones reared up to express the last new development of opinion which youth and inexperience may suggest. The secret, of course, of such persistent unanimity and deference lies in the fact that after all there are essential principles on which Evangelical men are agreed. When these are held heartily and unflinchingly, confidence is not difficult to gain, and is retained with comparative ease. There is no conceivable reason why Cecil, Scott, Simeon, Henry Martyn, Josiah Pratt, Edward Bickersteth, Daniel Wilson, Haldane Stewart, William Marsh, Daniel Corrie, John Tucker, and hosts of other eminent men—we speak now only of the dead, but the same might be asserted of the living—should not speak through one voice as through many, for their testimony on all essential points was and would be identical. The truth of this was unconsciously asserted when, on the Ritual Commission, Henry Venn sat all but alone the representative of the Evangelical clergy of the Church of England. When he spoke, men listened to the voice of many. It was in a certain sense a mockery that he should have been placed there in comparative isolation, surrounded by a body whose chief qualification was "*nos numerus sumus*." His vote was of necessity but the vote of an individual, and so far subtle tactics prevailed; but it would be hard to say how many disastrous votes were averted by the power of a voice which, influential in itself, was also felt to be the utterance of a party in the Church mighty for its faith and its good works. We must not, however, linger longer on such topics, but must briefly record some main points in Mr. Venn's life which it would be suitable to preserve in our pages.

The Rev. Henry Venn was born at Clapham, in Surrey, on the 10th of February, 1796. His father was the Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, and the son of the Rev. Henry Venn, successively Vicar of Huddersfield and Rector of Yelling, the author of the "*Complete Duty of Man*," and other religious works. His ancestors had been clergymen of the Church of England in an uninterrupted line from the period of the Reformation, sundry of them Cambridge men. His mother was Miss King, daughter of William King, Esq., of Hull. She was a woman of elevated piety, and lived much in the spirit of prayer. The late Mr. John Thornton wrote to Mr. Venn's grandfather, on the occasion of his son's marriage to Miss King, "I congratulate you and your whole family on having Miss King one of you. She is indeed a treasure, and will be an example to every one."

It pleased God, whilst Mr. Venn was very young—just about seven years old—to deprive him of a mother, whose watchful love and care might have been of such inestimable value to him; but, on his mother's death, his aunt, Jane Catherine Venn, came to live with her brother, and from that time acted the part of a wise and Christian mother to all his children.

Miss Jane Venn had been the sole and inseparable companion of her father during the

last few years of his life, and had watched over his declining health with devoted and tender assiduity. She was a woman, we are told in the memoir of her father, of a strong understanding and a well-furnished mind, which rendered her society a never-failing source of satisfaction and entertainment, while her judicious and active benevolence supplied her father's lack of service, when he was no longer able to inquire into the wants and necessities of his parishioners. She now came to her brother's house to take charge of his seven motherless children—Mr. Venn being his eldest son. Her death occurred so recently as 1852, when over ninety years of age.

Mr. Venn was brought up at home, and educated, together with a few pupils, by his father. No one, perhaps, ever had a more happy power of explaining any subject to young people, and interesting them in it, and of educating them, in the high and real sense of the word, than his father had. Still through life Mr. Venn regretted that he had not had the advantage of a public school education, to which he attributed a want of accuracy in scholarship and habits of steady application. He sent his younger brother to the Charter House and to Harrow. The late Lord Northbrook was one of his father's pupils. The friendship formed between him and Mr. Venn lasted through life; and when Sir Francis Baring, as he then was, became the first Lord of the Admiralty, he was ever ready and occasionally able to aid Mr. Venn in carrying out some of his many and various plans for the benefit of West Africa.

When the health of his father began to fail, Mr. Venn, then about sixteen years old, went to live with Professor Farish at Cambridge, one of his father's oldest and dearest friends, and remained under his tuition till he entered the university. At the time of his father's death Mr. Venn had just reached his seventeenth year. The more immediate cause of his being entered at college at so early an age, before he began residence, was, curiously enough, to avoid being balloted for the militia. Not very long before his death, and when it was evident that he could not recover, on one occasion when all his children were assembled together, with the exception of his son Henry, their father spoke to them about him in a way which showed what a just and discriminating estimate he had formed of his character, and expressed his unspeakable thankfulness to God for having given them such a wise and tenderly affectionate brother. But little, perhaps, did he think how wonderfully that character would be developed, and with what a single eye through a long life, and with what blessed success, all his powers of mind, so well balanced and so well regulated, would be applied to the one great object of extending the Redeemer's kingdom. On another occasion he remarked, "I had much rather see dear Henry a faithful preacher of Christ, full of love to Him, and always speaking of Him, than I would see him have the highest preferment that this kingdom could give him."

On another occasion again, when his son was present, he thus addressed him:—"Now, Henry, the business of your life must be to make known your Saviour. He has called you, I trust, by His grace, to add one to the long list of His servants who have ministered at His altar; and it must be your business to be 'instant in season and out of season'—to exhort, rebuke, and teach His flock, and by every means in your power to bring people to the knowledge of all the blessings of His Gospel, that they may themselves experience them, and that there may be many your crown of rejoicing in the great day of the Lord. It is a noble work to which you are called, my dear Henry—one far more honourable than that of an ambassador to an earthly prince; you are to be an ambassador for God—to deliver the message of Christ—to speak of His name. Oh, may God fill your whole soul with a sense of the vast importance of a Redeemer, and may you travail in birth till Christ be formed within you! Give yourself wholly up to it. Do not suffer your attention to be distracted by other things. You have a holy work before you—Christ to help you—the Holy Spirit to enlighten you—Heaven for your

home—the Bible for your guide. Travel with these companions through the world as a pilgrim and a stranger, seeking One above, and may you bring many souls to glory!" It was upon this, or on a similar occasion, that Mr. Venn, as he afterwards told some of his family, lifting up his heart to God, solemnly pledged himself, in dependence on His grace, to give himself wholly up through life to the service of his God and Saviour.

About a year and a half after his father's death Mr. Venn entered Queen's College, the President of which was Dr. Isaac Milner. He took his degree, nineteenth Wrangler, in 1818, Shaw Lefevre being senior Wrangler, and Connop Thirlwall senior Medallist. During part of the summer he resided with Mr. Wilberforce, at Rydal, reading for his Fellowship, to which he was elected in January, 1819, and the year following he was ordained upon it as his title. After taking two temporary charges, one at Beckenham and the other in London, he was licensed to the curacy of St. Dunstan's in the West, where he at once became a member of the Church Missionary Committee. This curacy he held for four years, and then returned to Cambridge for a course of regular theological study, which he found impossible in the midst of active parochial engagements. He was shortly afterwards offered the Tutorship of his own college, which he accepted, and during this period he filled the office of Proctor of the University. In 1827 he was appointed by Mr. Simeon, at the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce, who had just made over the patronage to him, to the living of Drypool, near Hull, where he resided for six years. In an interesting notice of Mr. Venn, in the "*Christian Advocate*," it is observed that there was little beyond its connexion with Hull to recommend it to a person of refined mind and habits. But he accepted the post, and, having done so, he worked hard there.

"He threw himself," writes his old and valued friend, the Rev. Canon Jarratt, "into all the public business of the parish, attended all the vestry and parish meetings, and by his tact and energy brought that disorderly place into such a state of order in the course of two or three years, as quite to astonish those who had known it previously. Here, in fact, it was that his great talent of managing men first, I believe, developed itself. At a time when the education of the people was not as much thought of as at present, he raised money for building and maintaining national schools in Drypool. With him originated the plan of district visitors and lending tracts. Hull thus became divided into 120 districts, having as many district visitors, who met together every month; and he was the secretary of the society under which it was organized.

"Another of his public acts was the raising money for the erection of the column with his statue on the top, to the memory of Wilberforce, who was born in Hull, and represented it in Parliament. The foundation stone was laid on the day on which slavery was finally and completely abolished throughout the British dominions."

In January, 1829, he married Martha, the fourth daughter of Nicholas Sykes, Esq., of Swanland, near Hull. In these days, when so much idle and unprofitable talk is poured forth about the celibacy of the clergy, especially in its bearings upon Missionary life, it may be both interesting and valuable to place upon record Mr. Venn's opinions upon this most important topic. It was one in which he always felt a deep interest, and while earnestly deprecating precipitate unions on the part of untried men and counselling adherence to the regulations of the Society, he ever wisely and well wished that the Missionary should be in conformity with Apostolic precept—"the husband of one wife." Writing some years ago to a friend who had recently married, in an expression of wishes and prayers on the bride's behalf, he prays "that she may thoroughly understand and act upon the great secret of married life—that a wife's happiness consists in her identity with the work which the Lord has assigned to her husband—that herein, especially in the details, the hopes and fears, the successes and failures

in the actual work of the ministry—if a minister's wife she is to be a helpmeet for him. The snare and temptation is to make two departments, domestic and professional. Away with the distinction! both are the wife's departments, if a wife indeed, and any sacrifice of spiritual duties for the sake of domestic enjoyment is false, it may be fatal, policy. Suffer me to speak with the freedom of an old friend, with the plainness of one who can look back upon past happiness; the hours you spend upon your knees together in wrestling for a blessing upon ministerial labours and in conference upon spiritual duties and interests will one day prove the stars which can alone light up the gloom and chill of a night of widowhood. But long may you be permitted to labour together in the Lord, and to rejoice in the fulness of happiness which He has graciously bestowed upon you." In a similar strain he wrote to a Missionary brother on the death of his wife:—"When first such a precious treasure is taken from us, we seem still to retain the benefits, and in a sense the comfort, of our late possession; but as weeks and months and years roll on we awake to a sense of our loss and desolation. Nothing but a clear conviction of the Saviour's presence, a cleaving to Him with purpose of heart, a renewed self-dedication to Him—body, soul, and spirit—nothing else can quench the anguish of such a separation, and you will find that in such exercises you are brought nearer to your beloved wife, for she is with Him. And it is true now (in a sense), as well as hereafter, that those which sleep in Him will He bring with Him when He comes to visit a soul in the Church Militant. . . . After such a dispensation, though your natural constitution may sink, your soul will, I trust, rise to renewed spiritual life; your conversation will be more in heaven. Thus the death of God's dear children is made life to many souls, and a monument is raised to their memory more noble and durable than the wealth of the nation can confer on its choicest favourites."

In Mr. Venn's own case, those who knew him and his wife most intimately affirm that "it was a most happy union; never were a husband and wife joined together in sweeter or holier bonds." In 1834, on the invitation of his dear friend, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, the present Vicar of Islington, he accepted the living of St. John's, Holloway, and at once resumed his place in the Committee meetings in Salisbury Square. It was in the year 1838 that he was attacked with most dangerous illness, proceeding from heart-disease, which precluded him from all work in preaching for at least a year and a half. In this interval of enforced rest he busied himself among other important matters in the compilation of the "Islington Hymn Book," in which he had a chief share. A fresh and still more painful trial shortly awaited him, when in March, 1840, he was called upon to resign into the hands of Him from whom eleven years before he had received her, the wife upon whom his affections centred. He did so in the same spirit in which he had received her. The glimpses of his inner man revealed in the extracts we have furnished above will testify what that spirit was. In the course of the same year he became the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, resigning in 1846 St. John's and all parochial work that his whole time might be devoted to the great cause of Missions.

It must have been to him, to a considerable degree, an act of self-denial when he thus relinquished his parochial charge, for Mr. Venn always delighted in the work of the ministry. Had he remained all his life labouring as a parochial minister, he would have spent it in a way most useful, and most honourable, and most congenial with his own feelings. Both at Drypool and at Holloway he had acquired in a wonderful degree the esteem and the love of his people. Had he accepted the Bishopric of Madras, which was suggested to him by an influential friend about the time that he came to Holloway, he might have had many opportunities of exercising his ministry, and he might have made his Diocese a model Diocese for its organization, and obtained a great influence over its clergy, and at the same time greatly promoted the cause of Missions in that part of the

heathen world. But he had a more difficult and a more noble work to do—a work for which he was pre-eminently fitted, and to which God manifestly called him. Every one who longs for the establishment of God's kingdom throughout the world, and knew what Mr. Venn was, and the work which he was doing, will thank God that he lived and died the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

Before, however, we enter upon any review of Mr. Venn's career as Secretary, it will be very interesting and instructive to trace the way in which God was pleased to train and prepare His faithful servant for the great work to which he was called. If we would trace it to the first link in the chain of human instrumentality, we must go back to the days when his grandfather was spending the last few years of his life in his quiet parsonage at Yelling, grown prematurely old, at the age of 68, by his unwearied and exhausting labours. During those years of bodily weakness and retirement from public life, this aged servant of the Lord was almost incessantly praying for his children and grandchildren, and for his many dear relatives and friends, and above all for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom throughout all nations of the earth. He was never tired of thinking and reading and speaking of those days when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea; "searching what time or what manner of time" the word of Prophecy did signify respecting the accomplishment of these things. Again and again did he say to his children, "I shall not live to see those days, and you will not live to see them: but PERHAPS my grandchildren may!" At that time there were only one or two societies in England which were engaged in spreading the Gospel among the heathen, and their annual reports only occupied a few pages. But for these annual reports, few and meagre as they were, he looked with all eagerness, and read them with intense thankfulness and delight. Mr. Venn was only a year and a few months old when his grandfather died. But during the last few months of his life he came to live and die at Clapham, close to his son's house; and there he often saw his little grandson, and would take him in his arms or hold him on his knees, looking fondly at him and blessing him. May we not suppose that fervent prayers were then especially offered up for this child who seemed so dear to him, that he might be a soldier of the cross, and a faithful minister of the everlasting Gospel: and perhaps even that he might be a Missionary, or in some way be instrumental in making known the Gospel to the heathen? May we not at least believe that those earnest and unceasing prayers, which for years together were offered up for the conversion of the heathen, were in one way at least answered, when his son became one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society, and when that child grew up to love the Society, even as a youth, and to devote for more than thirty years to the service of that Society such gifts and graces as have rarely been found combined in any one man, and with a success which continually called forth the gratitude and praise of all its friends?

Then, besides these prayers of the grandfather, there were the prayers and the example and the conversation and the training of the father. He had a remarkable power of organization. He was probably the first clergyman that ever divided his parish into districts, and arranged for the systematic visitation of them with the help of Christian members of his congregation. This was many years before Dr. Chalmers so powerfully advocated the system of district visiting. Mr. Venn also had himself, in a remarkable degree, the power of organizing. And there was the atmosphere of Clapham, where great and good men—Wilberforce, and Thornton, and Grant, and Stephen, and Macaulay, and Lord Teignmouth, and others, in conjunction with his father,—were always forming and carrying out plans for the emancipation of the slaves, and the advancement of real Christianity throughout the world. On such a mind and such a heart,

young as Mr. Venn then was, all these things must have produced a deep and lasting effect.

There is a most interesting paper drawn up by Mr. Venn in the November number of the "Christian Observer" of last year, called "Providential Antecedents of the Sierra Leone Mission," in which he mentions an incident which made a great impression on his mind when he was very young, and which may have given the first impulse to that special interest he ever took in the sons and daughters of Africa to the last hour of his life. Several of the leading chiefs in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone had been persuaded by Mr. Macaulay to entrust their sons to his care, for their education in England, and an establishment was formed for their reception at Clapham. Referring to these boys, Mr. Venn says: "The writer of this paper well recollects, in early boyhood, being invited by Mr. Macaulay, one Sunday afternoon, to go with him to the African Seminary, to hear the boys examined in the Bible. They stood in a semicircle round Mr. Macaulay while he questioned them in Scripture history; and Mr. Henry Thornton stood by Mr. Macaulay's side, evidently much interested in the group before him; while Mr. Wilberforce, on the outside of the group, went from boy to boy, patting them on the shoulder as they gave good answers to questions, and giving them each a few words of encouragement, and an admonition to teach the same truths to their countrymen." Eight of those boys were subsequently baptized in Clapham Church by Mr. Venn's father on the 12th of May, 1805.

It was about this time, also, that the two first Missionaries were sent forth by the Society, viz., Messrs. Renner and Hartwig, and before they sailed for Sierra Leone they spent a few days in his father's house; and to mention another circumstance that tended to strengthen the interest of Mr. Venn at this early age in Missions, and especially Missions to Africa, a member of his father's household, who had been for some years a nurse in his family,—a woman of superior intelligence and devoted piety,—married Mr. Hartwig, and accompanied him to Africa, and proved a most efficient Missionary's wife.

From the time, also, that Mr. Venn went to College, he was being trained and educated as it were for the great work to which he was to be called. Whether he was living at Cambridge as an undergraduate, or residing there in after years as a tutor of a college and a Proctor of the University; whether he was labouring as a curate in a country village, or in the crowded population of London; whether he was exercising his ministry in Drypool, where he continually came in contact with such brethren as Dykes and Scott of Hull, and the hard-headed, warm-hearted men of the north, or in Holloway, where he was surrounded by so many friends, and brought into connexion with so many men of business—wherever he was, he was always acquiring knowledge, and accumulating stores of information on every subject, and getting a more thorough insight into men, and the way of dealing with them. And it was this vast amount of practical knowledge upon almost every subject which, combined with a keen perception and a calm and discriminating and most matured judgment, and a perfect command of temper and great and delicate tact—all under the influence and guidance of vital religion—enabled him to enter into all the questions connected with the Society's operations both of a secular and a spiritual nature, and always to work in love and harmony with a large body of intelligent and independent men—not a few of them men of rank and distinction—and to accomplish in so thorough a manner such an astonishing amount of work.

It was at a critical period that Mr. Venn was called to the helm in Salisbury Square. For more than forty years the Church Missionary Society had prosecuted its labours in different quarters of the world. Its income had risen nearly to 90,000*l.*, and more

than 6000 communicants were "living epistles to be known and read of all men," testimonies that the Gospel had been unto them "the power of salvation." It cannot be said that the Society had fought under the cold shade of Episcopacy, for neither shade nor support had been extended to it, except by a few godly prelates who had suffered no small obloquy from their attachment to the Society. It is curious now to look back upon a period when such a mighty work was going on; when it was manifest that the Society was a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches were running over the wall, and yet neither sign nor token of encouragement had proceeded from the Bishops of our Church. It was in the first year of Mr. Venn's Secretariat that communications were opened up through Bishop Blomfield, which resulted in the adhesion of the Archbishops and of a goodly number of the Bishops to the Society, with which they have worked in harmony ever since. It must have been a crucial test of the wisdom, the tact, and the influence of the new Secretary, that so successful a negotiation should have been carried on by one comparatively a novice in his position. In his sermon on the Marriage Ring, Jeremy Taylor, after his quaint fashion, says, "Every little thing can blast an infant blossom, and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolidation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have by the warm embraces of the sun, and the kisses of heaven, brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north and the loud noises of the tempest, and yet never be broken. So are the early unions of an unfixed marriage: watchful and observant, zealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word." Such was indeed the newly cemented union between the Prelates who had so long watched the Society with doubt and suspicion, and the body to whom they had so tardily given in their adhesion. It required no small wisdom to effect the union; it required still more to nurture and confirm it. We may have occasion to furnish evidence of this as we pass along. Again the circumstances of the Church were most critical. The founders of the Society had had to contend with stupid apathy or unreasoning bigotry, which, whenever it attempted argument, manifested its absurdity. There had therefore been no intelligent opposition arrayed against it. Men disliked the Society, but they could not tell why they did so, at any rate in any manner calculated to convince. But recently in Oxford there had been growing up a school of theologians imbued with Romish proclivities, some of whom were possessed of learning, to whom the principles of the Church Missionary Society were the object of their most extreme aversion. "Tract 90" had been published in the year before Mr. Venn joined the Secretariat, and it was clear that thenceforward there would be a new and fierce antagonism against the Society carried on by men who knew what they were about, and who could furnish plausible grounds for their hostility. Meanwhile the mass of the clergy, who only imperfectly comprehended the new teaching, were becoming doubtful and bewildered, especially when their strict allegiance was claimed for older and venerable societies, which were shaking off the lethargy which had for a long season hung around them. To these societies the hearts of many evangelical men clung, although the treatment which they had experienced had been of the strangest; and now that there were symptoms of returning life there arose a desire for union and amalgamation, naturally fostered by the new patrons of the Church Missionary Society. It was at this juncture when men like Pusey, Newman, Froude, Williams, were scouting the designation of Protestant, and asserting that the designation of the Church of England was Catholic, that in the first Report with which the name of Henry Venn was connected, and in which the adhesion of the Bishops to the Society was proclaimed, the following noble passage occurs:—

But let not this appeal of the Committee be mistaken. Let it not be supposed that it is on gold, or silver, or patronage, that they found their hopes of success. God forbid! It is the faithful, plain, and full maintenance of those great principles of *the truth* as it *is* in *Jesus*, by all the Agents and Missionaries of this Society, without compromise and

without reserve—it is the sustentation of that Scriptural, Protestant, and Evangelical tone throughout all their ministrations—it is the upholding of the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the foundation and rule of faith—upon which the blessing of God has rested, does rest, and ever will rest.

In the same Report, although the letter has not the name of Henry Venn attached to it, there is a communication to the Secretaries of Associations on the inexpediency of unions with other societies, grounded upon most weighty reasons, to which we well know Mr. Venn perpetually referred as the guide for all its officials in their dealings throughout the country. We cannot assert positively that it was the coinage of his brain, although it bears the impress of his judgment, but it was a manifesto to which he gave thirty years of the most unqualified adherence.

We dwell upon these matters because, although among the earliest with which he was officially connected, they were ruling principles throughout his administration. It has been said that Henry Venn was not a party man. In a certain sense he was not. He had a mind which soared above mean and petty jealousies. He could cordially acknowledge good in an adversary to truth when it was perceptible. But this magnanimity never led him into foolish compromises of principle under the plea of charity. He never could be found taking counsel with those who were not like-minded with himself, and as zealous for Protestant and Evangelical truth as he was. He was not to be found one day foremost among the ranks of Evangelical men, another day simpering amidst those who hated all that savoured of the doctrines and practices of the Reformation; so gaining applause for compromises inconsistent with his honest, manly nature, and with the spiritual convictions of his inmost soul.

It is deserving of especial notice to observe that the all-important question of the constitution and practice of the Church Missionary Society, with reference to its ecclesiastical relations, had been the first great subject on which the sagacious mind of Henry Venn had engaged itself. He had carefully and deliberately formed conclusions elaborated in a most masterly minute which he had contributed to the Society before he joined the Secretariat. It was put forward in the first Report which presented his name to the public, and has appeared with undeviating regularity without a shadow of change in every subsequent issue till the last before his death. We trust no Report will ever go forth without it—the Magna Charta of the Society. A thoughtful perusal of it would go far to dispel from all rational minds the notion that there is a shadow of irregularity or usurpation of spiritual functions on the part of the Church Missionary Society. In the emphatic language of the minute, "The Church Missionary Society may be regarded as an Institution for discharging the temporal and lay offices necessary for the preaching of the Gospel among the heathen. It is strictly a Lay Institution; it exercises as a Society no spiritual functions whatever." When the Missionaries of the Society are within the jurisdiction of a Colonial Bishop, all the ordained Missionaries are submitted for licence to the Bishop of the diocese in which they are stationed; no Missionary exercises his spiritual functions in such a diocese without a licence. The Society further recognizes the discretion of the Bishop to grant or withhold his licence, and the propriety of specifying in such licence a particular district as the field of labour, so that a Missionary cannot be removed from one district to another within a diocese without the sanction of the Bishop. Where Missionaries are in stations extra diocesan, the Society endeavours to procure the benefits of the episcopal office from the nearest Bishop of the Church of England. With such ample and becoming deference the Archbishops and Bishops of the

Church of England were satisfied, and with the exception of one untoward incident, where the blundering zeal of local officials in India seriously compromised the Society, putting it distinctly in the wrong, no breach of harmony occurred during the whole period of Mr. Venn's tenure of office. We have dwelt upon this matter at some length because it exemplifies with what lucid views and matured judgment he undertook the responsibilities of the Secretariat, and because he himself has said, "None but those within these walls have known the amount of labour, of anxiety, of time, and of thought, of earnest prayer and of patient faith, which have been expended upon the establishment of these relations upon a satisfactory basis." He never had occasion to swerve from the great fundamental principles which he enunciated in the outset of his career. When we remember the anxious times through which he lived, and how wonderful have been the changes of thought and feeling undergone by men of high intelligence, many of whom have during that period boxed the whole ecclesiastical compass, unsettled and unsettling others throughout their whole career, it is not easy to overrate the quietness and confidence which must have been imparted to the supporters of the Church Missionary Society in their great work, when they reflected that, whatever or whoever else might change or shift about, there was neither shifting nor turning to be dreaded in Henry Venn. It must not, however, be imagined for a moment that, because Mr. Venn addressed himself to his mighty task with settled convictions and a judgment already formed upon all the main topics of the work, he was therefore indisposed to the reception of new ideas, or unwilling to profit by fresh light, from whatever quarter it might proceed. There was a sense in which he was "ever learning;" it was marvellous to witness the patience and the courtesy with which he would listen to long-winded narratives from which apparently little profitable could result; but when they proceeded, as they usually did, from parties who had been in some way or other acquainted with Missionary work, they were listened to, and the few grains of corn carefully treasured up out of the bushels of chaff in which they had been smothered. In reality, the breadth of the great principles on which Mr. Venn's views of Mission work were founded, co-equal with the truth and extent of God's work, were sufficient to bear even a larger superstructure than he was ever permitted to raise upon them. A narrow-minded bigot, possessing the settled purpose and pertinacity which were remarkable in Mr. Venn, might indeed have been a formidable person in the position which he held; but the love for souls, the love for the Lord Jesus Christ with which he was animated, and the love which he bore to all who loved the Saviour, enabled him ever to take a comprehensive grasp of all great questions, and to recognize fully the claims of others without allowing them undue interference with those which he himself held to be essential for the prosperity of the undertaking in which he was engaged.

Another remarkable feature in Mr. Venn's career was the resolute manner in which he ever kept clear of all extraneous questions which were not clearly involved in his duties as Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Those who are at all acquainted with what is oddly enough termed the religious world—we use the designation for its compendiousness—must be well aware what a phantasmagoria of views must have flitted before Mr. Venn's gaze during his long period of service. With regard to multitudes, with little exaggeration it may be said that there were "*quot homines, tot sententiæ*," and it would be hard to tell how many enthusiasts must have rushed into Salisbury Square, hoping to convert the Secretary, and through him the Society, to the adoption of their peculiar views. Then, again, in all the theological strife which raged, the temptation must have been great to prevail upon the influential Secretary of the Church Missionary Society to lend the weight of his presence and advocacy to the multitude of schemes which were perpetually cropping

up for all sorts of objects, polemical as well as benevolent. Few persons probably were more intimately acquainted with all the internal movements of the Evangelical party, and on numberless occasions his unrivalled sagacity was unhesitatingly appealed to in the direction of difficult questions; but his loyalty to the great cause, which he had made the work of his lifetime, was far too unwavering to admit of his compromising it by putting himself forward and openly identifying himself with plans and projects which might have caused needless offence, or created prejudice against the conversion of the heathen. While, therefore, peace reigned in Salisbury Square, and the work of Missions was promoted steadily and harmoniously, other societies, to which we do not care to advert more particularly, were the chosen battle-fields in which all sorts of ecclesiastical quarrels were fought out *à outrance*, and their own proper work was lost sight of in the fury of the contest. For deliverance from such strife the Church Missionary Society is mainly indebted to the self-denying resolution of Henry Venn, who taught, by his example, that men had in the Committee-room but one object to pursue—their peculiar fancies were to be ventilated elsewhere; and as his devotion to the Society was exclusive, so did he ungrudgingly employ in its service not only all the resources of his commanding intellect, but also every other means and appliance at his disposal for the furtherance of its interests. No one took a keener interest or exercised more watchful vigilance than he did over Parliamentary elections, not merely because he took an interest in such matters as an intelligent citizen, but that he might discover in them some help for the Missionary cause. In this he was powerfully assisted by very early and intimate friendship with some eminent political leaders, who largely influenced public opinion. With naval officers, especially those employed on the West Coast of Africa, he was constantly on the most intimate terms, and he kept up a regular correspondence with them; by this means several Sierra Leone lads were trained on board our men of war, and in due season became valuable members of society. In the same spirit he would buy the most expensive aneroid barometers, prismatic compasses, sextants, telescopes, &c., and in his brief holidays in North Wales practice himself in the use of them to see if they could not be made serviceable to Missionaries. It was a vexation to him that none of the West African Missionaries would take the trouble of making surveys and of calculating heights; he wished them to do it for themselves, and to train the natives to the same habits of accurate observation. In more direct connexion with Missionary work was the energy which he bestowed on the standard Alphabet of Lepsius, which was in part really his own doing; but all the powers of his mind were brought to bear upon the object of making the reduction of a spoken language more easy in writing for the translator. He was in constant communication on this subject with Bunsen (the Prussian ambassador), with Professors at our Universities, and with the most learned Missionaries and philologists abroad. It was the testimony of Bishop Crowther—"You have done more, sir, to-day for Christianity in Africa than you ever did before; for now we can write down our languages without fear of being misunderstood." Until that time the Native Clergy had been bewildered with the differences between the English and German Missionaries as to the pronunciation and the equivalents of most letters. With all the details of trade, especially that relating to the African coast, he was most intimately acquainted; Manchester merchants bear remarkable testimony to his wonderful aptitude for business and knowledge of all the requirements of the African trade. One eminent man, Mr. Clegg, delights in bearing testimony to Mr. Venn's high qualifications as a business man. In the work of the Secretariat itself there was no department of which he was not thoroughly master, and in which he was not intimately concerned. As a quaint instance of the universal manner in which all men

referred to him, we may notice that an appeal was made to him from a gentleman who was going to take the chair at a Missionary meeting; it stated that he knew nothing of the subject, and would Mr. Venn work him out a speech that he might commit to memory?

To all these multifarious accomplishments was superadded the most indomitable power of work. No one who was not very intimate with him, and staying in his house, could form any idea of the way in which for years together he was working, as it were, against time; and all day—and, it might be added, too often the greater part of the night also—taxing all the powers and energies of his strong and determined mind to the very utmost, yet always finding time to discharge the duties of a most watchful and affectionate father; always ready to show the deepest and most genuine sympathy with his nearest relatives in all that concerned their welfare; and to welcome and hospitably entertain his numerous friends, especially the Missionaries and native converts who might at any time be in England.

Still he was always calm; always maintaining a spiritual state of mind; always aiming at God's glory; however momentous the interests involved in the questions before him, and however anxious and threatening the aspect of things might be, always confident that God would order and overrule everything to the ultimate advancement of His kingdom.

It may seem mysterious that during some of the later years of his life he should have been so infirm, and often have suffered so much pain. But all was right. He had for many years glorified God by an energy and an activity, both of mind and body, that never failed him. He had now an opportunity of glorifying God by most cheerfully acquiescing in his altered circumstances, and by heroically labouring on in the midst of weakness and suffering.

To these details of his personal qualifications for the post of Secretary to the Church Missionary Society we need hardly add that his service was freely and ungrudgingly given, without fee or reward of any kind whether from the Society or any other source whatever. We ought, perhaps, to except a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, value 2*l.* per annum, in return for a sermon preached, we believe, on St. Thomas's Day, to which he was preferred by the kindness of Bishop Blomfield, with whom his relations were ever of the most cordial and friendly character.

Fully to write the career of Henry Venn as Secretary would be simply to recapitulate every measure which was undertaken for the advancement of the Society, whether at home or abroad. To his unceasing exertions it was due, not only that the income of the Society was largely increased, but also that its financial position was placed on a satisfactory footing, so that the management of its affairs could challenge comparison with those of any well-ordered house of business in the City. In this work he was largely aided by the sound advice and devoted labours of those members of the Committee who were familiar with mercantile affairs; but it can readily be imagined how essential it would be that there should be some one in the office capable of comprehending the advice given and of seeing that it was effectually carried out. In such work no one was more able or competent than Henry Venn. We may notice, too, that while he was permanent his colleagues in office were perpetually changing. It is curious, in glancing through a succession of reports, to note how new names are perpetually replacing old ones, so that it is seldom that two or three years present the same Secretaries. For a long time he had the valued and able assistance of his dear and honoured friend, Major Hector Straith; and for some time that of one whose premature removal he most bitterly deplored, the Rev. John Chapman, a man of singular ability and most devoted zeal; but, as a rule, changes were unhappily very frequent. Mr. Venn,

therefore, was the permanent connecting link with all the great transactions of the Society, as he was ever the medium of communication with the authorities in Church and State. Whether, therefore, it was all the delicate management of Missions in Palestine, upon which the whole fury of the Tractarian party was for a season concentrated to such an extent that their extreme violence drew down upon them the censure of the four Archbishops in marked rebuke of their wild and unauthorized proceedings; or, again, all the anxieties consequent upon the progress and failure of the original Niger Mission, which has since been so successfully carried on through Native agency to a degree largely fulfilling the most sanguine hopes of the original promoters of the scheme; or, again, the organization of Native Churches which was the chief object to which the later years of his official life were devoted, the labouring oar was undertaken by Henry Venn. A curious incident in connexion with the first establishment of the Native Church in Sierra Leone has been mentioned in an interesting memorandum kindly placed at our disposal. A Native merchant from that colony was taking tea with Mr. Venn, who, after his manner, was questioning him about all his doings in Africa and Europe. It appeared that he had got his wife and family with him, that they were then travelling in Scotland, and afterwards going to Paris. Mr. Venn said to him, "Now, if you can afford to spend all this money in travelling for your pleasure, why don't you contribute something to the support of your own clergy instead of leaving it all to us in England?" The answer was: "Mr. Venn, treat us like men, and we will behave like men; but so long as you treat us as children, we shall behave like children. Let us manage our own Church affairs, and we shall pay our own clergy." Such a fruitful hint was not likely to be lost upon such a person as Mr. Venn. The consequences of it are still being felt, even in the ends of the earth. An arrangement, which received the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, was shortly afterwards drawn up, in 1853, regulating the affairs of the Native Church, and placing the charge and superintendence of the Native Pastors and Christian congregations under the Bishop of Sierra Leone, assisted by a Council and a Church Committee. The Native Pastors were to obtain a suitable income from local resources, and their status was assimilated to that of incumbents at home. For other Missions, more especially in India, measures tending in the same direction have been inaugurated; but it is a grave and anxious question, which has not yet met with its full and entire solution.

When, again, after the fearful mutiny in India of 1857, there seemed a strange unwillingness on the part of Parliament and her Majesty's Government to inaugurate a Christian policy in India, the voice of Mr. Venn was earnestly and powerfully upraised. He claimed that justice to India "required that Government should repeal its prohibition of the Bible in its own schools, so that teachers and scholars who may be willing to study God's Word in school hours may do it without breaking the law." In these views he and those who thought with him encountered much opposition, but he was greatly cheered by the resolute attitude assumed by the Duke of Marlborough on this momentous question, and by the friendly efforts of Bishop Cotton, for whom he entertained the sincerest affection. In his correspondence it is striking to remark the yearning fondness with which he speaks of him. The feeling with which he himself approached the matter may be best understood from the following extract of a letter upon this education question to his dear friend, Archdeacon Pratt, of Calcutta:—"The Lord has gone out before us. Let Indian Evangelization be taken up as the work of our day and generation, and the good hand of the Lord will be with us." The celebrated despatch of 1854 was not all that Mr. Venn and those like-minded with him desired, but it was, indeed, a step in advance. An earnest friend of Missions in India wrote of it at the time, "I think of it with awe, certainly with wonder, and I would wish to say at least with thankfulness to God."

It would be out of place here to detail at length how its provisions were frustrated and overridden, but it is remarkable that, even as we are writing, in the Indian correspondence of the *Times* (April 7) Lord Northbrook, the son of Mr. Venn's oldest and most intimate friend, now Governor-General of India, while emphatically endorsing all the principles of that despatch, declared that all his training and feelings were in favour of the gradual withdrawal of Government from its own secular colleges, as the despatch provided, so as to get rid of that State promotion of pure secularism which Bishop Cotton (and, we may add, Henry Venn) deprecated, and orthodox Hindoo fathers denounce as sapping the morals of their sons, and to allow the people to educate themselves under proper supervision. The well-informed correspondent of the *Times* observes that Lord Northbrook has left his mark for ever on education in India, and after eighteen years has given the despatch of 1854 its full development.

It was in the midst of all these absorbing engagements that he found time to write his life of Francis Xavier. There is probably no subject on which there is more delusion prevalent than the actual condition of Romish Missions. Quite enough has been accomplished by them to render them an acknowledged and substantial fact; but to get at any satisfactory statement is no easy matter. Reliable statistics there are none, or next to none. All sorts of trumpery legends, of a most monotonous character, have been so intimately mixed up with *bond-fide* acts of self-devotion that it would require the skill of a Niebuhr to distinguish the "Lay of St. Francis" from the history of Francis Xavier. In his particular case his own letters help to a rational conclusion; but it is far otherwise with many saints less eminent but more mythical. The task of extracting from the mass of idle legend the true history of Francis Xavier was undertaken and ably accomplished by Mr. Venn; but the book was not pleasant reading for those who came to it with heated imaginations. To find a glorified saint reduced into a zealous and devoted Missionary was distasteful in the extreme, but the book itself was and ever will be most valuable. It was the result of great labour and considerable research. Shortly afterwards he found himself called upon to act upon two Royal Commissions in succession; one of these was to consider the expediency of some relaxation of the terms of Clerical Subscription. It was a matter disposed of with comparative ease. But the other, which is popularly known as the Ritual Commission, was a far more formidable undertaking. We have already adverted to the trying nature of his position in that ill-assorted assembly, and need not dwell further upon it. But no notice of his life would be complete without bringing prominently forward the indomitable energy which, in the spite of increasing age and manifest infirmities, in addition also "to the care of all the churches" in connexion with the work of the Church Missionary Society,—a duty never abandoned or intermitted—enabled him to master, with considerable pains and research, the intricate questions which came before the Commission. He was unwearied in his attendance, and unflagging in his labours. He never missed a single sitting of the Commission. If the intention of those who manipulated the Commission had been to impose upon the nation the appearance without the reality of a voice being allowed to the Evangelical Clergy, they must have been woefully disappointed. His days were spent in alternating between the Jerusalem Chamber and the Committee-room in Salisbury Square, and this under circumstances which would have prevailed with most men not to stir beyond the precincts of their home. Like Lord Chatham, the might of his intellect and his exalted sense of duty triumphed over all the physical evils under which inferior men succumb. Those who knew him will appreciate at what cost of personal feeling he allowed himself to be carried up-stairs to the Committee-room, which he could not otherwise reach. Many anxious

and painful questions, involving much distress and anxiety, occupied the attention of Mr. Venn and the Committee of the Church Missionary Society at this period. They were finally brought to a successful issue, and it may be therefore quite needless to advert to them. One, however, still remains unsettled: we mean that of the Madagascar Bishopric. The part taken by Mr. Venn in the matter was that which might have been anticipated from his loyal and truthful nature. It would have been strange indeed if the last act of his official life should have been in direct contravention of the principles which he had stoutly upheld for so many years, and that for the first and only time in his career he should have busied himself in thwarting and unsettling the labours of Societies which he had ever held in honour. Had he been capable of such action his sun would indeed have set in clouds and thick darkness. But not such a man was Henry Venn.

Latterly, when infirmities increased greatly upon him, his attendance in Salisbury Square became less frequent, but his interest in the anxious questions perpetually arising was unabated, and his wise counsels and rich experience still guided the deliberations of the Society. The "Christian Observer," moreover, which upon the death of the former editor, the Rev. J. B. Marsden, he had undertaken to edit, furnished additional occupation and interest to his ever-active mind.

It became, however, at length imperative for him to withdraw finally from the office which he had so long and so ably filled. As a matter of record we preserve the minute adopted by the Society upon this occasion, and Mr. Venn's reply:—

"In confirming the Resolution of the Patronage Committee, and thus conferring on the Rev. H. Venn the highest distinction that is in their power to bestow, the Committee desire to express their sense of the utter inadequacy of such honour to represent the indebtedness of this Society to their beloved and honoured friend, and, at the same time, to record their devout thankfulness to Almighty God for the token of His favour towards them and their work in raising up one so specially qualified for the work he had to do, and for so long preserving him to assist, by his deep piety and good judgment, the counsels of this Society."

At the Meeting of the General Committee, December 9, the following letter from the Rev. H. Venn was read, and, by the Committee's Resolution, recorded in the Minutes:—

"*East Sheen, S.W., Dec. 7, 1872.*

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received through Lord Chichester your letter of Nov. 27, 1872, in which the Committee, in far kinder words than I deserve, commemorate my thirty years of service as their Secretary and coadjutor in the blessed work of the Church Missionary Society.

"Lord Chichester has also been pleased to signify most kindly his concurrence in the sentiments you have expressed, and in your announcement of my appointment as a Vice-President of the Society.

"If I regarded the position the Committee

have given me as an acknowledgment of any value set on my services in this holy cause I should feel compelled to decline the honour. The records of our Society testify to the wide extent and multifarious particulars of the Society's work, involving a vast amount of correspondence, together with the sending out of many Missionaries into the foreign field. Many able and excellent men have shared with me the office of Secretary, and it would be impossible, even if it were desirable, to assign the merit of any part of this vast work to any individual agent. The President, Committee, and Officers of the Society, together with a large company of voluntary agents, including Deputations to Meetings and weekly collectors, and every subscriber, are united through the providence of God for carrying out His purposes of mercy to a dark world. No one can say of another, 'I have no need of thee.' No one can take credit for the success which God has been pleased to assign to the work. It is my solemn conviction before God that all throughout this vast agency have striven to do the work which He has assigned them, and that he who prays much and exercises the most simple faith may be found at the last day to have done as much towards the accomplishment of great objects as those who consult together or transact correspondence, or pen the Instructions to Missionaries. Let us, then, as each agent drops out of notice, give glory to God for the

dispensation of His grace, and, closing the individual account, leave the estimate of his work till 'the day shall declare it.'

"But there is another light in which I regard the placing my name upon the list of Vice-Presidents, viz., as a token of our mutual affection and confidence, and in this light I cordially accept it as a true index of what our past relations have been, and what I earnestly desire may ever continue to be the relation of Committee and Secretary.

"It is more than half a century since I first took my seat in the Committee. Perhaps I may, then, be allowed a few words at the close of so long a period, which comprises nearly two generations of men. In such a work as this it is absolutely necessary that a large and generous confidence should be reposed in the Secretaries. There can be no practical danger of their confidence being disappointed as long as the Committee shall uphold the principle of equality of responsibility among the Secretaries, and the practice of forming their decisions by general agreement rather than by casting votes. The relation of Secretaries to the Committee is not that of Secretaries or clerks to a Parochial Board or ordinary Company, but rather that of Secretaries to a Scientific Institution, or of Secretaries of State to a Cabinet Council. The Secretaries of our Society are the originators of the measures to be passed, the chief authorities on its principles and practice, and must often act upon their own discretion in cases of emergency, and in confidential interviews with Church or State authorities. At the same time I must bear my testimony that this large confidence reposed in the Secretaries is not inconsistent with the independence of judgment and ultimate supremacy on the part of the Committee. I could give innumerable instances to show that the Committee never resign their opinions in any important

point without a frank discussion of the difference, and that great principles are never sacrificed in deference to the authority, age, or experience of others.

"The principles which have ever guided this Committee are none other than those of the Church of England, especially in its Protestant and Evangelical characteristics. Our Committee has happily comprehended Laymen of mark, as well as a competent number of experienced Clergymen, some of them returned Missionaries. Of these Laymen, some have gathered experience in the management of affairs by the government of large provinces, or in high command in military situations; some have been eminent in the legal profession, or conversant with large commercial enterprises; and it is not too much to say that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, which is guided by such principles, and composed of such men, will prove itself more and more a witness to the truth of the Gospel, a strong buttress of our Church, and a power throughout the British Empire. I esteem it to have been the highest honour and privilege of my life to have been associated with them. Under all the vicissitudes of life, both in days of joy and in days of sorrow, I have ever found in the work of the Committee-room that Divine presence which calms, consoles, and sanctifies the soul. I can find no more appropriate parting words expressive of our past experience, and of our prayers for the future, than those of the Apostle, 'Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord!'

"Believe me,

"My dear Brother,

"Very sincerely and affectionately yours,
"Rev. H. Wright. HENRY VENN."

This tribute to Mr. Venn's memory, honourable as it is, would not be complete if we did not incorporate in this memoir the proceedings of the Native Church in Sierra Leone when the intelligence reached the shores of Africa that Henry Venn, so long the friend and champion of the negro race, had been removed by death.

A Special Meeting of the Sierra Leone Auxiliary Church Missionary Association Committee, held at the Mission House, Freetown, February 14, 1873.

His Honour THE ACTING CHIEF JUSTICE, President of the Association, occupying the Chair.

Present :—

Rev. J. A. LAMB, Secretary Church Missionary Society.

Rev. A. MENZIES, Missionary in charge of Christ Church.

Rev. M. SUNTER, Principal of the Fourah Bay College.

Rev. J. WILSON, Pastor of Hastings.

Rev. M. TAYLOR, Pastor of Waterloo.

Rev. J. JOHNSON, Native Curate of Christ Church.

Rev. G. J. M'CAULAY, Pastor of Wellington.

Rev. D. G. WILLIAMS, Pastor of Regent.

Rev. T. C. NYLANDER, Pastor of Gloucester-cum-Leicester.

G. P. BULL, Esq.

T. J. SAWYER, Esq.

W. H. PALMER, Esq.

Rev. J. QUAKER, Principal of the Grammar School, and Secretary of the Association.

By request of the Chairman, the Rev. J. A. Lamb read 2 Kings, chap. ii., ver. 1—14, and prayed.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

"The Parent Committee's letter (dated January 16, 1873) to the Rev. J. A. Lamb, conveying to the Mission and the Native Pastorate Church the heavy and unwished-for news of the death of the Rev. H. Venn, which took place at his residence at East Sheen, England, January 13, 1873, having been read, after a few observations—the Committee humbly acquiescing in the will of Almighty God—the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. "That this Committee cannot receive the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Rev. H. Venn, B.D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Church Missionary Society, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, without placing on record its deep sense of the great loss which the Church of Christ in the world generally, and in Africa particularly, has sustained in consequence of his removal.

"Connected with the Church Missionary Society as a Committee member for more than fifty years, and subsequently as the Honorary Clerical Secretary for upwards of thirty years, a position which at once secured to him the foremost rank among the Society's officers, it may truly be said that he was a father to the West African Church.

"Having no higher aim than the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, and possessing a competence which freed him from want, he devoted his whole life to the service of the Society with a zeal, earnestness, and unremitting diligence in labour that had never been surpassed in its history; and his labours were owned and blessed of God.

"He was especially qualified for the work he undertook to do. For in addition to his deep piety, he was naturally blessed with a

kind and loving disposition, sound judgment, and great administrative power.

"If it were lawful and right to love one of the Society's Missions more than the other, it might truly be said that the African Mission was his favourite (see Rom. v. 20). For of all his colleagues in the Secretariat, he took the most prominent part in every measure of the Parent Committee that tended to the temporal and spiritual elevation of Africa. It is therefore to his instrumentality in particular is to be attributed this day, under God, the establishment of Native Pastorate Churches, and the advancement of converted Natives to various offices of trust and great responsibility on this coast within the past two-and-thirty years. In consideration of such noble deeds the Native Church in Africa deeply regret his loss. Nor is it only in Africa that he will be missed, but throughout the whole world, wherever the name of Christ is heard, his removal will be felt as that of a prince and a great man in Israel.

"May his name ever remain a household word in Africa, like those of Granville Sharp, Buxton, and Wilberforce, and never be forgotten even when there remain no more souls to be converted, and 'violence, wasting, and destruction' shall have ceased to exist in the land!

"But in thus giving expression to their feelings upon this most mournful event, the Committee are not unmindful of the Lord's great mercies to His Church and people in having so long spared him to them with his mental faculties unimpaired. It is therefore their heartfelt prayer that a double portion of the Spirit that was in their departed brother-in-the-Lord may rest upon his successor for a wider extension of the Gospel to lands hitherto unblessed with its glorious light, to the praise and glory of God's holy name."

2. "THAT, AS A MARK OF HONOUR TO THE MEMORY OF SO HIGHLY DISTINGUISHED A FRIEND TO AFRICA, ALL THE CHURCHES AND CHAPELS THROUGHOUT THE SETTLEMENT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES BE PUT IN MOURNING DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH ENSUING, BY DRAPING THE PULPITS AND READING-DESKS IN BLACK."

The proceedings were closed with prayer, offered by the Rev. G. J. McCaulay.

Little more remains to be told. We hold ourselves indebted to the "Christian Advocate" for a statistical summary which sets forth in a lucid manner the progress of the Society during the period of Mr. Venn's Secretariat.

From 90,000*l.*, the income during his Secretariat advanced to 150,000*l.*; the number of European Missionaries annually em-

ployed by the Society increased from 107 to 204, the Native Clergy from 6 to 130; and the communicants in various Missions from

15,000 to more than 20,000. Within the same period, Missions were established in the Yoruba country, the Valley of the Niger, Palestine, Sindh, the Santal districts, Oudh, the Punjab, Central India, the Telugu country, the Mauritius, Madagascar, China, and Japan. He was also largely instrumental in the creation of Bishoprics for Native Churches in Sierra Leone, the Niger, Rupert's Land, New Zealand, and just before his death, North China, and Moosonee, in North-West America. Well, indeed, may we not only say that his praise is in all the churches, but that his memorial is in many lands and many hearts. It will be right and fitting

that there should be a special Venn Memorial in acknowledgment of God's goodness, and to perpetuate the remembrance of such an honoured and faithful servant of our Lord; and none perhaps could be more in unison with his mind and heart than a fund to promote the internal organization and development of those Native Churches which he loved, and for whose progress he watched and prayed. But who can tell the real value of such a life, and the full extent of the influence he exerted? His path was indeed as the path of the just, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

One point more, and this paper must be concluded.

What was the estimate Mr. Venn had formed of himself and his work? Last summer a very dear relative had a long conversation with him on the one great subject—their hopes for eternity. Mr. Venn quoted that text, "If any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble: every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire" (1 Cor. iii. 12—15). And then with the deepest emotion Mr. Venn said, "He himself shall be saved: it will be as by fire: but he himself shall be saved! yes, he shall be saved!" Mr. Venn understood this passage as referring not only to the doctrines a minister teaches, but to his works and labours generally. As to the doctrines which he had all his life preached, he could thank God that he had preached Christ crucified as the only foundation—Christ as made unto all believers wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. This was the Gospel he had ever preached, and which he at the very time felt to be unspeakably precious to his soul. But as to his works and labours, whilst others would at once think of the gold and silver and precious stones, while he had been building upon the one foundation, he spoke rather of the wood and the hay and the stubble, and rejoiced in the assurance that he should nevertheless be saved through grace.

Mr. Venn was distinguished by many graces, and not the least so by the depth of his humility and self-abasement before God and man. It was well that Mr. Venn should have formed this estimate of his own labours. Those who knew and loved him may, and ought, to the honour and glory of sovereign grace, delight to dwell upon the gold and silver and precious stones, and to think and speak with joy of the brightness of the crown that will be given to him on the great day when all secrets shall be revealed, and every true disciple of the Saviour shall receive praise from God according to his works of faith and love.

Mr. Venn may truly be said to have died in harness. On Friday, the 10th of last January, he was trying hard to go on with his work; but before night he was compelled to yield and to go to bed. He soon lost all power of speech, but he could listen to and be cheered by the hymns and texts that were continually repeated to him. All his sufferings seemed to cease as soon as he was laid on his bed, and all was perfect peace with him. No words could be spoken by him, but looks of intense love were from time to time fixed on those around him. At ten o'clock the next Monday evening he gently fell asleep. On the following Friday his mortal remains were deposited in the Cemetery at Mortlake. There was no show or pageantry, but there was a vast concourse of friends to follow him to the grave. The friends of the Church Missionary Society

gathered together from almost all parts of the kingdom ; friends of other Missionary Societies were there also ; and if ever men truly mourned over the loss of a revered and beloved friend and brother and father, and yet thanked God for His redeeming love, and rejoiced in Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, it was that great company which stood that day around the grave in which the body of Henry Venn was laid, whilst his happy spirit was standing in the presence of his God and Saviour.

DIOCESE OF MOOSONEE.

SOME five-and-twenty years ago, in the city of Exeter, there was a small band of young men whose hearts God had touched. They did not occupy any eminent position, nor were they particularly distinguished for learning or wealth, or any other quality calculated to obtain for them commanding influence over their fellow-men. Each of them had his own daily avocations, which absorbed no small portion of his time and thoughts. But, however various might be their circumstances, they had this in common, that they felt concern for the salvation of their souls and were intent upon becoming more intimately acquainted with the oracles of God which would tell them of the love of Jesus for them. When, then, the labours of the day were concluded, on certain evenings of the week they met together for Bible reading and mutual edification. It is very possible that many of the remarks made may have betrayed want of accurate scholarship, and that many of the most recent discoveries and reveries of learned men were unfamiliar to them ; but "the entrance of God's Word giveth light: it giveth understanding unto the simple." Gradually those who had been diligently and earnestly seeking the salvation of their own souls became more and more conscious of the preciousness of the souls of their fellow-men, and a more earnest desire was kindled in them to confer some spiritual benefit upon them. While they were thus meditating and praying, an excellent clergyman, then resident in the city, but now called to his rest, became acquainted with their proceedings, and volunteered such occasional help as it was in his power to bestow. His scholarship and ripe experience in the Word of God were gladly welcomed, and were very instrumental in helping forward the efforts of the young men. Objections were canvassed, difficulties were solved, obscure passages were elucidated, much precious counsel, such as an elder can with so much propriety and so much profit bestow upon his younger brethren, was freely given. Especially a Missionary spirit was stirred up, and those whose horizon hitherto had been bound by Devonshire, or at the farthest by England, began to feel that they were not only the Lord's freemen, but citizens of the world He came to save.

We must now shift the scene for awhile, and from Exeter with its fair Cathedral and the lovely scenery around it, which gladdens and refreshes the soul of the beholder, we must transport ourselves in thought to a land perhaps the wildest and the bleakest to be found upon the surface of the habitable globe. On the southern shore of Hudson's Bay for many years there had been a chief factory of the Company at a place called Moose Fort. It was the meeting-place for the surrounding Indians throughout an extensive district. It was 750 miles from Montreal, and still further from the Red River. There had been for a brief period a Wesleyan Mission there, but it had been relinquished for some years, and the spiritual destitution of the Christian community there and in other parts of the district was extreme. No man cared for their souls ; no means of grace of any kind existed. As for the Indians, they were left to perish in ignorance and blindness, unconscious that for them also there was a Saviour, even Christ

the Lord. In this sorrowful emergency the Hudson's Bay Company pleaded with the Church Missionary Society to have compassion upon their servants, who were crying, "Come over and help us!"

Meanwhile, although no persecution had arisen, the little company in Exeter were gradually becoming scattered abroad, and in different directions were preaching the Word of which they had been diligent students. The Holy Ghost, which separated Barnabas and Saul for their work, had parted the friends who had been so long taking sweet counsel together. Two joined themselves to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Four entered the ranks of the Church Missionary Society. India, Guiana, North-West America were the scenes of their labours. Twenty years have elapsed, two only of the six survive; of the rest it may be written, "*Morts sur le champ d'honneur.*" If our universities had contributed an equal quota in proportion to their numbers, our Missions would be overflowing with labourers, and the regions of the earth would be few in which the joyful sound of the Gospel had not been heard. We trust, however, that what has been written may not have been written in vain. There was throughout this effort neither expensive machinery nor ostentatious display, nor even laborious exertion, on the part of any one; but six faithful Missionaries went forth from it, not counting their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might win souls to Christ. The Bible alone was the influencing power; obedience to the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ was the only constraint voluntarily assumed by those who had heard the voice of the Saviour speaking unto their inmost souls. It was at this juncture that the authorities of the Church Missionary Society appealed to Mr. Horden, who had placed his services at their disposal. It is not possible for those who seek the frozen regions of the North to choose the times and seasons when they will go there. In those regions by the breath of God "the breadth of the waters is straitened," and it is only at a particular time that communication is possible between England and her distant dependency. Mr. Horden, then a master in a boarding-school in Devonshire, was sent for; the emergency was explained to him in all its particulars. He was asked whether he could go. The answer was, "Yes." He was asked when he could be ready. The reply was, "Within a week." Within a week Mr. Horden was married; his outfit and that of his bride were prepared, and with many prayers accompanying them the newly-married couple embarked for that which for twenty years has been the scene of their devoted and faithful labours. Here and there we come across, in military adventure, instances of similar prompt readiness at the word of command, and it is through the spirit which yields such ready acquiescence that victories have been won, and glorious enterprises have been achieved. But it should not be forgotten that ere now a similar spirit has been displayed by the soldiers and servants of Christ; obedience as ready and as unflinching has been shown in Missionary annals when the call has been distinct and the duty urgent. As catechist and schoolmaster to Moose Fort, Mr. Horden went out to the scene of his future labours, which he reached in August, 1851. It was a wild and desolate country to which the strangers had to acclimatize themselves. There were strange languages to be learned, and strange people to be dealt with; but "prayer and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." It had been the original intention of the Home Committee to supplement the appointment of Mr. Horden by that of an ordained Missionary, and the Rev. E. A. Watkins was, in the course of the subsequent year, designated as Missionary to Moose Fort. Bishop Anderson, whose brother contributed largely to the funds required for the establishment of the Mission, who took a most lively interest in this outlying portion of his diocese, undertook a long journey to assist in the formation of the station; but, on his arrival at Moose Fort, he found matters in

such a state of forwardness, and that Mr. Horden had so zealously and ably imparted religious instruction both to the natives and Indians, that he determined on ordaining him deacon and priest, and to leave him in charge of the station. We cannot refrain from reproducing an extract from the letter in which the Bishop speaks of Mr. Horden a year after his arrival in America. Writing at Moose Factory, on August 10, 1858, he says,—

Here I had full opportunity of judging how much of progress Mr. Horden had made in the language, and how successful he had been in gaining the affections of the Indians; successful, also, in teaching them to read and write in their syllabic system, as all of them had their books ready to produce and read before me. But although I saw quite enough there to lead me to form a most favourable opinion of his successful efforts and untiring diligence, the view of this spot tends much to deepen these impressions. To hear him talking with them in their tents; to hear him address them for some time in unpremeditated words; to see the love which they seem to bear towards him in the Lord; this is a sufficient reward for the length of way along which I have travelled. The first question has been here, whether I am going to remove

And subsequently, August 21 :—

My own stay here has been a most happy period. In my first sermon to them on the Sunday after my arrival, from the text Romans i. 9—12, I expressed the wish and prayer that our short time together might be a bright spot in our existence, a season of refreshment from the Lord. To myself it has been so; and I think I am not wrong in saying that God has fulfilled the prayer to others also. My first Sunday was, in a manner, baptismal. In the afternoon I baptized twenty-five children, infants chiefly, whom Mr. Horden could not baptize. Next Sunday was the Confirmation Sunday. In the morning, twenty-three of those resident in the Fort, and Europeans; in the afternoon, 105 Indians—a delightful service, reminding me of Cumberland in 1850. I had examined them all in little parties, with Mr. Horden's assistance, without an interpreter, in the Catechism which he had prepared on the leading truths, the substance of the Gospel. Their answers about their present condition, and their hopes for eternity, were very satisfactory and intelligent.

The last Sunday, the 22nd, was sacramental. After the morning service I ordained Mr. Horden deacon, preaching myself on the occasion, from the motto on the priest of old, Exod. xxviii. 36: "And thou shalt make a

him, and carry him back with me; and it has been a great relief to them that such a step will, I hope, not be necessary. At Albany, when I was speaking with the Indians, they interrupted me by saying that Mr. Horden spoke their own language very well; and last evening, in examining an old chief for confirmation, his spontaneous testimony, without any question on the subject, was to the same effect. Indeed, it will be sufficient proof of this if I mention that, in examining about twenty Indian candidates last night, he could interpret entirely for me, and no one was requisite besides ourselves. I deem it highly creditable to him to have acquired such fluency in so short a time. It has been, I think, by going at once into their tents, taking down often a long conversation from their lips, and sitting often for hours employed in this way.

plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, 'Holiness to the Lord.' We then partook of the Lord's Supper with those connected with the Fort. At the afternoon Indian service we celebrated the first communion with them. It was still, and deeply solemn. We chose out only a small number of them, and to this little party additions will soon be made. I administered the bread in their own dialect, and Mr. Horden followed with the cup in the same tongue. We were thirty-one altogether, when the rest of the congregation had removed. It had been overflowing, women and children sitting in the aisles, and, the day being one of our hottest, it was very overpowering. I was glad that Mr. Horden should so commence his work at once; he had that afternoon some adult baptisms, some infants, and, after all, the Lord's Supper. To him, however, it is lighter, from his knowledge of the language. He was much affected when all was over, and said that the one service more than repaid him for all his toil and labour.

To-day I ordained Mr. Horden priest, preparatory to my departure to-morrow morning. Mr. Watkins preached on the occasion a very full and excellent sermon from Col. i. 28, and assisted me afterwards in the imposition of hands.

What were the duties devolving upon the Missionary—for such Mr. Horden now was, so rapidly had he passed from the condition of catechist and schoolmaster, having purchased to himself good degrees as he passed along—may be best understood from the following somewhat miscellaneous extracts.

There was a need of books in the Mission. Mr. Horden translated a large portion of the Prayer-book, and sent it home for publication. Instead of books, all the requirements for a printing and bookbinding establishment were sent to him. He knew nothing of their use, but he at once set to work, and speedily overcame all difficulties, and in the report of the third year of his residence out there we are informed—

I cannot bring this Report to a close without expressing my deep-felt gratitude to the Committee for their kind consideration in sending me, by the last ship, the printing-press and types. With the Lord's help I was enabled to use it, so that 1600 books, in three dialects, issued therefrom last winter—Prayer-book and

Watts's Catechism, in the Cree, as spoken at Moose; Watts's Catechism in the dialect of Big River; and a small portion of the Prayer-book, with some hymns, in the Saulteaux. For these and every other mercy may the Lord be praised!

Neighbouring stations had to be visited. The following extract will give a most graphic and sufficient account of the difficulties which had to be overcome when the Gospel had to be carried to the regions which were beyond.

June 9.—We started at 7 a.m. Before us, as far as the eye could reach, lay an immense field of broken ice, but which, in most places, was firmly packed together. We entertained hopes of going through it, and thereby avoiding that most disagreeable portage, "Cabbage Willows." We consequently paddled about in all directions, north, south, and east, wherever we saw open water. About noon, however, we perceived that we could go no further; and having arrived at the entrance of the swampy portage, we put ashore, and in about half an hour commenced our tramp. A little before sunset we arrived at a spot which was tolerably dry, but, in fact, we had no reason to complain, never sinking above our knees in mud and water. We intended to remain here for the night; but, considering that it would be better to pass the worst of our journey to-night, I spoke to my companions to that effect. They coinciding in my views, we again set off, marching in single file. I had not walked an hour before I was in a state of profuse perspiration, for the walking was horrible, sinking at every step to the knees, and sometimes much deeper than that. About 10 p.m. three of us were left behind, the rest going forward to make a fire, and get things as comfortable as possible, by the time I arrived at the place where we were to put up for the night. Shortly after, coming to a

spot where a goose-stand had been made, and which had been rendered dry by piles of willows being laid on it, we sat down for three-quarters of an hour. One of those with me was a servant of the Company, descended from a Canadian and an Indian woman. While sitting together, I spoke to him respecting God and His almighty power, pointing, as an illustration thereof, to the moon, which was now shining on us at its full; then of His love, exemplified in the gift of His only-begotten Son; assuring him that it was for him, as well as others, such divine mercy was exhibited. The poor young fellow appeared amazed and peculiarly interested, drinking in every word with avidity. While sitting here—for we were in no hurry whatever—those who had gone ahead, fearing we had lost our way, fired several shots to let us know where they were. We could only answer them by shouting, my gun being wet, I having used it to assist myself to rise when I had twice fallen, and by which I had become thoroughly soaked to the waist. We joined our companions at half-past 11 p.m., and found a fine fire blazing, which to me was a great comfort in my uncomfortable condition. After taking supper, and thanking God for His assistance, we retired to rest, to rise again at half-past 3 a.m.

It has been most truly said that Missionary labours in Rupert's Land require "earnest zeal, a strong mind, a cheerful disposition, and a strong constitution;" an opinion on which those who have read the foregoing extract will, without hesitation, coincide. The spiritual work of the station is well described in the following extract:—

During the summer months, every Sunday morning at seven o'clock our little church is well filled with attentive worshippers, who appear deeply impressed with the words of our beautiful liturgy, but I think most particularly the Litany: every response is uttered in a solemn manner, and the general appearance conveys to the beholder the idea of a serious, praying people. . . . Besides this, they assemble in the church on every day of the week except Saturday. Wednesday evening

is devoted to a prayer-meeting, at which several of the men offer up prayers according to their capacities. Some of them express themselves well, and in a very comprehensive manner. I enjoy these meetings very much, being then able to learn the bent of their minds, and to notice well the meaning of the terms employed. The other evenings are devoted to scriptural instruction. School is held in the church every Sunday afternoon, directly after dinner.

In the district there had been gathered about 3000 (this is much within the mark) baptized Indians. In 1856 Mr. Horden and the Rev. T. H. Fleming who had joined the Mission travelled between them more than 3000 miles for Missionary purposes. In 1858 the congregation at Moose Fort contributed about 50% for various religious objects.

In 1858 the whole of the Gospels and the Prayer-book were in the hands of the congregation in the Moose dialect. Considerable efforts had been made in the district by Roman Catholics previously to Mr. Horden's arrival. In December, 1849, the Rev. F. Laverlochere, an "oblate of Immaculate Mary," had written glowing accounts to his ecclesiastical superior of his doings. At Albany, subsequently, Mr. Horden came into contact with the converts whom the priest had made. On one occasion, one of the Indians took from his pocket a string of beads, with a crucifix attached, and presented it to Mr. Horden, saying, "I shall not listen to what the priest says, for I feel that he does not tell me exactly what is right." It is pleasant to know that there is not a Romish Priest in the diocese of Moosonee, God has so blessed the labours of His servant there. In 1863 he had the pleasure, before a visit to England, of opening his new church, the gift of the Hudson's Bay Company,—a substantial mark of their approval of his labours. At a later period there was much trial, pain, sickness, and famine, but no retardation of the spiritual work; but in the midst of it there was the rich consolation that many who succumbed were sustained by the strength of their faith in Christ, His mercy forming their only plea for acceptance. Such are brief glimpses of a work carried on patiently, perseveringly, successfully for twenty years. We do not mean to say that it is work without a parallel even in North-West America. If a review were made of the labours of many other veteran Missionaries in different quarters of the globe, the results would, we doubt not, be as edifying and encouraging. Nor, under ordinary circumstances, would we care to bring prominently to view the work of an individual, but would prefer that each one, who was so disposed, should gather it for himself from the records of the Society. But in the present instance we may fairly say, Is there not a cause? It has come to pass that the laborious, painstaking, veteran Missionary has been transformed into the Bishop; and it was but reasonable to show by what ardent toil and faithful service the painstaking student of the Word of God in a small back room in Exeter stood before the Church in Westminster Abbey as the fitting guide and ruler of souls whom he had won to Christ. There are, we are well aware, other theories of the episcopal office. With some, utter inexperience of Colonial or Missionary life seems to be held a qualification for high office in the Church abroad. There was a time, which has hardly passed, "when the worship of muscle was at its fever height;"* it might then have been more curious than edifying to recount the qualifications which, in the popular estimation, fitted a man to be a bishop. Among these, personal familiarity with Missionary work found little or no place. It has therefore not been without an object that we have endeavoured to make it clear that Mr. Horden, when called upon to higher office, was "not a novice."

* "Under His Banner," by the Rev. H. W. Tucker.

He had made full proof of his ministry, and demonstrated abundantly that he was peculiarly fitted for the work to which, in the providence of God, he was now called, by most successful labours among the people about to be committed to his charge. We must confess to a strong leaning for that episcopacy in Missions more particularly, which sets apart men like Crowther in Africa, like Williams and Hadfield in New Zealand, like Russell in China, to that more venturesome kind which pitches on untried men who may or may not have talked about Missions, but have no experimental knowledge of them. It is a serious thing for a bishop to have to learn his business at the expense of his diocese. With this feeling we pass away from the contemplation of the Missionary station at Moose Fort to the diocese of Moosonee—from Mr. Horden the Missionary to Dr. Horden the Bishop.

The recent visit of the excellent Bishop of Rupert's Land to England, and the statements which he then made of the altered circumstances of his diocese, made it clear that it was essential that he should be relieved from some portion of a charge which was every day becoming more and more unmanageable for the efforts of any single man, however devoted to his work. While the population was scanty it was possible, by dint of great exertion, to visit and perform necessary episcopal functions, but when the tide of immigration reached even to Rupert's Land and the regions beyond, and towns were springing up in places which had been desert, the care of so many new churches, and how to make provision for their wants, absorbed all that time and labour which had heretofore been spent in distant journeying. The propositions made by the Bishop were favourably received, and, although as yet they have not been fully carried out, distinct progress has been made which augurs favourably for their being crowned with final success. The scheme was to subdivide the vast region under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rupert's Land into four distinct dioceses. 1. The diocese of Rupert's Land or Manitoba in the country around the Red River, which is now becoming a populous state busy with enterprise, and rapidly becoming as civilized and as thickly teeming with inhabitants as any American state. 2. A diocese of Saskatchewan to the West, which was heretofore "a great lone land," but from which the loneliness is every day passing away, and the colonist is beginning to shoulder out the wild children of the forest. 3. A diocese of Athabasca in the far North-West, reaching up to the North Pole, and by a diocese of Moosonee, comprising the region around Hudson's Bay, of which we now propose to give some more particular description.

Hudson's Bay, so called after its discoverer in 1610, is about 900 miles long by 600 at its greatest breadth, with a surrounding coast of about 3000 miles of a most rocky, rugged character. For a few months in the year it is open to a navigation encompassed with many dangers arising from shoals, rocks, and drifting icebergs, but for the rest of the year the Bay is closed by fields of ice. Around this Bay the diocese of Moosonee extends for a space from between five to eight hundred miles on all sides into the interior. In such a country it would be impracticable to trace limits with anything approaching to the accuracy obtained in other parts of the world, but in these wild and dreary solitudes conflicts of jurisdiction can never have an existence. The general extent of the diocese may be reckoned to be 1500 miles from north to south, and about the same from east to west. The northern part is, and ever must be, unfit for cultivation; owing to the severity of the climate the frost is never out of the ground. In the southern portion the soil is poor, but the climate is good for all ordinary agricultural purposes. No discovery of minerals has ever yet taken place, nor does there seem to be the least likelihood that this source of wealth leading to increase of population will ever affect the condition of the country. No roads penetrate the country. In summer the traffic, which is extensive, is carried on by the rivers and lakes; in the long winter,

from October to May, it can hardly be said to exist. Vast forest lands and extensive plains filled with fur-bearing animals cover the surface of the country: little change is likely to take place in their condition.

Moose Factory, which has been so long the scene of Mr. Horden's labours, is the great centre of the fur trade, and from it all the supplies which reach the country are transported in various directions. Rupert's House, however, claims a certain kind of priority, at any rate, as the earliest establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. Throughout the diocese as many as twenty-seven posts are scattered, with populations varying from 100 to 500. The European population, who are mostly Scotch and Presbyterians, may perhaps be reckoned at about 500 souls, but all most thankfully receive the Protestant and Evangelical ministrations of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. At Moose, at Albany, at Rupert's House, at York, at Matawakumme, at Fort George, there have been churches built without expense to the Church Missionary Society, except at Albany, through the munificence of the Hudson's Bay Company, who in many other ways have most cordially assisted the Missionaries, and by the help afforded to them in locomotion have materially saved the funds of the Society. In the diocese there is no dissent of any kind, and, except at Abbittibe, where most of the Ojibbiways are Romanists, and at Albany, where there is a congregation of Romanist Indians, but without any resident Priest, it can hardly be said that Rome has any footing in the country. The Indian population consists mainly of Crees and Ojibbiways. The Crees encircle the Bay. The Ojibbiways are mostly found in the interior to the South and West. To the North the Eskimos resort to Fort Churchill on the Western side of the Bay, and to Little Whale River on the Eastern. The Crees number about 8000, the Ojibbiways 4000, and there may be about 1000 Eskimos. The whole population of the diocese does not therefore exceed 14,000 souls, a number which would be found in very many of the parishes in our large towns in England.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter which it is well should not be for a moment lost sight of. At various times in this diocese, when a Missionary, Bishop Horden has travelled from 20 to 25,000 miles, and last summer, in visiting some portions of the flock, he journeyed 1700 miles, all by canoe. He hopes, on his return, to be able to visit his diocese in four years, travelling 2000 miles annually, principally by canoe. Such facts enable us to understand what are the difficulties of carrying on spiritual work in such lands. Should the Pacific Railroad be completed, which will pass through the southern portion of the diocese, there will be great though partial relief in travelling.

Several names were, it seems, suggested for the diocese,—Hudson's Bay, Moose, Moose and Albany, Hudsonia, among the number. Eventually the determination was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury. When informed that Moosonee was the Indian name for Moose, "Then let that be the name" was the fiat of his Grace.

In the earlier part of this article we have seen what Bishop Horden's work was in the past; we may be hopeful, therefore, that his schemes for the future will be wise and judicious. So far as we understand them, he seems anxious to divide the diocese into five districts,—Moose, York, Albany, Rupert's House, Whale River—each with several out-stations. At each chief centre he would wish to have an European Missionary or a well-educated native; and at each out-station native deacons, to be hereafter advanced, speaking only the vernacular of the tribes among whom they may be located. To fit them for this work he would propose to bring them, in the first instance, to Moose Factory, with their wives and families, so as to train and elevate the whole, teaching them only the Bible, but in a thorough manner, in their native tongue. He would then send them back to their own tribes to earn their own living, much as they do now, but

having the oversight of the tribes, receiving from the funds of the Mission a stipend not exceeding 25*l.*, except when travelling to a distance; part also of the stipend to be provided by the tribes who shall thus be taught independence and the duty of contributing to the maintenance of their own pastors. Some of those whom the Bishop destines for such positions have already proved themselves efficient teachers, and possessed of influence over their brethren. There are already three clergy in the diocese, but to complete the number two more are needed, one especially for the Eskimos. Most sincerely do we trust that some one will be raised up to devote himself to this work. As to the sources of income from within the diocese, they would seem to be collections at Moose Fort for the Church Fund, amounting to about 25*l.* annually, and 30*l.* from other portions of the diocese, with some fair promise of increase from the improved condition of the Indians, arising from larger payments for the furs which they bring in. As to the European population, should the requisite number of clergy be found, probably little more will be needed than a good central school at Moose, with two or three masters to assist also in training candidates for orders, and also a school at Albany. Among the English-speaking population throughout the whole diocese there are probably not more than five children above ten years of age who cannot read the Bible with intelligence. The Bishop has put forth an appeal for 6000*l.* to enable him to carry his plans into effect, and to provide a basis for the future self-support of the Native Church, and we hope the response he will receive will be such as will cheer him on in his work amid the difficulties inseparable to a life in his adopted home, and to which he returns in the course of a few weeks. We commend it and the whole work of the diocese of Moosonee to the consideration, to the sympathy, and to the prayers of our readers.

ANNUAL LETTER OF THE REV. T. V. FRENCH.

THE LAHORE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

It is a sorrowful task to write an "annual" report of a period, nine months of which have been spent on the sick list; and three months, at least, in a sick chamber. On the other hand, one cannot record, without joy and thankfulness, the grace and goodness which have averted for a while the necessity of even a temporary withdrawal from a work in which so much of prayer, effort, and generous contribution has been expended; and of which there is much reason to hope that the moderate expectations formed in the first instance are beginning to be realized. Many of the fruits of an institution of this sort are of slow growth, and are indirect rather than direct and immediate: they can only be tested and judged of after some patient waiting, and by enlarged experience and observation.

Within the year (from October, 1871, to October 1, 1872) circumstances have rendered several changes in our staff necessary. For the first three months Messrs. Clark and Bateman were associated with me in the charge and training of the students; for the

next three months I was wholly laid aside, and could render them no help. Then, again, for the three and a half months succeeding, Mr. Clark and myself held College at Abbottabad, whither we had migrated for my health's sake by the doctor's special desire. The two and a half remaining months are accounted for by the long vacation, which gave us a space for comparative rest, and recruiting of shattered strength; though such periods of retreat from one's main work are, otherwise, far from valueless in India, where the preparation of a higher class of devotional and theological works in the vernacular becomes a more seriously felt desideratum every day, and where every stray fragment of Missionary effort has to be carefully gathered and husbanded; whether it be to cast some seed abroad in unvisited tracts of the great desert of heathendom, or to help ailing and overworked chaplains in seeking out and ministering to scattered members of their flocks. Unless the Missionaries of the Church of England feel this to be their duty, and act

accordingly, as God may open to them the door of opportunity, it is likely that large numbers of European residents, members of our Church, but lying beyond reach of the stated labours of the civil and military chaplain, will be drawn towards other communions, whose members have exerted themselves to make some adequate provision for their spiritual wants. It is quite useless to shut one's eyes to the present critical condition of our beloved Church in this and some other respects, which this is not the place to dwell upon.

The people of Hazara, of which Abbottabad is the chief station, seemed not a little surprised at the sudden appearance among them of a band of ten Christian students, always ready to converse with them by the road-sides, or preach in their bazaars. I could not help feeling that such little migrations as these might, on occasions, prove very serviceable to the spread of the Gospel. It would be like occupying in force a new central post in an enemy's country. Instead of the utter isolation with which Christianity is usually connected in the minds of the heathen, they would be better able to realize the notion of the brotherhood and fellowship of the true followers of the Lord Jesus. We were much indebted to the chaplain, Mr. Corbyn, for the hospitality extended both to ourselves and our students. Nothing could exceed the brotherly kindness with which he placed his house at our disposal for many weeks.

They will not soon forget the kind words of counsel and encouragement spoken to them by our valued friend Mrs. Urmston in the passage through Pindee.

Since the beginning of the year we have parted with two or three; one from Tonk, on the frontier, whose place, as a medical Missionary, could with difficulty be supplied so as to admit of his going through even one year's course in the school. He availed himself most eagerly, and with considerable success, of the opportunity thus afforded him. Another, whose age was against his ever mastering the languages, though in other ways he made marked progress, both intellectually and spiritually, has been appointed to labour as catechist of a higher grade in Amritsar. A third, who was unusually hopeful, a young Pundit, baptized by Mr. Smith, of Benares, and intrusted to my care by him, disappointed us greatly by quitting us without leave, on the plea that the course was too severe for him, and that he felt able already to begin preaching the Gospel to his own

people. He, in fact, pined after his native hills in Almorah, and his relatives and friends in that province. Mr. Budden has found employment for him in his Mission school at Almorah. Still the loss of such a man, on whom special pains have been bestowed in the very elements of language, which one may *almost* call the drudgery of the work, scars a teacher's heart severely. Our losses, however, have been more than counterbalanced by our gains, as regards numbers. From Peshawur we have two new students; one of a Christian family; another a young Pathan (Afghan) convert, who has been under training some years in our Amritsar Mission school; another, a convert from Chamba, a Hindu; another a Mohammedan Imam from the neighbourhood of Delhi; to whom we must add a Moollah lately baptized (together with his young wife) in our College chapel by Mr. Bateman, and who has boldly confessed Christ in this city in the face of bitter reproach and persecution. One other, just sent us from Peshawur, a nephew of the late Yehiya Bākir, has only just arrived. Several others are earnestly desirous to join us, but are held back by various hindrances. Omitting this last, we have now thirteen students. The old difficulty, that of the Missions being undermanned, and the Missionaries' energies being overtaxed, still tends to keep our supply of the right class of men under the mark our friends would wish us to reach; and all our brethren are not equally persuaded of the value of such an institution. Since my last annual letter three other like schools have been started, or are proposed—and their plans are now under consideration—within the diocese of Calcutta alone; one at Benares, for Church of England Mission catechists, two others at Allahabad, and (I think) Muradabad, representing, severally, the Presbyterian and American Wesleyan Missions. Thus the range from within which our supplies of men are drawn is continually being circumscribed. This we shall take patiently, I hope even joyfully, if only the field of effort of Christ's workmen is proportionably enlarged.

It is a matter of great thankfulness that scarce a single case calling even for a light exercise of discipline has occurred amongst us. We are still more cheered by the manifest growth in divine things, and the clearer apprehension of spiritual truth which others as well as ourselves have traced in many of our students. I believe that the fervent prayers of many dear friends in England, as

well as in India, have gone up, in this behalf, to the throne of grace. These heart results in our students are the "letters of commendation" we most of all desire. The Native Church is evidently becoming increasingly alive to the value of such institutions: this appears both in the quickened interest taken in this particular school, and the greater number of applications for admission, as well as in the necessity which is recognized of providing for the up-growth of other schools more or less modelled after the same fashion.

We are deeply indebted to the kindness of friends (chiefly friends in England, as our list of contributions will show) who have relieved us from pecuniary anxieties and liabilities, a burden which has lain very heavily on our Amritsar Mission, and seriously curtailed in some ways its usefulness. What the Roman Poet said of the *Æneid* of Virgil, that it would never have been produced by a man "who had to worry himself about procuring a blanket to keep him warm at night," is not a simile wholly inapplicable to the loss of power and of progress in some of our Missions, where the Missionary has to spend his wits and energies in staving off or wiping off debt. This trial, though not unknown to us in our early days, has been wholly unfelt during the last eighteen months. I think our friends may rely on our endeavouring to exercise the utmost economy. We are still able to make a few valuable additions of new works to our library. The benefit we have found from setting out at the beginning with a well-furnished library has been incalculable; and our experience would lead us to advise all who are founding such Colleges to provide themselves from the very first with a carefully chosen stock of the best works of various ages on all the subjects which will be treated in the course of study. Small sums would be well expended, too, on supplying a few standard theological works, especially 'good commentaries, to students whose course is completed. One would have very full confidence in the case of most of these, that the works would be carefully and conscientiously studied. Some commentaries which have been sent us by friends at home have been greatly appreciated.

At the approaching ordination (fixed for the 15th instant in Amritsar) we hope that our first contribution, as a College, to the native ministry proper, will be presented to the Bishop. One of the two deacons is the medical student from the frontier referred to above; the other was only two or three

months with us, and cannot be reckoned as our own. Of the three receiving priests' orders, one was an old student of the Agra College. Would that these might prove but a first-fruits of an uninterrupted and increasing chain of evangelists and pastors trained within our walls, separated by the Holy Ghost to be sowers and reapers in Christ's great harvest-field!

One thing one does feel in connexion with this, which is, that the message is never so foreign to the people as we the English preachers are; that the same message from a native brother's lips, if not one who has sacrificed his nationality to English dress, style of speech, and habits, has another sound altogether, and comes not unfrequently to be weighed without passion and prejudice. Hence it happens sometimes that an earnest inquirer makes it known to us with unmistakable pleasure that he owes his conviction to no teaching of man, but to the Word itself, and his independent inquiries, and leadings of the Spirit. I cannot but hope and believe that from the very limited amount of success permitted to European agents and agencies thus far (with but rare exceptions), we shall be brought more and more to the unanimous conviction, that a wholly new working, both in its method and spirit, has to be inaugurated; that our Mission work has reached a crisis which the Lord will use to reveal to us the whole or much of the truth about ourselves, and our past deficiencies and radical shortcomings; which if, in some lesser respects, inevitable from our position, failures of health, necessity of making friends in order to build up our Missions by European support, yet may, in other more serious aspects, cause us deep shame and humiliation. What I think we have to learn is, to withdraw ourselves and our work, as Missionaries, from prominent observation; to stand behind and back up our native brethren, putting them in the fore-front; and, in order to this, making all possible severance between them and ourselves, planting them down in spheres and centres where they will have room for independent and unfettered action, and will not be in so much danger of borrowing their method of working, and even idioms of speech, from the foreigner. But the genuine national characteristics, the true Hindu in them, divested of its cunning and duplicity by the new man in them created after God, will come out, and find full play, and act, in God's good time, with the same marvellously diffusive influences (only of a

purser character) with which their own far-famed teachers of old spread their tenets and sects, and stamped them deep on the hearts and lives of millions. If our school, and such like institutes, or other agencies, can produce this effect by God's blessing, and are made the means, without denationalizing them, of instructing men of purpose, of power, of character, and inspiring them (by God's good Spirit working with them) with the unconquerable and self-denying resolve to be true heralds of God's love as manifested in the cross of Christ; in nothing distinguishable from the ascetic preacher of old Indian memories, except in *that* in which John the Baptist differed from Kabeer or Tulasi Dās; then I think the results will be not merely ephemeral and superficial, but seeds will be sown of lasting blessing. We have been all of us struck in studying this year the history of the Mission of St. Aidan and his fellow workers in Northumbria and Mercia in the 7th century, with the much greater resemblance which the work of those old evangelists bore to purely native models than most of what our modern Missionaries exhibit. Experience, and perhaps fuller Gospel teaching, would set us on our guard to avoid their mistakes and their superstitions; but the sacrifice of ease and comfort, the abundance in prayers and labours, in journeyings and hardships, in preaching and close deep study of the Word of God, in simple daily services and psalmodies, in gaining access to the noble and well-born, as well as to the lowly; in making a few chosen disciples the depositories of higher Christian learning; the calm study at one time in silence and secrecy in the recesses of the forest, or in a cell like the jhompri or jhoogee of the Hindu and Sikh recluse; at another time the effort to spread the Word wide abroad, to cause it to run;—all these, and many other incidental phases and characteristics of their work, may well lead us to ask whether we have ever yet known what it is to be a Missionary; whether we have yet any right conception of what it is to tread in the steps of our Lord and His Apostles; whether our conferences and our organism do not help us to serious self-deception, and, by an imposing parade of new plannings and schemings, hide from us the serious mistake which underlies our present so-called Mission system.

The very *last* thing which has been practised amongst us as Missionaries was what the greatest stress was laid and effort expended upon by Hindu sect-leaders, and by the early British and Anglo-Saxon Mission-

aries, as well as by Mohammedan Moollahs everywhere; I mean, giving a few instruments the finest polish possible; imbuing a few select disciples with all that we ourselves have been taught of truth, and trying to train and build them up to the highest reach of knowledge attainable to us. It is but seldom that this has been the relation of the Missionary to the catechist; of the schoolmaster to the student; what the Soofie calls "iktibās;" lighting the scholar's lamp at the master's light. The perpetuation of truth (must we not add of error also?) has in every age depended on this efficacious method of handing down teaching undiluted and unmutated. To this we have become scarcely awake as yet: the learned Missionary, or the deep spiritually taught Missionary, is rather in his study and his books, than reproducing his doctrine, spirit, character, in the minds and hearts of some chosen "chelas," or followers. It was such a method of working to which our Lord has encouraged and led us, not by His own example alone, but by those memorable words, "The disciple is not above his master; but every one that is perfect shall be *as* his master." The passage in its proverbial form as it stands must simply mean this, whilst it has a higher inner sense, too, as proposing Christ to us as our Master.

I have ventured on this digression, because the thoughts have occupied my mind much during hours of sickness and solitude this year; and restored health has only made me more fully satisfied of their truth. It is a matter of hope and joy that I think some few in the Punjab (doubtless elsewhere also) are beginning to act on these principles. In our school, too, we attempt to lead our students to feel that the highest, holiest ambition they can form is not to settle down as pastors in comfortable homes, with access to European society, in large stations, but rather to take up isolated positions, far out of reach of Europeans, living amongst their own people, and supported by their voluntary contributions, conciliating their affections by love and sympathy, and winning their esteem by ability and zeal in teaching, in holy lives, and simple aims, by patiently enduring hardness and self-denial; by "*being all things to all men, if by all means they might save some.*" If in Mohammedan, Pagan, Buddhist India, many of the germs and elements of such characters were found, we may be well encouraged to pray fervently that the holy breath of God's good Spirit may kindle such aspirations, and unquenchable resolves in the

hearts of some of our Christian students; that (as our Bishop said in his address to them last week) "Apostles such as India needs may be raised up," in whom the Spirit's own teaching and empowering will be substituted for feeble echoes, and common-place, second-hand imitations of what they have heard from the Missionary's lips. I was struck with some remarks made only this morning by one of our students as he sat at breakfast with us. "In other countries," he remarked, "men often look to see what learning a man has, and the amount of philosophy he possesses; but in our country they look more to the man's character and condition." They ask, "Is he covetous, grasping, ambitious, proud; or is he poor in spirit and in purse, setting little by himself?" For instance, he said, if a fakcer stretches out his hand (to beg) he gets not a pice; if he sits still and asks nothing, money falls about him on *this* side and *that*. He said also that it had been much laid on his mind of late to inquire what he could do to show his gratitude, and to repay the teaching he had got. "The *teaching* (as he said) I have got, and I am deeply thankful for it; but now comes the *doing*. How shall I set about this?" It was amusing to hear the same student's earnestness and warmth the other day in thanking our brother Keene, on his departure for Europe, for having (as he said) thrust and pushed him into the school, when he would have gladly made his escape from it in terror of the proposed course of study, for which his antecedents had scarcely prepared him.

We are beginning to make inquiry for suitable localities in which to plant out those of our students who are not attached from the beginning to any special Mission. The first we have selected is the district between the town of Jhelum, on the Indus, including the Salt range of Pind Dadun Khan. Mr. Gordon and myself hope to journey through part of that district this cold season during our short Christmas vacation, to discover, if possible, whether there is any special preparedness in the minds of the people of that district for receiving the Word of God, and any indications of Providential leadings and a call to the Church of Christ to enter in at that door. The desirableness of this step was recognized at our last Conference of Punjab Missionaries, and was confirmed, after due consideration, by the Home and Calcutta Committees. A lady in England, who has rendered us material service in collecting funds for a provision for needy students, has been led to set her heart

on gathering sufficient funds yearly to support an evangelist, chosen from our own students, while journeying in some district we may select in the Punjab. These signs of thoughtful and intelligent interest in our work we hail and welcome with more thankfulness than we can express. I am not sure whether I mentioned before that 1000*l.* have been vested in the English funds by the Rev. H. Houghton, of Cheltenham, in memory of his revered uncle, lately deceased (Canon Hall, of Bristol), to form the basis of a Native Professorship in the school; the single condition being, that besides the original Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, special reference should be had to the Septuagint; its value as an evidence, and the elucidation of the text it affords by its nervous and forcible mode of expression, and sparkling, transparent illustrations. Another case of interest is one in which an English parish has identified itself in a very pleasing way with our work. It is that of a parish in Yorkshire—Copgrove, near Boroughbridge, where the congregation, perhaps some private friends of the deceased rector, raised a sum of nearly 200*l.* as a token of respect to his memory, and selected the Lahore Divinity School as, in their judgment, a worthy object wherewith to associate in perpetuity the name and memory of their old friend and pastor. There is something very refreshing in this growing identification of English parishes and Churches with infant institutions in the East, to which they will stand in a kind of parental relation, and which will claim their sympathies and prayers for many a long year. In the case of Christ Church, Hampstead, the congregation has, in a very kind and generous way, associated itself with us through the medium of its present and living pastor (the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth), as that of Copgrove has by way of memorial to their pastor, deceased. Of our English schools, Repton has still continued to send us practical proofs of its continued thoughtful remembrance of us, and care for our welfare and steady progress. Several sums raised in various Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge by undergraduates, though not large in amount, yet have been specially welcome and valuable to us, as showing a tendency to draw together into oneness of Christian fellowship and co-operation, institutions which, though sundered in space, have natural points of contact in community of purpose and methods of action—Colleges, I mean, of Christian learning in the extreme West and the far East. An offertory realized at a terminal meet-

ing of Cambridge graduates has been likewise forwarded through a distinguished Theological Professor of that University, with some words expressive of more than ordinary kindly feeling, of which he will allow me, I trust, to quote the following :—"I have been called back to Cambridge to a Professorship of Divinity, and it is natural that I should feel desirous to express and to increase, if it may be, the sympathy which must really exist between the work of Christian education in India and in England. Among other things as a foundation for future efforts, we have commenced terminal meetings of graduates in Divinity. . . . Perhaps the faculty of Divinity, if life can be given to it, may be enabled to do good service to the truth both here and throughout the country. . . . Our meetings are as yet but of few members; but I trust that you will not regard the offering only as a very insignificant amount of money, but rather as a hearty expression of deep sympathy in the labours which you have undertaken. Nothing is, I believe, of more vital importance to the cause of Christianity in India than the training of a real native ministry. The West has much to learn from the East, and the lesson will not be taught till we hear the truth as it is apprehended by Eastern minds. . . . May it be that in the good time of God the Catechetical School of Lahore may be reckoned among the fruitful centres of Christian teaching."

It is not from any wish to sound our own trumpet, I can truly say, nor that we have forgotten the words, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm," that we thus write; but rather because our friends (we believe) will rejoice with us in seeing these hopeful signs of God's gracious favour and purposes towards our work here. Only those on the spot can know what an uphill struggle an experiment of this kind is, and how many reefs and quicksands we have to avoid, and what lasting damage a single false step might cause us. Intellectually we may prosper very fairly, as I think I may say we do; but all the more have we to be on our watch over the spirit and measure of inward life and power which our students discover, yet not with such minute inspection as to interfere with the independent and undisturbed action of the Great Master Sower of the good seed. "It should spring and grow up he knoweth not how."

The report of another Mission Station (in the N.W.) will record a case of true conversion which has much encouraged me. It is that of

a young Brahmin of good education, and thoroughly respectable, who read with me in a former Mission sphere for about three years, and was then diverted, finally as I thought, from his purpose of leaving all for Christ. After some seventeen years of indecision, he has made a deliberate choice of the Gospel at last, and is rejoicing now in enduring afflictions with the Gospel, and is desirous to proclaim it to his brethren. Several youths, who now visit us as inquirers pretty regularly, seem deeply in earnest about their souls; and are just of that class, socially and intellectually, to which we look most hopefully for future recruits in our college students' band. I cannot but think that there have been more signs of life this year in not a few of our Missions.

We still pursue our early plan of gathering the strongest, most striking, and edifying matter from the best books our library contains, in the hope of thus enriching gradually, through the notes our students carefully prepare, the stock of thought and spiritual knowledge possessed by our Native Church in the vernacular. We wish them thus to suffer as little loss as possible from their not being able, in most cases, to read English theological works for themselves. The presence in the midst of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of a body of youth acquiring a sufficient and serviceable, if not perfect, knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, with other valuable instruction strengthening to the mind, is likely to attract, and I think is already beginning to attract, the attention of the people, especially the more thoughtful classes, so as to lead some to wish to join our language classes, but without baptism. There are some few lectures to which we can admit such, that the mere taste may, if possible, excite the relish and desire of the "full feast of fat things" which God has "*made unto all people.*"

Preaching with the students at the city gates and in the gardens which surround the city is still continued. In consequence of the bitter and organized opposition kept up by a blind Moollah, referred to in the last letter, who is a clever but foul-mouthed and noisy agitator, taking a kind of fiendish delight in branding and misinterpreting the Word of God, the quiet peripatetic method in the gardens is the most hopeful at present, as the Moollah and his followers are thus eluded, and conversations had with more respectable classes of native society, and with strangers sojourning in Lahore. Besides

the preaching, we thus gain our best opportunities of spending our time among the people, and of having friendly converse and intercourse with them, and counteracting the impression they are often taught to entertain that the Missionary is hard and unfeeling, of not labouring by all artful and crooked means to carry his ends and destroy their faith. I heard of one a few days since, an educated man, whose conscience has been much awakened and his convictions roused, but who dreaded coming in contact with a Missionary, for he said he had been so wounded in his heart-struggles to find God, that he was sore all over, and did not need to be wounded afresh, but rather bound up and healed. There is much for us to reflect on and to learn from instances of this kind; to learn about ourselves and our short-comings through want of condescension with the weak.

A short tour in the Bahawalpore district with Mr. Bateman last Christmas was abruptly closed by my illness, just at the time we had reached a town in the extreme south of that territory where the desire for Christian books and willingness to purchase them seemed greater than in any place I can remember since my Indian ministry began.

One suggestion I would make in closing, which bears on the difficulty of sending of students to join our Divinity course. Might it not be possible, in cases where it would be impossible or undesirable to spare students for the whole year, to part with them for the first six months of the year, it being understood that some help would be given by us towards the lightening of the expenses of the journey homeward? There would be thus time left both for work in their own station, and itinerations in the district during the remaining six months, and there would be no danger of the student being weaned from his own Mission and Missionary.

One present feature, too, of our Missionary work in the Punjab may appropriately be noticed as suggesting a special subject of intercession. We have a Moollah in Lahore, whose name I will not mention, because he above all things desires to make himself a name and become a celebrity, who is "labouring in the very fire" to bar out the Gospel from the Punjab by writing offensively, and bitterly scurrilous things against the Word of God. I could not shock the readers of this

annual letter by repeating the vile aspersions he casts on the Prophets and other inspired books, by collecting into a kind of focus of his own passages which (read with their context) bear grave and solemn meanings, but in the juxtaposition he assigns them, and viewed in his light, and attacked with caustic, withering sarcasms, are made to appear not ridiculous alone, but immoral in their teaching and tendency. It makes one shudder, and is like "a sword in the bones," to listen to this man's slanderous misrepresentations of the divine testimony, and the derisive shouts and howls of triumph his harangues excite, where he can raise a crowd and assail any preacher whose presence in the bazaar is reported to him. To experience the effects of this in Lahore is bad enough; but what is worse is, that almost through every part of the Punjab his works are industriously and systematically circulated; and the Word of God is to us, as to Jeremiah of old, "a reproach and derision daily." There is scarcely a Moollah of any note that does not possess them. In Abbottabad we found the people all primed with this venomous poison, and their hearts rendered more steel-cased than they would have been against the truth. It is a small thing that he holds the Missionaries up to scorn and ridicule, and cannot say things bad enough of them; but his satanic misinterpretings and misplacings of passages of the Bible form a specially painful feature of the present controversy, which I have not seen equalled in any former stage of it in my experience. Pray for us that the image of the suffering Saviour, enduring on the cross the taunts and calumnies of men, may be present to His servants to calm and embolden them; and that they may be enabled to act wisely, patiently, and temperately, and to anticipate in the confidence of faith the overthrow of this as of every other Antichrist with the simple weapons of His truth, or with the "brightness of His coming." One thing is clear, that such weapons of assault call with redoubled force for a very close, searching, thorough investigation of the Holy Scriptures on the part of those who have to take the place of teachers and champions in the Native Church. Little but utter discomfiture can be looked for if any weapons of resistance, any panoply of defence, short of these, are resorted to and trusted in.

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN some respects the year which has elapsed since the last anniversary of the Church Missionary Society recorded in our pages, has been an anxious and a discouraging one, so far as has concerned the Home operations of the Society. So many of those, who have long been its unflinching friends and trusty advisers, have recently been removed from the scene of their earthly labours to the enjoyment of that rest which remaineth for the people of God. Foremost among these was the honoured and lamented Henry Venn; but he was not alone among the bead roll of worthies commemorated in Bishop Ryan's sermon at St. Bride's. The Rev. John Tucker of West Hendred, so long the valued secretary of the Society at Madras, has passed away from us in a ripe old age; there is no memorial of him in our pages, for the simple reason that the distinct wishes of a dying saint should be held in respect by those who survive him. The Rev. George Pettitt, the able and devoted Missionary in Tinnivelly and Ceylon, upon whose memory we have dwelt, is no longer among us. To such must be added Mr. James Farish, the bearer of an honoured name, formerly Governor of Bombay, so long a faithful counsellor of the Society, overtaken by death sudden but not unprepared for. Many more might be enumerated, like the Rev. A. G. Cornwall, who had been staunch friends; earnest, prayerful men who had laboured in the Home work of the Society, according to their measure and opportunity, for the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom. But they had brought forth their fruit, and the sharp sickle of the reaper was put in, wherewith he has gathered in a rich sheaf of goodly wheat to be deposited in the garner of the Lord.

To human apprehension, therefore, there was much to discourage, or at least to excite feelings of apprehension; but when His servants sought the Lord, "He heard them, and delivered them out of all their fears." It has been our good fortune to attend many of the anniversaries of the Society; but we can hardly recall one which was more successful in its arrangements, or more calculated to inspire hope for the future.

After preliminary devotional exercises in the schoolroom of St. Dunstan's, when an admirable paper was read by the Rev. T. Richardson, of Bury St. Edmund's, there was a full attendance on Monday evening at St. Bride's Church, where the Annual Sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Bishop Ryan, an old and tried friend of the Society, both in the Mauritius and Madagascar. It was an earnest exhortation, founded on Matthew ix. 38, to yet more diligent and earnest calling upon the Lord of the harvest for His blessing. The collection amounted to 70*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, a considerable advance upon that of the preceding year.

On the morning of the next day, Tuesday, May 6, there was an early gathering as usual of the clerical supporters of the Society at breakfast at Exeter Hall, when an excellent address was delivered by the Rev. C. D. Marston, after which the Morning Meeting of the Society was held in the large room, Exeter Hall. The chair was taken by the Right Honourable the President (the Earl of Chichester), supported by His Grace the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Dynevor, Lord W. Russell, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, the Hon. A. Kinnaid, M.P., the Hon. S. R. Curzon, Captain the Hon. F. Maude, Sir R. Montgomery, Sir W. Hill, Bishop Ryan, Bishop Crowther, the Bishop of Moosonee, the Bishop of Nelson, Bishop Beckles, Archdeacon Prest, Archdeacon Hunter, the Rev. Canons Carus, Conway, Clayton, and Sale; Mr. A. Smith, M.P., Mr. R. Smith, M.P., General Alexander, General Clarke, General Lake, Professor Birks, the Revs. Dr. Tristram, W. R. Freemantle, E. Auriol, D. Wilson, J. W. Reeve, J. Fenn, S. Gedge, C. F. S. Money, C. Marson, W. Knight, E. J. Speck, R. Collins, Carr J. Glyn, C. W. Bingham, &c.; Colonel Caldwell, Colonel

Hughes, Colonel Horsley, Messrs. H. Pownall, J. Hoare, J. G. Hoare, F. A. Maltby, A. Beattie, J. Stuart, G. Arbuthnot, W. Long, J. Bateman, E. R. Le Mare, &c., &c.

The proceedings were opened with prayer and the reading of a portion of Scripture from the Revelation of St. John (chap. vii.) by the Rev. O. C. Fenn, after which the following financial statement, in which there is much to encourage, but much also to excite to increased exertion on the part of the friends of the Society, was read by Mr. Hutchinson, the Lay Secretary of the Society :—

The Committee have thankfully to acknowledge a considerable increase in the Society's income. The returns from Associations had last year fallen so far as to cause the Committee much anxiety. They have now reached the highest point yet attained, viz., 125,580*l.*, an advance upon last year of 12,088*l.* This advance is general, but Leicestershire may be singled out as a remarkable instance of what may be done by determined effort. Its returns have gone up from 700*l.*, its usual average, to 2100*l.*, the result of a special effort to increase the year's contributions. The Day of Intercession has also served to swell the income for the past year, and the Committee have received direct contributions in connexion with the 20th of December to the amount of 2310*l.* Benefactions are a little above, and legacies 7000*l.* below, the average. The total income is 156,440*l.*, an advance upon that of last year of 8743*l.* (The Committee have also received for special purposes the following sums :—East Africa Mission, 790*l.*; Hall and Houghton Fund, 1000*l.*; and 1000*l.* Colombo Gas and Water Company's Debentures, making the total receipts, independent of sums raised and spent at the Mission Stations abroad, 159,230*l.*)

The total expenditure for the year has been 167,394*l.*, thus leaving a deficit of 11,900*l.* For the last four years the Committee have observed, with much anxiety, the large increase in the foreign expenditure, and they have endeavoured to keep the estimates within the limits of probable income; but it has been found in the Missions that the requirements of the work compelled an advance upon the Committee's estimates. It happens, also, that the year just closed has had to bear, not only its own burden, but a certain portion of the increased foreign expenditure due the previous year. A considerable proportion of the increase, 4000*l.*, is due to the item of "European Missionaries;" for, although the number on the Society's lists was the same as in 1871, there were eleven more in the field. Building and repairs have again formed a large item in the year's accounts. There has been no material advance for the last four years in home expenditure. The

Committee, therefore, regard the large increase in foreign expenditure as indicating a successful and expanding work. And they accept with much thankfulness the remarkable increase in the Association returns, as indicating a reserve of power and vitality at home, which, if sustained and developed, will enable the Society to keep pace with the growing requirements of the Mission field.

The Committee look with humble confidence to the future. They will accept thankfully any effort that may enable them to pay off the deficit; but they do appeal most earnestly to their Associations not to let the work flag, but by a large advance, even on this year's returns, prove that the cause of Protestant Missions claims the affections, and the Society commands the confidence, of increasing numbers in the Church.

Bishop Crowther, the Bishops of Mauritius and Moosonee, and Bishop Russell have been appointed Vice-Presidents of the Society, together with Sir John Kennaway, Bart., the Honourable Mr. Justice Archibald, the Very Rev. the Dean of Cashel, and the Rev. John Venn.

The Committee had appointed as one of their Vice-Presidents the Society's late Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Henry Venn; and their wish that he should accept this distinction had been made known to him a little more than a month before he was called to receive at the hands of his Heavenly Lord higher honour than man has power to bestow. The letter written by him in reply—of much value in itself, and indicating in the happiest way the spirit he was of—will be doubly cherished as one of the last products of his unwearied pen, and has been printed in the publications of the Society.

The Committee have nominated as Honorary Governors for life:—The Rev. R. Collins, Vicar of Kirkburton; the Rev. W. W. Gibbon, Vicar of Christ Church, High Harrogate; the Rev. J. MacCartie, Incumbent of Raughton Head, Cumberland; the Rev. R. Snowdon Smith, late of All Saints', Brighton; J. Griffiths, Esq., the Society's Honorary Consulting Architect.

The abstract of the operations of the Society was then read by the Rev. Gordon Calthrop. We do not undertake to present it *in extenso*, as the full Report will in due season become a permanent record of the Society. We may, however, remark that, although no very striking incidents in the Mission field signalize the year last past, there was much to encourage. The conclusion of it was as follows:—

The year now closed has brought renewed evidence that the power of the Holy Ghost still accompanies the Society's labours. If amongst the three chief sections of heathendom (Mohammedans, Hindus, Buddhists) there have been no mass movements towards the faith, yet sufficient practical proof has been given by striking instances of individual conversion, and by an evidently increasing spirit of inquiry, that there is nothing even in these systems which the Gospel cannot meet and overcome. In other divisions of the Pagan world the progress of God's truth has been more rapid. The slaves in Travancore, the village serfs in the Telugu districts, and the Red Indians of North-West America are joining themselves to the Church in large bodies, and are becoming Christian communities. The Native Churches, again, exhibit, like their elder sisters, signs of human weakness and of the power of the adversary, yet contain within them many true followers of the Lamb, and may be said to be *walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost*. The Committee point with thankfulness to the revival in New Zealand, the strength shown by the Abeokuta Christians when bereft of European help, the steady advance of self-support in South India, Ceylon, and North-West America, and also to the fact that since last September fourteen Native Christians connected with the Society have been admitted to the ministry of the Gospel.

Turning to events of a more secular character, two marked providential encouragements may be mentioned:—the opening up of Japan as a Mission field, and the large opportunities likely soon to be afforded on the Coast of East Africa. In Japan especially the call is loud and undeniable. As proofs, the Committee need but mention—the intelligence of the people, their eager desire for European civilization, the breaking down of their ancient religious systems, the prospect (if not the actual establishment) of complete religious toleration, the large number of inquirers asking for Christian instruction, and the uncertainty, at the same time, how long the present opportunity may last.

The Lord of the Harvest is thus calling for enlarged effort; and it has also pleased Him,

in gracious answer to prayer, to incline several of His younger servants to offer for this work their own personal services. But it is just at this juncture that the Committee find themselves tied fast by the want of pecuniary resources. Should no favourable change arise, they may even be compelled to retain for awhile in England some of the younger brethren shortly about to be ordained. The Committee would venture to ask whether it does not seem almost a mockery that the Church of England should pray for men, and then fail to furnish what is needed for sending them out. They acknowledge with thankfulness to God and man the munificent donation lately received, as well as the noble effort made by the supporters of the Society more generally in its various Associations, that has so largely increased that branch of the annual income. But what is the sum of 155,000*l.*, even allowing for all that may be done by sister Societies, compared with the immense and growing wealth of the National Church? The Committee are convinced that more may be obtained, and, humbly depending on Divine help, they expect that it will be obtained. They believe that the magnitude of the object, and the strength of its claims on all who profess and call themselves Christians, are far less realized than, even in the present condition of the Church's spiritual life, might be justly expected. Let but the duty be clearly perceived, and then, through the power of the Holy Ghost, those who abound in faith and knowledge will *abound in this grace also*. For such *know well the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich; and they thus judge that, if One died for all, then they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him that died for them and rose again*.

The spirituality of the work, and of the grounds on which alone success, and even continued existence, can be hoped for, are points to which the Lord Himself has been pleased recently to direct attention by two very different, but solemn and important, events. The appointment of a day of prayer to be observed, and which was so generally observed, by the Church of England through-

out the world, has produced, the Committee would fain hope, important and abiding consequences. Not only was the duty of supporting Christian Missions then brought to the attention of many by whom it had been previously overlooked, but a testimony was publicly given that no success can be hoped for without prayer, and without that energy of the Holy Spirit which prayer is the divinely-appointed means of obtaining. Principles such as these the Committee have received as a sacred trust from their predecessors, and are resolved to transmit to those who may come after them. They will be allowed at the same time to assert another principle, not less important and of a kindred nature, that the sword of the Spirit is not any outward ceremonial or ecclesiastical organization, but the Word of God; and that, therefore, the means to be used must be that which God has appointed—the preaching of the true and only Gospel.

These convictions may well be kindled into new life and force by the other event to which the Committee have alluded—the transference to the Lord's immediate presence of their revered friend, Henry Venn. Mr. Venn's whole life, full as it was of graciousness and love, was one of ceaseless effort and conflict to maintain the spiritual character of the Society's work; and the Committee cannot better conclude this Report than in the words

The following is the Financial Statement for the year ending March 31, 1873:—

Ordinary income of the year—	
Associations	£125,579 19 11
Benefactions	14,696 2 9
Legacies	8,002 12 5
Day of Intercession . . .	2,310 5 3
Sundries	5,851 2 9
	<hr/>
	£156,440 3 1

which their departed friend himself put into the mouths of their predecessors in the first year of his Secretariat:—"Let it not be supposed that it is on gold, or silver, or patronage that the Committee found their hopes of success. God forbid! It is the faithful, plain, and full maintenance of the great principles of the truth as it is in Jesus, by all the Agents and Missionaries of this Society, without compromise and without reserve—it is the sustentation of that Scriptural, Protestant, and Evangelical tone throughout all their ministrations—it is the upholding of the Bible, and the Bible alone, as the foundation and rule of faith—upon which the blessing of God has rested, does rest, and ever will rest. Nor less are all hopes of success dependent upon the constant fervent prayers of Christian friends at home, that the Lord may be pleased to pour out His Holy Spirit upon the Society's work—that Spirit who alone can arouse the Christian Church to a sense of the greatness of the occasion—who alone can embolden persecuted and timid inquirers to profess the Faith of Christ—who alone can support the feeble graces of infant Churches, cherishing them *as a nurse cherisheth her children*. May He who hath the residue of the Spirit inspire the hearts of His people with these prayers, and speedily accomplish the number of His elect, and hasten His kingdom!"

for the year ending March 31, 1873:—

Ordinary expenditure of the year	
	167,394 10 0
	<hr/>
Deficit, 1872-73 . . .	£10,954 6 11
Balance last year . . .	946 8 10
	<hr/>
Balance against general account, 1872-73	£11,900 15 9

Letters of apology were then read from the Archbishop of Canterbury and from the Dean of Carlisle. Our readers will, we think, feel interested in these, and we submit them for their perusal:—

Lambeth Palace, May 2, 1873.

I am truly sorry that owing to the sitting of Convocation next week, I shall not be able to be present at your Annual Meeting. I should have been glad had an opportunity been allowed to me of testifying once again, as I have often done before, to the great service which the Church has received from the long and faithful labours of our friend Henry Venn. I feel that his loss will be regarded as a calamity by Missionaries in every part of the world who have for years been accustomed to look to his experience for

that paternal counsel which he was always ready to give them.

Carlisle, April 24, 1873.

It would have given me more melancholy satisfaction than I can express, to discharge the solemn duty which you and our excellent Committee would assign me. But I feel that I must not allow myself to undertake it. My friends and contemporaries are fast departing before me, and I hope soon to join them where they rest from their labours.

I knew dear Venn at College, and ever

since; and loved and respected him, as all did who knew him. I was of the same age within a year, and I could have spoken *heartily* of him, of his "more abundant labours," his deep conscientiousness, his loving spirit, his great seriousness of mind, combined with a placid cheerfulness and rare wisdom and prudence. He filled a place in the Church of God which we shall find it

hard to supply, and he was spared to see "the pleasure of the Lord prosper in his hand." Let us not, however, glory in man, but bless God who lent him to us so long, and who has now so calmly taken him to Himself, to fill a post in some better world. I pray that his love of God's truth, and jealousy for the purity of His Gospel, may long continue among us.

The RT. HON. THE PRESIDENT then rose and said,—

My Christian friends, I will, with your kind permission, make a very few observations upon the Report to which you have just listened. We all noticed that over the otherwise bright prospect which the Report gives us of the progress of the Missionary work, a cloud is cast. I allude, you will no doubt suppose, to the losses which the Society has sustained, especially to the loss of that one good man to whom allusion is made in the Report and in the letters which have just been read. I am the more able to sympathize with the Society in their loss, by the affectionate and bright example of one of my oldest and dearest friends. It is with these feelings that I hope you will bear with me for a few minutes whilst I make one or two personal allusions to our venerable and departed friend. During a period now of nearly forty years, I was not only in constant intercourse with Mr. Venn in Salisbury-square, but we kept up a very frequent correspondence. I was very frequently an inmate of his house. It was my happiness to meet there many of the best of our Missionaries and of the ablest and best of our friends here, and in the free conversation and delightful intercourse that passed between us under the able and genial presidency of our venerable friend, there was always much to learn, much to encourage us in every Christian work and labour of love, and much to admire and venerate in the bright example of our beloved friend. On these occasions nothing struck me more than these two points: first, the loyalty of his attachment to his Master's cause; never was there in any man such a sincerity of long-continued effort to promote the cause of Christ and the preaching of His name throughout the world. The other point that I noticed was the wonderful amount of knowledge he had acquired, and the wonderful industry with which, even after his health was sadly shattered, he endeavoured to acquire more and more, especially about Missionary work. His knowledge was of an advanced character. Although the cause of Christ, especially that portion of it which

consists in the work of foreign Missions, was the subject dearest to his heart, and to which he devoted the largest amount of his labour and attention, yet upon many other subjects he was not only a very extensive reader, but a very close thinker, and on every subject he took up he formed, in my opinion at least, the most sound and practical judgment of any man I ever had intercourse with. God grant, my dear friends, that we may all of us endeavour to learn something from such an example! When a soldier falls in battle, the line closes in, the gap is filled up, and the advance continues; and if the man who falls is an officer, the next in rank succeeds to the command and the attack is carried on. Now, my friends, let us who have sustained others continue with our lines unbroken. God grant that they who fill the highest places, who are our leaders in this work of the Church Missionary Society, may continue to lead us with the same energy, the same devotion, as those leaders of former times who have fallen! And let none of us be discouraged; the battle in which we are engaged is the Lord's battle, and our leader is King of kings and Lord of lords. We must be victorious, and He will lead us to victory if we only fight faithfully under His banner, and look to Him continually for grace and for help to aid us. I do not think it necessary to allude to any of the other interesting topics of the Report. But there is one remark which I must make, although it is rather of a personal character. Many of you know that for a period of more than forty years I have been a happy, a sincere, and I may truly say a very strongly attached member of this Society. In looking back to that long period of time there are, of course, many recollections to make me sad, and humble me before God. But I know nothing at this moment that causes me deeper regret and more humiliation before God, than the thought that I have not laboured with more self-denial and more consistency in the work of Christian Missions to the heathen. Believe me, my dear friends, this is a blessed work. It is a work very near

to the heart of our blessed Lord and Saviour. I alluded, at the commencement of my remarks, to the passing cloud that cast a certain amount of shadow and sadness on the otherwise bright prospect that was presented in the Report. That in one sense is but a passing cloud; but we all of us may be told that whenever the sun disappears, if we only raise

ourselves to a higher level—if we endeavour to look more directly, more humbly, more believingly to the Sun of Righteousness Himself, then we shall have Him indeed manifested to our hearts in all His brightness and in all His love, and we shall see that brightness shining over His own work in the midst of this dark world.

The ARCHBISHOP OF YORK then, after explaining to the Meeting the reason of his absence last year, proceeded to remark:—

I think it is the plain and bounden duty of one ordained to hold any position in the Church of God, to recognize one great, I had almost said *the* great, work of the Church to which I belong, in taking part in the proceedings of this great Missionary Society, which has for its object no less than to make Christ, the Lord of glory, known throughout the habitable world. If I had said the great work of the Church, I am not sure that I should have

said what was much beyond the truth; because the spiritual welfare of the Church within is so much connected with the energy of its efforts without, that I have laid it down as an axiom in religious matters that a Church that shall be found lax or indifferent to Missionary effort and enterprise would be a Church in which the spiritual life was languishing, and the love of God sinking low.

For the expression of these sentiments we cordially thank his Grace, and we may be permitted to express a wish that they may every year become more fully and more heartily recognized among persons of the exalted station to which he belongs. If there be truth in the words of the wise man, that as "iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend," it would not be easy to tell with what additional strength the great cause of Missions would come before the people of England, if those who really love and sympathize with it would come forward on such great occasions, and by their personal presence testify to their sense of the importance of the work, and their adherence to the principles maintained by the Society. It is, of course, not to be expected that those who have doubts and misgivings about Missionary work in general, or that of the Church Missionary Society in particular, should come forward at these anniversaries. Their presence might create feelings of doubt and anxiety in many minds. But we are speaking of those who do value and esteem the Society, and whose constant absence is therefore to be regretted. In a similar strain the Archbishop observed:—

The Missions of the Church of England must be no bye-word, for what we have to do must be a part and parcel of our great purpose, and there should not be a pulpit in the country but what should resound at one time or other in the year with a call for Missionary effort. There should not be a church in the country in which, at one time of the year or another, Missionary effort should not be the subject of special prayer. Of course, the reasons are obvious why a Church should spend itself and give its best efforts to Missionary enterprise. The reasons of course are these: that we are all of us children of the love of Jesus, that we are all bought by His love and marked with the seal of His love, and that if we would be like Him we must tread in the same steps of love. It is not by helping those who are nearest and who appeal to the lower instincts

of compassion, that we can exhibit the higher love. It does not require any education in Christianity at all, to induce us to relieve that sickly and starving man whose hollow cheeks and slender form appeal straight to our instinct of humanity that we share in common with the whole human race. But to take up this blessed book and to carry it in our hands to those whom we have never seen, to feel so strongly our love of Christ that we are determined that no corner of the earth shall be strange to His message, that there should be no soul on the earth but shall have the opportunity of accepting it—this is not an instinct of humanity; this is the teaching of the Lord Himself; this you will not learn in the school of the world, but this every one who has studied the pages of the Bible cannot fail to learn.

In allusion to Mr. Venn, his Grace proceeded to say :—

My Lord, it seems almost an impertinence in me, after the admirable tone of the remarks that have just fallen from you, to allude to the Rev. Henry Venn. I have no such claim as you possess. I was not his intimate friend. I had never the opportunity of becoming so. I have come in contact with him in the course of duty, and it is from that point of view that I venture now to say a few words. Now the Rev. Henry Venn was no common man. He was a man who in any position would have been valuable and eminent; but he was marked from the first by the piety of the father who brought him up for the service of the Lord, and he gave all the great powers of his mind and all the powers of a, so to speak, indomitable will to the service of God in the field of Missions. There is somewhere in this record a remark that his father made, which I should like to read to you. "I had much rather see dear Henry," he says, "see him a faithful preacher of Christ, be full of love for Him, and always speaking for Him, than I would see him have the highest preferment that this kingdom could give him." Let those who are fathers see how much fruit the early training of a father can give. Let them see from this account in the *Missionary Intelligencer* how the strongest nature can be subdued, and what great points good training can produce. But it was on that account that I read it to you, because it seems to me that both his father's wishes were fulfilled in him. He was a faithful minister of Christ from the first to the last, not exhibited merely in the exuberant energy of health and strength which he threw into a good work, but in suffering and sickness he bore manfully the load that the Lord laid upon him; and when disciples, perhaps with a less firm spirit, would have ceased from their labours or retired from them altogether, he continued with his strong hand at the plough and looked not back when he had bodily strength to go through the day's toil. That was the kind of servant of God that you lost in Henry Venn. I say that both desires were attained. He had attained, to my mind, the highest preferment that the world could give. He was not made a bishop, but he had the care over and the love of 300 teachers in different parts of the world; and was he not, then, doing the work of a bishop? He had not an influential and commanding position, but to him ministers of Christ employed among the heathen looked up for comfort and counsel, and into his arms they flew when they returned for a time from their field of labour,

and in him they ever found a wise counsellor and a sympathetic friend. I say that his faithfulness as a minister conducted him to the place of all places that was suited for him, and among the men of this generation there is no man, be his name well known or less known, who has done greater work for the Church of God than the Rev. Henry Venn. And I know that the first to echo what I am about to say would be the office-bearers of this Society. It has often happened to me to inquire why it was that there was a certain air of heartiness about all that the Church Missionary Society did, a certain warmth of apprehension and sympathy which at this moment we have a very good example of. I could find examples in any provincial town. There was always a certain warmth and love towards the parent Society, which made it easier to collect a Church Missionary Meeting, and to keep it alive and warm, than it was to collect a meeting of other Societies. And I came to this conclusion from what I heard, that a very great part of this was due to one man, and that that man was Mr. Venn. The rule in the office in Salisbury-square was not a red-tape rule. He had a great deal of official business to do; but when any Missionary came back from his work, and came to the Rev. Henry Venn, he immediately found himself, possibly to his surprise, in the presence of one who had a special sympathy in his work, who felt a special sympathy in his particular work. Wherever the Missionary might have come from, he would be asked, "What have you been doing, and how have you been faring?" and he had so many interests and so large a brain of his own, that he could meet a man on many indifferent points. He was so well informed on all that was going on, as well as love for Mission work, that the Missionary often found in him a friend and a brother; and he never lost sight of his official Secretary, till he went on his way to his work, and then he was followed by friendly good wishes, and he felt that he had left behind him not a mere official but a Christian friend and counsellor. I do not believe that, in taking the good man to himself, after years of suffering, God has inflicted any very great blow on this Society. Take a little of it upon yourselves. You cannot be a Henry Venn, but you can do a little more for the Church Missionary Society. We live upon the love, upon the sympathy, upon the prayers of all the members of this vast Society. Give us a little more love and prayer and sympathy, and all will yet be

well. I have great pleasure in moving this Resolution, and in saying, in addition, that, year by year, my own confidence in every respect in this great Society goes on increas-

ing, and that I hope that the blessing of God will be upon it during the year that is to come.

The Resolution, which had been entrusted to the Archbishop, was supported by BISHOP CROWTHER, who, after speaking of himself as "the fruits and results of the Church Missionary Society," and remarking that it was only when he came to England that he found any controversy about the results of Missionary labour abroad, dwelt at some length upon the character of Mr. Venn. He then proceeded with considerable ability and power to discuss the objections which have been made to the training of the African race as pursued by the Church Missionary Society. In doing so, he reviewed the past, and pointed out the difficulties with which they had had to contend, concluding with the practical remark:—

How can a Missionary teach a heathen who does not understand the language, and who believes in nothing but in his heathenism, in his gods of wood and stone to which he sacrifices pigeons or fowls,—how can he, when you come to speak to him of the new birth, of the necessity of being born again,

so as to have the mind in him which was in Jesus, how can he comprehend the idea? It must take time. But this is a day of rapidity. Everything must be done in these days by steam; but you cannot teach Christianity by steam.

On what has been said to be the progress of Mohammedanism in Africa he remarked:—

If it be said that Mohammedanism makes more converts than Christianity does, I say it is true. Mohammedanism makes converts because it finds the native mind in a state fit to receive its teachings. The whole country was heathen some 200 years ago, when Mohammedans made inroads into the interior; and through slave wars they made conquests, and those who were conquered must become Mohammedans, or be sold into foreign slavery. Of the two alternatives, certainly it is better to become a Mohammedan than to be sold away, and to be transported across the Atlantic. In this way converts were made by the Mohammedans. When I went to the banks of the Niger, I saw Mohammedans opening their schools, and men and women went to them. What did they go for? To receive scraps of the Koran. When a man goes to the market he will go to the priest and ask for success in his trade, and a mother will go and ask for prosperity in her household. The Mohammedan priest issues scraps of paper to these people. He tells the man who goes to

market to tie one of these scraps round his neck and he will be successful, and he tells the mother who goes to ask for prosperity in her household that it shall be well with her. And the poor superstitious people receive these papers, and when anything happens as was foretold, the child becomes a Mohammedan. I was applied to by heathens to give them scraps of paper the same as the Mohammedan priest did, and I refused. Even some of our friends, the Europeans, would say, "Give them papers, it does no harm." But I said it does a great deal of harm. If I would have given them scraps of paper I could have given them scraps of the Lord's Prayer, and have got them to come to me. But these papers would have led them into error; and we do not make our converts that way. God forbid. I would rather let the Mohammedans take possession of the field, and that we should be without any converts at all, than that we should use cunningly-devised frauds to deceive souls, leading them into hell.

With a fair challenge to those who criticize the operations of the Church Missionary Society, couched in the following pungent language, he then observed:—

But however that may be, if the labours of the Church Missionary Society for the last seventy-four years, taking them from the commencement, be criticized—if it be asked whether there is any result or not, or whether there has been a total failure, I say let those who are criticizing take the same step, follow

the same plan, and commence anew. There is an opportunity in East Africa. Let them establish themselves there, and after seventy-four years let them show the same result as the Church Missionary Society can show. When they can do that, then they may criticize and inquire who has done more and who

has done less. I say, as Abraham said to Lot, "If thou wilt go to the right hand I will go to the left, and if thou wilt go to the left hand I will go to the right." There is plenty of room for both. If I invite them to the banks of the Niger let them come with me. It is often said to me, "What is the limit of your diocese?" Well, I say, "My Christian friends, I have no diocese, I have Missionary

fields of labour. I wait till others come and compete with me, but at present I claim the whole field, from the banks of the Niger to Tunis and to Tripoli." This is the way, Christian friends, in which we must go to work. It is of no use going on the same old ground to proselyte converts who had been made by other Societies, who had laboured for years without interfering with any others.

At the conclusion of the Bishop's speech, the hymn was sung—"From Greenland's Icy Mountains," after which the Venerable ARCHDEACON PREST spoke as follows:—

My Lord,—I am permitted to propose for your acceptance the following Resolution:—"That the late general observance of the day of prayer for the supply of Missionary labourers should be an incentive to the members of the Society both to redouble their exertions for the extension of the work, and to maintain in all their integrity those great spiritual principles by which its first founders were animated, and which have been, under God's blessing, the source of all its strength and prosperity." I feel bound to express my thankful joy when I hear that our Associations have increased in number, and have added largely to the most stable source of our Society's income. I rejoice, not only because I know that an increase of means ensures a vigorous extension of our great work abroad, but also because I have learned to consider that the interest evinced in this enterprise is, for many practical purposes, an accurate index of the condition of true, direct, personal religion at home. It tells of a growing appreciation of the absolute necessity of the conversion of the soul. It manifests the clearer apprehension of that great truth by a larger number of the members of our threatened, but, thank God, still vigorous Church. It proves that, let idle tongues wag as they will without, there does exist in the midst of us a godly leaven, a well-diffused and powerful influence for good, which will compel wise men to say "Destroy her not, for a blessing is in her." And I assert this the more strongly because we claim to be the Church of England in her Missionary aspect. We have no need to use any other terms in defining the doctrines which we hold, than those of her Articles of Religion. When we want to express our views most fully, we find in those Articles statements which cover the whole scope of our theology. We have no need to go to some great master of words to teach us what to utter boldly, and what to insinuate in a whisper, and what to suggest even without a word.

"We do not need to draw upon the lore
Of nicely calculated less or more."

Men of the Reformation, men of the Bible, we do not cease on that account to be men of the Prayer Book; nor need we limit or qualify in any way our true title as English Churchmen. Long may this Society, like the Church which it represents, love and use great plainness of speech, great boldness of speech—Protestant against all error, Evangelical in its ministration of Christ the only hope of glory, and Apostolic in its unceasing mission of faithful men even to earth's darkest and most distant borders! A Society such as ours can, of course, have no jealousy of the good work of other Protestant Societies labouring in the same great cause. I do not wonder to find among its fundamental regulations that "a friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ." But I will venture to say that the interpretation which we give to the phrase "friendly intercourse" is not to that effect that "tuum" is identical with "meum." We believe there may be most friendly intercourse without community of goods, and wherever another Christian Protestant Society has pre-occupied ground among the heathen, our Society does not think it either just or expedient that we should "boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand." And yet it must not be conceived that a spirit of indifferentism has descended upon the Committee to whose arbitrament such momentous interests are entrusted. There is a so-called largeness of charity which is too often looseness of opinion, which consists simply in the confounding things that differ, in the demolition of ancient landmarks, and the attempt to evaporate all positive truth. Our Committee does not, therefore, think that its functions are fully discharged when it has found any man in holy orders who may volunteer as a Missionary; nor does it entrust to every bishop

whatsoever, simply in virtue of his holding the episcopal office, the disposal of the funds which it may assign to any particular field. Is, then, the Society therefore unepiscopal? Does it contravene the recognized order and discipline of our Church? By no means. Ever since the year 1839 the Society has acted honourably and consistently on the principle which has been thus published in every Annual Report to this day. The Bishops of the Church, under the authority of the law of the land, order and send forth (ecclesiastically speaking) our Missionaries. These Missionaries are licensed and superintended abroad, in every place where it is practicable, by Colonial Bishops of the Church of England, as are the other clergymen of the Church officiating in the same colony. The services which the Missionaries perform are in strict conformity with the ritual and discipline of the Church. But when the Society is entrusted with funds by the true Churchmen of England, and has accepted the responsibilities of the right distribution of those funds, it is compelled to remember that there are bishops and bishops—that there is, for example, a Bishop Crowther, and there was a Bishop Staley; just as among the critics of Missionary enterprise there is a Dr. Littledale and there is also a Lord Lawrence. And in like manner it is not every man in holy orders who would truly represent the Protestant Evangelical Church of England in the Missionary field. The Committee of Correspondence is expected to sift thoroughly every candidate's powers and every candidate's doctrinal tenets. It searches for men, who, as against Sceptics, hold firmly the plenary inspiration and sufficiency of Holy Scripture; who, as against Rationalists, hold and set forth salvation by substitution through the atoning blood of the crucified Redeemer appropriated by personal faith; who, as against mere Moralists, maintain the necessity of the new birth by the Spirit, and of a growing sanctification by the power and indwelling of the Holy Ghost; who, as against Ritualists, hold that the darkness of shadowy ceremonialism is past, and that the true light of a manifested Christ now shineth; and who, as against all the powers of Satan, in every part of the wide world, are prepared, even unto the death, to prove ourselves good soldiers of Jesus Christ. Such are the functions of the Committee of Correspondence, and with rare discrimination and unswerving consistency they are discharged. Can we wish more than that the mantle of our vene-

nable Elijah, who has so lately left us, and to whom the decision of these momentous questions was so often referred, may have fallen on the Elishas, his trusted colleagues, whom he has left behind? The Resolution, my Lord, which I am entrusted to recommend to your acceptance, couples with the assertion of the great spiritual principles of our Society, congratulations on the observance of the day of special prayer. My Lord, the very observance of that day (was itself only a special recognition of one of the most prominent principles of the Society, that all its works and all its deliberations shall be begun, continued, and ended with prayer. It was, indeed, strange if the experience of our Committee had not taught them that (as John Foster says) "the most excellent of all human means must be that of which the effect is to obtain the exertion of Divine power." On no man living can the lesson of daily life have more strongly forced a conviction that the Lord reigneth, and yet that with Him, the inspirer and hearer of prayer, effectual fervent prayer availeth much. Not only is the reformation of each individual soul the direct work, the wonderful work of God, but all the thousand leadings to that blessed consummation are also the leadings of the Lord. A vast number of varied influences must combine and must be concentrated on a single point before a heathen country can be opened to the efforts of the Missionary. Some of those influences are unknown to the Committee; many others they are utterly unable to control or direct. But there is One who, as He knows all, so He rules all. "The heart of a king is in God's right hand," and thus prayer to Him becomes the necessary and yet even the most welcome resource. Faith prompts to prayer, faith pleads the sure Word of promise, faith nerves the worker, and faith discerns the answer to prayer, and is not staggered whether it receive an early and a wholly unimagined blessing, or whether delay be decreed, and the present answer be, "Hold thou still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon Him." Indeed it was a grand and moving spectacle: the best hearts of England prostrate in fervent supplication for a special and much needed blessing! Yet it was only, my Lord, the girding on of our armour, armour which must never be laid aside till He come whose right it is to rule over all nations. Prayer must be the work, nay the pleasure and the privilege, not merely of a special day, but of every day. And when men taunt us with serving God for

naught—when they ask us, "Where is the promise of His coming?"—we are not, indeed, without the proofs that the Lord hath heard our petition, and, therefore, that the Lord will hear our prayer. But we answer confidently. When it has pleased God that some huge frowning cliff shall fall, it is not commonly His will or His way to command the earthquake to rend and shatter it. No! He sends against it His mighty waters; yet they come in insignificant waves, ceaseless waves, unwearied waves, waves which still advance though thousands have been before them and have spent their strength apparently for naught, but waves which conquer. The tall crag totters and falls, and the waves leap and play over the prostrate hindrance. You cannot ascribe to the last wave the undivided honours of that overthrow. No! Each one that broke against it, and yet fell back as

though defeated, has a share in the ultimate result. 'And in the crowning day of triumph, when the huge and frowning obstacles of idolatry and false religion fall, it will be felt, and it will be acknowledged, that every generation of the faithful soldiers of the Cross, and amongst them, let us pray, not least our own, has done something not utterly inappropriate towards the victory, which, if God be true, must crown the warfare of Christ and of His Church.

"God counts not hours with thee,
No sun metes out for Him a daily round,
His time's eternity.
Death is no mark for Him, the grave no bound;
Ages His moments are,
A thousand years are nothing in His gaze;
Thy seed is in His care,
And thou shalt find it after many days."

He was followed by the Rev. E. SARGENT, Missionary from Tinnivelly, who, in a speech of great simplicity, but of singular power and pathos, which was most fully appreciated by all who listened to him, said:—

Standing as I do in this hall for the first time in my life, and speaking on behalf of this great Society, I confess to feeling very deep emotion. After a lengthened period abroad in the service of our great Master, I returned a few months ago to England, and one of my first acts was to stand in St. Paul's Cathedral on the spot where I was ordained as a minister many years ago. Standing here now, surrounded by the representatives and supporters of this great Society, reminds me forcibly of the fact that I am myself a child of the Church Missionary Society; for when left an orphan in India, God, as it were, took me by the hand and gave me to a Missionary of your Society, under whose example and teaching I learned first to admire and love this work, and finally to give myself to it. Every book I touched bore the initials of the Church Missionary Society, and every study in which I engaged had the mental and moral photograph of those golden letters upon it; the effect produced upon me being such that I think I might say with the old French soldier of the first Empire, when the surgeon was probing his chest for the bullet, "Go deeper and you will find the Emperor;" for in my heart of hearts is engraven the Church Missionary Society. When I first went to the station to which I was appointed in Southern India, the then Metropolitan of India, the good and great Daniel Wilson, paid a visit to the Missionaries, my station being the last he visited. All the Missionaries of the district were there to meet him, and as

many Native Christians as could be invited, and the Church being too small, the people put up a large shed, in which the Bishop addressed about 1800 Native Christians. He had asked me which would be the best subject to create an interest in the native mind—the miracles of our Lord, or His parables. I said a parable would be best; and having adopted this suggestion, he told me afterwards that what he had observed had gratified him exceedingly, and that he had thought that in the glorious theme I had, if my heart was only in the work, what great things I might do. That remark has echoed in my heart ever since, and that theme has been from then till now the making known of Christ and Him crucified. Speaking as a Missionary from India, I am addressing you in the interests of 240,000,000 of people, of whom the greater part are under the government and rule of this country, and all of them under its protection and influence. Far be it from me to ignore what has been and is being done in other Societies; but as belonging to the Church Missionary Society, I have to show you what God has done by her means. The Propagation Society has done much, but with regard to the Church Missionary Society there are in the Madras Presidency 60,000 Natives in connexion with that Institution; and when the good Bishop of Madras was there last, I sat down with forty-eight Native Missionaries ordained in the Church, thirty-five of whom belonged to the Church Missionary Society, and the remainder to the Propagation Society.

We have the Gospel taught among 700 villages, and of these the Natives, of 120 altogether, profess the Christian faith. In the place where I am stationed, we have four Native Pastors and five or six Catechists, all supported out of the Native Church Fund. When I was coming away not long ago these good friends met together, and forced on me 600 rupees, and when you know the closeness of the Hindoo people you will fully appreciate the motive by which they were guided in doing this. In the first station where I was placed there was a lad who could read the Bible very nicely, and who always displayed an admirable acquaintance with that book. He became very ill, and when I went to see him there was a Bible near his pillow. I read some verses to him, and prayed with him, and afterwards, while I was at my church, the father came and informed me that it was all over with his little boy. He said, "He looked up into my face, and said, 'Father, I am going to my home,' and I said, 'You are at home here; here are your mother and sisters: what do you mean?' The boy replied, 'I am going to my home, father, in the kingdom of heaven;' and then he said, 'Turn me, turn me,' and as I was turning him he died." I told him that his son still lived, and he said, "Yes, sir, I understand it now, but I did not at the time. While he was ill I thought that if he were spared I would give a sum of money to the Church, but as I now believe he is living a better and a happier life than he could have hoped for here, I will give not only what I said to the Church, but double the amount." I repeated this statement at a meeting the other day, and the next morning I saw in the churchyard this inscription over the tomb of the Rector's son, "'I am going to my home,' were the last words he uttered." Therefore, in India or in England, white or black, it is the same—the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ is peace. An old man in my district was ill, and I visited him. He had a good heart, but dwelt on his pains and troubles, and I said, "Remember the burthen the Saviour bore, and you will not think so much about your own." He replied, "Sir, that was not the Saviour's own burden, it was a burden placed on Him. Often when I have been following you with your box I have had to stop and rest the load; but I could find no resting-place for the load of sin I have had but in Jesus the friend of sinners; on Him I have cast the burden, and I have been another man ever since." There are many ladies here, and I should like to tell them what the Gospel has done for their sisters in the heathen

land from which I come. The young lady I wish to speak of had received her religious training from one who has now gone to his rest, the Rev. Mr. Pettitt. She was on her death-bed, and when I saw her she touched her ears, and shook her hands, as though to say, "I cannot hear," and then she touched her mouth and shook her hands, as much as to say, "I cannot speak," and then pointing upwards she seemed to say, "There I shall hear all that is glorious, and be able to tell you all that is glorious when we meet again." Before coming away I thought it my duty to bid good-bye to several families that lived near me. Calling upon one at a late hour, having been detained longer than I expected with the others, I found that the family were preparing to go to rest, and on a pillow which had been placed for the baby, I saw a Bible. I said, "I suppose that is the Book," and the husband said, "Yes. The fact is my wife never likes to close her eyes after family prayers without reading a few verses of God's Word." I thought then that the Gospel had done for those people what it had done for the best among ourselves. That man had to undergo great persecutions on account of his religion. He had had to renounce father, mother, and brothers, and to give up his property likewise. Visiting another house, I saw a little girl reading the Bible to her mother and two sisters. That woman was born a Hindoo, born and brought up a heathen, married as a heathen, and became a mother as a heathen, therefore she never learned to read. But, with God's blessing, in her advanced years she did learn to read, and came to the knowledge of God. Another fact. Next week I went into another street, to a house where I found a family, the father of which had just lost his son, the greatest calamity, in the estimation of a Hindoo, that could happen to him. I looked up the passage to a door where there was a light, and there I saw the father seated, his Bible in his hand, his wife by his side, his wife's mother at his left, and his two little daughters near. I said, "I see you are at your prayers, do not let me disturb you." I found that the father was reading the 84th Psalm, which contains that beautiful verse, "The sparrow hath found her a house, and the swallow a nest for herself." He said, "I know that though my son's body is in the ground, his soul hath found a resting-place in heaven above; what more can he want?" I was dumb with admiration at the thought that in a place where, if the Gospel had not reached it, there would have

been nothing but howling and raging and curses on the evil spirit which had worked their woe, that Christian spirit should have exerted so soothing an influence. I may be asked—Amidst all these favourable and encouraging incidents in your Missionary work, why have you come away from it? I reply, that it is permitted to the reaper, when his day's toil is somewhat advanced, to put down his sickle, and wipe the sweat from his brow, and look back upon the work that he has completed, in order that he may take fresh heart for the work that still lies before him. Like him, I have come here to this country and to this Meeting, to be refreshed for the work that is still before me. The Church Missionary Society have had my best days, and, God helping me, they shall have my last. May my last be also my best days of prayer and humble service, and may my

The next Resolution was moved by Sir T.

“That the opening up of Japan to the messengers of the Gospel, and the opportunities likely to be afforded in East Africa, together with the continued and growing demand for Missionary effort in all the larger Mission fields, imperatively require operations on an extended scale, and a consequent addition of not less than 20,000*l.* to the permanent annual income of the Society.” I believe these Meetings have two great objects: the one, to spread information and excite interest in the work which is being carried on by our agents in different parts of the world, an object which I am sure has been well fulfilled by the speakers to whom we have just listened; the other, to bring before the supporters of the Society some account of the conduct of its operations, and to give them an opportunity of justifying, or, if they will, of criticizing its policy. It is my duty, in the few moments for which I am to address you, to bring to your notice one part of their work, and to ask your approbation for it. The Committee have, during several years past, taken an active and leading part in bringing to the notice of the public the state of things that prevails on the East Coast of Africa, and the frightful atrocities of the slave trade which is carried on across the Indian Ocean. They have done a great deal by meetings throughout the country, as well as by their publications, to make known the facts relating to this. There is the Island of Zanzibar, into which every year 20,000 miserable creatures are imported, of whom a few hundreds may be reserved for the residents of the adjoining country, but the multitude are

soul be strengthened even to the end! I am about to depart again to my friends in the land of my adoption. I shall have to tell them of some good and great ones who have departed from our midst, of Venn and Tucker and Pettitt, names well known to most of you, and whose memories are engraven on your hearts. Let us trust that, with God's help, others will stand up in their places. This assembly may teach us that the strength of our cause rests not on a name, its glory centres not in a person, its result does not depend on an individual; but the result and the glory of our work depend on a principle, the setting forth of Christ Jesus and Him crucified, and that under Him, the Captain of our salvation, we will press forward in the cause, carrying the blessings of an open Bible to the ends of the earth, and showing forth its fruits in our hearts and lives.

FOWELL BUXTON:—

shipped away to Arabia, Muscat, and all parts of the Red Sea. We know something of the circumstances which attend the capture of these miserable creatures; we know, on authority which has had the assent and confirmation of a Parliamentary Committee, that wars are set on foot and promoted between tribes. Great districts have been seen, teeming with population, gathered into villages, growers of cotton and smelters of iron—such is the description of a district given by Livingstone, which he visited in the year 1858—in which, two or three years later, nothing was to be seen but a howling wilderness, the air foul with horrible odours, the people slaughtered or led captive to the coast. These are the facts which have been brought to light, in a great measure, by the action of the Committee; and they have not only published them, but they have done a great deal to excite interest and determination that the influence of our country should be used for the suppression of these atrocities. We are met with some objections here and there. We are told that we ought not to interfere with them, because the Arabians and Mohammedans have no scruple about it. We are told that those who reach their destination are not so hardly worked as West Indian slaves. We are told that some may eventually lead lives of luxury, and that, if we interfere, we may injure the prosperity of the port of Zanzibar. But if a few lead lives of ease, why are we to care nothing for the great many who are slaughtered, or who live only to be condemned to an existence of misery? If it be a good thing that the port of Zanzi-

bar should flourish, why are we to care nothing about the ruin and wretchedness of the interior of a vast continent? We are told that it is not our business to go to the ends of the earth to put down evils and abuses which we may find existing; but in those parts of the earth we have long possessed and exercised very great power; we have interfered to prevent one state and another from going to war, to put down rebellion in Zanzibar, to compel one state to pay debts due to another state. I am told that we have even given money for the building of a prison in the town of Zanzibar. We are not in a position, therefore, to say, "It is not our concern, and we are too far removed to have anything to do with it." Our influence has been used in many ways, and we cannot turn round and say that we are not in a position to bring it to bear upon the perpetrators of these atrocities. We are told also that there has been a want of interest about these matters, and that the heart of England has grown cold on the subject. I venture to think that, so far as there was any foundation for that statement, it was owing only to the ignorance which has prevailed. But now many Societies have held meetings throughout the country, and everywhere an earnest desire has been expressed that the might of England should be exerted, that the armed hand of England should be brought down upon those who are concerned in these enormities. Especially of late, action has been taken by Government in sending out a skilful Mission, led by Sir Bartle Frere. I fear some discouragement has been created through the difficulties made by the Sultan as to accepting a new treaty that was proposed to him. Let all who take an interest in it remember that whatever has to be done might be done by this country alone, by our own efforts, and looking for aid to no human power whatever. When the Mission started, its well-wishers were cheered by the fact that the sympathies of another nation, our neighbours of France, had been excited in its favour. We should be heartily glad if others should go along cordially with us, for we have no desire to obtain any influence or credit which we are not willing to share with other nations. But I hope we shall not check our own action in dependence upon support to be obtained from any allies. I do not know that we have any authoritative or official information as to what has been the action of foreign consuls in the harbour of Zanzibar; but if we look back to the history of our own proceedings for the suppression of

the slave trade in various parts of the world, we shall see that in most cases we have had nothing beyond civil phrases and very little real help. We must feel, therefore, that we have to rely upon our own unaided efforts only, though we should, of course, be glad enough to have assistance from others. There is another point which promises to furnish an arduous piece of work in which this Society must be prepared to take its share. If her Majesty's ships should be more successful in the capture of slave vessels, or even if their present success continue, a very difficult question will arise as to the disposal of the rescued victims. As a matter of fact, their disposal has hitherto been the least satisfactory part of the whole process. But we have now some experience to guide us in the matter, and we can point to the West Coast of Africa and the settlement of Sierra Leone with more confidence. Some interesting facts have lately come out as to the condition and commerce of that settlement upon the highest authority. We may be certain that there cannot be a large and increasing trade in any quarter, unless there were some of the elements of civilization, unless there be some security for life and property, some confidence and good faith between man and man. The Lieutenant-Governor of that colony has told us that the exports and imports come to the sum of 2,500,000*l.* a year, and that the amount is increasing rapidly from year to year. Then we have his authority for stating that the very highest desire prevails amongst the inhabitants for education. It may be that the schools are not all that the most perfect schools may be, and that there is room for improvement; but if there has been no room for improvement in schools at home, we have heard a great deal of idle talk during the last few years. As to outward manifestations of religion, everything goes to prove that there is as much appearance of it as in any society with which we are acquainted. I venture to think, therefore, that the part which has been taken by Government and the facts which have been brought to our knowledge, point to what may be done on the other side of Africa, and we shall not be putting our hand to a work in which we have no experience to guide us. This Society has other duties to discharge, and I am sure it will continue to do so efficiently. It does much to keep alive our sense of responsibility towards those nations with whom we are brought in contact; and the more that sense is kept alive, the more

certainly will the whole country be determined to put an end to this enormous evil which goes on under our hand, under the very shadow of our own Indian Government. It is felt that the country has no power to put an end to it; it is also felt that a heavy

responsibility rests upon us to do so. That is part of the work of the Society, and I trust it may long continue to flourish and obtain, with God's blessing, ability to discharge the increasing duties that devolve upon it from year to year.

This was seconded by the Rev. G. ENSOR, from Japan, who gave an account of the different systems of religion prevalent in Japan, and of his own Missionary experiences in that country. He was supported by the Bishop of Moosonee, of whose labours we have recently given a detailed account; and so closed a most interesting anniversary meeting of the Society.

In the evening the Large Room was crowded throughout its whole space during the meeting held under the presidency of Bishop CROWTHER. The collections at the meetings amounted to 210*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*, being 90*l.* in excess of the previous year.

The account of these anniversary proceedings would be incomplete without some reference to a most important meeting of the Honorary District Secretaries, which was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, on Thursday morning, May 8. Breakfast was provided for the assembled friends by the munificence of a friend of the Society, so that neither they nor the Society were put to expense by this social gathering. At the conclusion of the breakfast a portion of Scripture was read, and prayer was offered by the Rev. H. Wright, Honorary Secretary of the Society. The assembly then proceeded to discuss the following important questions;—

1. "How to maintain in our Associations the spirit of prayer which was evoked on December 20th."
2. "The value of Local Committees and Parochial Organizations in carrying on our work at home."
3. "How to strengthen the bonds of connexion between the Committee and our friends throughout the Country."

The first question was opened by the reading of a short paper by the Rev. W. H. Barlow, Secretary of the Bristol Association. As it contains many valuable suggestions on a most important subject, we have much pleasure in finding room for it:—

I take it for granted that a spirit of prayer was evoked on the day of Prayer. The proceedings at this present anniversary, the printed and authoritative statements of the Society, and private accounts from such Associations as I have had to do with personally, all concur in this testimony, that the occasion was indeed one to be much remembered unto the Lord throughout all generations.

I take it also for granted that, for very wise and good reasons, the Committee do not desire to establish one special and fixed day for intercession in the course of each year, but rather so to foster and develop the spirit of prayer for Mission work in general that every day in every year shall be a season of continued and unwearied pleading with God.

How this is to be accomplished is the inquiry proposed to the present meeting.

1. In regard to large Associations, where several parishes are grouped together in one city or town, let the anniversary each year be commenced with a distinctly devotional meeting. Let all the members of the Local

Committee, together with the collectors and tried friends of the cause, be summoned. Let it be plainly set forth that without God's blessing the anniversary cannot be expected to prosper, and that the one way of securing His favour is to come together thus simply and sincerely in the name of Jesus to ask for it.

2. In these large Associations there may also easily be established a monthly meeting for prayer. This has been attempted, and that successfully, in Bristol for the last six years. The meetings are held in various parochial school-rooms in rotation, the number of schools open for the purpose being now ten. By means of small printed handbills friends are collected, not only from the particular parish where the meeting may, on any given occasion, be held, but also from other districts. This involves some little labour, but hitherto it has been cheerfully performed. Besides the time allotted to the strictly devotional portion of the meeting, half an hour is assigned to the giving of information on some special field of Missionary operations. The whole lasts an hour and a quarter, or (at the

latest) an hour and a half. There is no collection of money. Let me add here, that in regard to country Associations, or to those of small towns, the same principles of a preliminary devotional meeting at the anniversary, and of a monthly prayer union meeting, may be carried out by joining together such parishes as lie sufficiently near to each other for the purpose. The difficulties in such cases will be greater than those experienced in large towns; but by pains, patience, and the blessing of God, very much may be accomplished.

3. A third thing, applicable to large and small Associations alike, is the establishment of regular quarterly Missionary meetings in *every parish*. Let two of these, say the January and July meetings, be mainly for the purpose of prayer, and the other two for the spread of information. The devotional gatherings, as I know from experience, will not hinder, but will rather promote, the efficiency of those at which information is given.

4. Let me also recommend that the chairman, speakers, and other friends, who are so frequently collected at some social meal before setting out for a Church Missionary meeting, should be invited to ask God's blessing before they go. To the speakers, in particular, the refreshment of such a brief season of intercession is very great. The absence of it is often keenly felt.

5. It frequently happens that deputations, especially if they are the guests of lay friends, are asked to conduct family worship. Let the Missionary cause be always introduced into their devotions. However powerfully a speaker may have urged, on the platform, the duty of prayer for Missions, if he fails to put it prominently forward when he himself is leading the supplications of a household, the omission will be observed, and the influence of his visit will be weakened.

6. Might it also be possible to have the prayer, regularly used at the opening of the Committees of the parent Society and of the annual meeting in Exeter Hall, either printed in the yearly Report, or supplied in sufficient numbers to those who have to organize parochial meetings throughout the country? Remembering how much the tone of a meeting depends on the manner in which it is commenced, I cannot but think that the more general use of that prayer would be attended with very beneficial results.

7. Lastly, if a spirit of true prayer is to be maintained, it will be, under God, by the cultivation of a more devotional spirit on the part of each individual labourer for Christ. If, wherever we go, and whatever be our work, men cannot but take knowledge of us that we have been, and continually are, with Jesus, the influence thus gained will spread, and the pleasure of the Lord will prosper in our hands.

Many friends then, in short speeches, none of which were permitted to exceed five minutes in length, offered their views, and threw out many valuable hints which will, we trust, bear fruit in due season. The subsequent questions were opened by brief papers from the Rev. J. MacCartie, of Carlisle, and Colonel Horsley from Canterbury.

The Annual Sermon, which by the courtesy of the Dean of Westminster is permitted at Westminster Abbey, was listened to by nearly 2000 persons. The preacher was the Rev. R. W. Forrest, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude's, South Kensington, who delivered an eloquent sermon from Isaiah lii. 7. The collection amounted to 437. 8s. 11d.

Thus closed an anniversary which may probably form an epoch in the affairs of the Church Missionary Society. It was refreshing and encouraging to behold young men stepping forward into the vacant places from which death had removed the aged servants of the Lord. Nor could we from the beginning to the end of the proceedings detect one discordant note, or one slight symptom of departure from the great principles which have been so long and so successfully maintained by the Society—the Divine blessing resting upon them. There will be in the future, as there have been in the past, difficulties to be overcome, disappointments to be endured, conflicts to be waged, the ignorance of foolish men to be put to silence, much toil and labour to be gone through; but even as the Prophet of the Lord “took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us,” so beside the tombs of the friends, much beloved and deeply lamented, will we glorify the Lord who hath done great things for us—and from them will we go forth to fresh fields and to new pastures in the strength of Him, who has been our Strength in the times which were past, and unto whom we look as our Help in the years that may be yet to come.



THE LAHORE COLLEGE.

It is with much pleasure that we present our readers in this number with one of two views of the Lahore Theological College, which have been kindly placed at our disposal. The Roman poet says truly that things which are matters only of hearsay arrest attention less quickly than those which come under the observation of the eyes; we hope, therefore, that from them a lively idea will be gathered of an institution to which the thoughts and the prayers of many turn in anxious expectation that it may in due season prove a means of incalculable blessing to India. Very recently, a telegram was sent to India by the Committee, urging the much-honoured principal, the Rev. T. Valpy French, to return to England, for the restoration of his much-impaired health. It will be a satisfaction to our friends to know that in reply he writes:—

“I thank the Committee and you most sincerely and affectionately for your strong wish that I should return at once; but the necessity which seemed almost to exist three weeks ago has ceased, so far as we can judge by appearances. A journey to Ferozepore during the short Easter vacation, though spent in marching, preaching, encamping, &c., seemed almost to give me life from the dead; all traces of the complaint have passed away, and I am again in excellent health. Under such circumstances, the risk of returning so late in the season would be infinitely greater, I feel, than going steadily and quietly on in present college and bazaar work, which I can undertake now with vigour and even with pleasure.”

The illustration (taken from a photograph) which we furnish with this number represents part of the college buildings with the grounds, laid out in the native style, in which they stand. These grounds were the garden in olden times of one of the Sikh Sirdars, and have been purchased for the purposes of the college. The old towers have been repaired as residences for the students, and the small kiosk, to the left, is used as one of the lecture-rooms. A new building has been erected for the principal's residence, which is not seen in this view.

In the course of last December, Lahore was visited by the Bishop of Calcutta. He mentions in his journal that in the college there are “four courts, with gardens and towers, in which the students lodge, and a principal's residence also erected at one end, with the old building beside it: altogether, it seems a suitable and good site and fabric. With reference to the condition of the college his lordship remarks:—

“I may add my expression of the great importance of Mr. French's college. It supplies a great need of the Church. It promises to give us really useful candidates for the ministry and educational work of the Church: men of ability, devotion, and earnestness, and thoroughly trained and prepared for the development of the spiritual life of the converts, and for the necessary controversial work. I recommend that from time to time the Native Clergy should come in for a month or so in the course of each year, to revive their knowledge and deepen their devotion with the college authorities. I think that from these men ‘Evangelists’ might be chosen, who could have the supervision of a small circle of pastors, and so both improve themselves and them, and help forward also the future organization of the Native Church.”

SLAVE CATCHING AND DHOW CHASING.

SLAVE CATCHING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, by Captain COLOMB, R.N. *London*: Longmans, 1873.

DHOW CHASING IN ZANZIBAR WATERS, by Captain G. L. SULLIVAN, R.N. *London*: Sampson Low, 1873.

So much interest is now concentrated on all questions connected with the East African Slave Trade, that no apology can be needful for bringing the books mentioned at the head of this article under the especial notice of our readers. “Inter arma silent leges,”

is an old saying ; we may be perhaps permitted to paraphrase it thus : that " Missionary operations cannot be carried on with any reasonable prospect of success, in a land harried and plundered by the devastations of slave-dealers." Naturally, therefore, we turn with much anxiety to these records of naval officers, actively engaged in the suppression of the traffic, for such information as they can give us. It is, of course, impossible for them to give any accurate details from personal observations, of the horrors practised in the land transport ; but we might expect them to have picked up something even about this from hearsay, while in their own peculiar element their witness ought to be unimpeachable. Curiously enough, we have before us in the volumes under review the experience of two officers, who were both employed at the same period, on the same service, and with equal advantages for knowing and ascertaining the truth. In some instances they witnessed precisely the same spectacles, and probably about the same time, although, of course, not on the same particular days. Now, if their testimony had tallied in all respects, to whichever side of the question it might have inclined, it would have deserved the most serious attention, and might probably have been accepted without much further discussion. But, after a careful perusal of both volumes, it would be impossible to come to such a conclusion. The discrepancies are many, and serious, and we propose to comment upon them with all needful freedom. At the same time we would preface our remarks by observing that we have not the slightest doubt that the writers of both books are honourable gentlemen, who have honestly recorded, to the best of their judgment and ability, the impressions made upon them by what they have witnessed, and that they have fully intended to communicate the truth to their readers. We will therefore endeavour to place before our readers some idea of the contents of both books, noting from time to time the harmony and the divergence between the statements of the writers. In doing so, we will make the work of Captain Colomb the basis of our observations, as it is the more elaborate of the two, and enters into many questions which have not been noticed by Captain Sullivan.

It was in the month of August, 1868, that Captain Colomb found himself appointed to the command of H.M.S. " Dryad," and set out on his journey to meet her at Aden. He had sailed previously in Indian waters, but the duties to which he was now commissioned were new to him. So far as we can gather, he had not been engaged in the suppression of the East African Slave Trade previously. Captain Sullivan's experience seems to have been far more extensive. So far back as 1849, he was engaged in this service on board the " Castor." Fifteen years later, he found himself on the same station in command of H.M. Sloop " Pantaloon," and, finally, he was, in 1867, appointed to H.M.S. " Daphne," and continued in command throughout the year 1868. It is not distinctly stated in Captain Colomb's book how long he was on the East African Coast, but it is clear that Captain Sullivan's experience was the more lengthened and the more varied of the two.

After explaining (p. 23) that it may be said, perhaps without much exaggeration, that the whole of the negro population of Eastern Africa is liable to sale ; and that these regions form a preserve which is worked by the Arab in the slaving season, as you might work a moor after the 12th of August ; Captain Colomb tells us that the trade is twofold : from Northern Central Africa to Southern Asia, and from Southern Central Africa to Madagascar. It may be a convenience to some of our readers to know what a " dhow " is. Our author says (p. 35) that " if a pear be sharpened at the thin end, and then cut in half longitudinally, two models will have been made resembling in all essential respects the ordinary slave dhow. From their form, the bow must sink deeply in the water, while the stern floats lightly upon it. They are seldom wholly decked, and by far the greater number are not decked at all. Usually at the stern there is a light super-

structure of great size forming a poop, serving as a dwelling for the captain or owner, &c. Dhows often carry no more than one mast, generally leaning towards the bow of the vessel. They are enormously swift; they would tax the powers of our fastest yachts in light winds; the most speedy man-of-war, under steam and sail, has her hands full when she gives chase to them in a breeze." Every dhow carries arms.

In the very outset of his adventures Captain Colomb complains, and we think with much justice, of the inadequacy of the information supplied to officers on this service. The information which he does obtain "respecting his powers of dealing with the slave trade in general, and instructions more or less minute, are supplied to him in an octavo volume, the growth of many years' West Coast practice, under the title of 'Instructions for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.'" Very little of it, however, has to do with the East African Slave Trade; the book was prepared for the West Coast. "West Coast experience and East African facts are contrary the one to the other." At a glance he can discover that the general instructions supplied to him were never meant to apply to the slave trade with which he has to deal (p. 65). Further on he quotes, at length, the peculiar indications by which a naval officer is to judge whether or not a vessel is engaged or equipped for the slave trade. They were, no doubt, admirably precise for the slaver which traded between the West Coast of Africa and America in former days, but are simply ludicrous when brought to bear upon the Arab dhow. When a vessel is detained, the next point is what is to be done with her. But here we must let Captain Colomb speak for himself:—

The answer is thus given:—

"After you have detained the vessel, you will, with as little delay as possible, forward her to the proper port of adjudication."

These proper ports are, for the northern trade: Zanzibar, Aden, Bombay, and Muscat (though in my time it was not certain that the latter was a "port of adjudication"). They are on an average more than one thousand miles apart, so that generally, if not uniformly, prizes must be sent many hundreds of miles to be condemned. The question arises, How are they to be got over this ground? I have described the vessels, the winds and currents; no English naval officer would willingly trust a prize crew on board a dhow for a voyage of fifty miles, and certainly not for several hundred. If they are to be taken to a prize court, it must be in tow of the ship. Yet, supposing it possible to tow them any distance, which they could rarely bear, how can the ship abandon her station, and, for the sake of one capture, neglect the suppression of the trade, while she is away at the prize court? The instruc-

tions here come to the rescue in a way which could hardly have been contemplated when they were drawn up. "Should the vessel appear to you not to be in a sufficiently seaworthy condition to be sent in for adjudication, you will cause a survey to be made of her by the officers of your ship best qualified for that duty; and if you should thereupon determine to destroy her, you will draw up a certificate in the form given, and will, if so required by treaty, deliver a copy thereof signed by yourself to the master."

What is the necessary result of the conditions described, and of this clause in the instructions? It is that the latter becomes the rule. Every detained vessel, unless the capture be made almost within sight of the port of adjudication, "appears to be unfit to proceed" there, is formally surveyed, formally reported unfit, and very informally scuttled or burnt. In the nature of things this must be so. The captain of the ship is judge, jury, and executioner; and in these capacities he must exercise his functions.

Such matters may, perhaps, hardly fall within the purview of those engaged in Missionary operations. Still, it may be well that our friends should have some inkling of the difficulties which our officers have to contend with in the discharge of their duty. For further information on such topics, we must refer them to the book itself. An ugly matter is dwelt upon in Captain Colomb's book, too important to be passed over, and which, however familiar it may be to the students of Blue Books, is not thoroughly realized by public opinion in England; that is, the connexion of Bombay with

the slave trade. Quoting from the Report of the Parliamentary Commissioners, 1871, Captain Colomb says :—

"In former days the condition of the slave trade was very flourishing, so much so that the East India Company considered it necessary to put it down, and their agents in the Persian Gulf and at Muscat entered into treaties with the various chiefs for that purpose. But the difficulties attending the suppression of the slave trade, with regard to the Indian navy, were so great that the officers belonging to that service never made any captures. In the courts of justice at Bombay, a captain, after having made a capture, was deprived of his command, in order that the evidence of the officers might not be influenced by him; so that very few captains took the trouble to capture slavers."

It is even stated that ships of the Indian navy, when they saw an undoubted slaver, put their helms up and ran away to avoid being obliged to capture her.

This was not probably the case in the vicinity of Aden, for Indian cruisers are represented as being active in the suppression of the Red Sea trade. There may have been, as there are now, greater facilities and less expense in the Aden than in the Bombay courts.

But in the Persian Gulf, and perhaps elsewhere, not one single capture was made

We cannot spare room for the further observations of Captain Sullivan to the same

"England" learnt with astonishment that this trade was being openly carried on by British subjects (of India), and, moreover, that in case of any interference with their interests these people possessed the power of arousing dangerous agitation in public opinion in India. "Indian" officers found that by giving offence to any of the petty local sovereigns, by increased firmness and decision on their part in drawing the line as distinctly as it is portrayed in the

during twenty-four years under the provisions of the treaty with the Gulf Arabs.

But though Bombay's efforts in suppression were not vigorous, there have been from time to time, even down to quite recent years, accusations that the great commercial centre participated in the guilt and the profits of the trade.

In 1841, the case was proved against her. The subjects of the Sultan of Muscat and Zanzibar were in the habit of bringing negro slaves from Africa for sale to Bombay, and of taking back Hindu females for the same purpose to Zanzibar. The male negroes were carried into port as part of the crew, and the females as their wives. As a large portion of the crew of native boats was (and is) composed of negroes, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any examining officer to ascertain whether the Africans on board were *bond fide* seamen, or brought for sale. It was then said, that so little repugnance was entertained by the negroes themselves to be sold out of the vessels bringing them, that both males and females readily joined in the deception, and, if interrogated, seldom if ever failed to corroborate the statement of the commander as to their composing part of the equipage of the vessel.

details which he gives, but may note the effect :—

treaties, that they were regarded as affecting the political interests of India and endangering the relations between that country and the parasites surrounding it. As an instance of this, I may mention that an officer connected with one of our Admiralty Courts in India once said to me, at a dinner-table, "If we go on condemning these vessels for having only a few slaves on board, we shall be having our supplies cut off again from the interior."

Captain Colomb's book, and so also that of Captain Sullivan, abounds with interesting accounts of the pursuit and capture of dhows; but it would be quite foreign to our purpose to reproduce them in our pages, although they throw light upon the miseries to which the negro is exposed in his transport to his destination. We will rather canvas sundry statements which we meet with affecting general questions. It may be convenient to take them in regular order, and we will therefore first discuss the views put forward in these books as to the extent and reality of the misery inflicted upon the negro in his home, and in his progress from his home to the sea-board. We have already quoted a statement of Captain Colomb's—that the regions of Eastern Africa are worked by the Arab in the slaving season as you might work a moor after the 12th of August. The natural deduction from such an assertion, if fairly wrought out, would seem to warrant every effort that could be devised or compassed for the suppression of

such an abomination. Grouse, we presume, are shot down without remorse, and only so far spared that the breed may not utterly be destroyed. If the Arab adopts a parallel treatment with the negro, not of course murdering but enslaving, he cannot be too quickly himself abolished if he cannot otherwise be rendered powerless. When, however, we advance further into the volume, we find it seriously questioned whether "the slave trade is responsible for most of the interior wars in East Africa, for most of the suspended cultivation, the burnt villages, and the devastated districts." And again (p. 478), it is asserted that "the direct evidence does not bear out the charge made against the interior slave trade, that it is a main cause of the African wars and desolations." Without any disrespect to Captain Colomb, we may be permitted to remark that he has no personal knowledge whatever of the subject. His statements are not evidence, they are merely opinions. We advert to this because some might be misled by attaching importance to statements met with in a book written by an officer who has commanded a ship on the coast of Africa; they might rashly come to the conclusion that he therefore of necessity had some knowledge of what was occurring in Africa. He might, perhaps, have acquired some; but the real fact is, that, in default of personal information, he has contented himself with picking out of Blue Books, accessible to all, even those whose only nautical experience is travelling in penny steamers from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster, such admissions as he imagines support his fancy. Opinions singularly at variance with Captain Colomb's may be found in these same Blue Books; and as Captain Sullivan has incorporated them in his volume, we may reasonably conclude that the opinions of the one captain differ from those of the other captain. Captain Colomb would ascribe much of the wretchedness in Africa to internal wars not fomented by the slave trade, and to famine arising from want of rain. It may readily be conceded that this is quite possible, and may often be the case; but is not the slave trade still the chief cause of the misery and wretchedness of Africa? If it is not the chief cause, is it not so fearful a cause that every exertion should be used to exterminate it? What is the testimony of witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons? We quote first the evidence of Major-General Rigby:—

I had a proof at Zanzibar of how the slave trade extends from nation to nation in Africa. I found, in registering all the slaves I emancipated, that amongst the recent arrivals most of them gave the names of their tribe as Manganga. I could not at that time exactly fix the position of their country; however, shortly afterwards I saw a letter of Dr. Livingstone in the paper, saying that he had recently travelled through the Manganga country, where the whole population was engaged in the cultivation and working up of cotton; and he said that he had never seen such a wonderful cotton country in his life, or such a fertile country. I think, a year or

two afterwards, he went through the same country, and found it entirely depopulated, all the huts being full of dead bodies. The children had been carried away, and most of the adults slain. That is one of the worst features of the slave trade in that country. When the slave-traders go into a district, they kill all the men and women, and burn the villages, and carry off the children. The reason they give for taking the children only is, that the children are driven more easily, like flocks of sheep, or they are tied with ropes and chains; the men they lose more by desertion on the way.

The Hon. C. Vivian when examined declared:—

The slaves required, as well for the legal as for the illegal traffic, are obtained from the interior of Africa. Formerly they could be procured from the countries bordering on the coast; but constant slave raids have so depopulated those districts, that the slave-dealers are now forced to go far inland for their supplies. Year by year further tracts

of country are depopulated and laid waste, and at the present time it is chiefly from the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa and beyond it that slaves are obtained. The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are, for the most part, Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave-dealers start for the interior well-armed, and provided with articles

for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations, they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property, either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards

of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation; villages are burnt, and the women and children carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of the slave-dealer's operations attests the fearful character of these raids.

The evidence of the Rev. Horace Waller is as follows:—

945. "Dr. Livingstone mentions one part of the country which at one time he found well cultivated, and where a great quantity of cotton was grown, and which on a subsequent visit he found entirely depopulated?"—"Yes, that is the country I am speaking of in which so great a change took place. Many of the Doctor's statements have been discredited, but he is not a man to exaggerate in any respect; I know that contrary opinions about the country have been stated, and it has been hinted that he has coloured things rather too highly, but when I was there I had opportunities of seeing the remains of villages in all directions, the population of which had been entirely swept away; I have seen as many as three villages burning in one morning within two hours, and I have seen hundreds of captives carried away from those villages."

946. "The villages are set on fire, and, in the confusion, the men, women, and children are captured?"—"Yes."

947. "Within what time did that change take place from its being a flourishing cotton-growing country to its being depopulated?"—"In about two years."

948. "Do you remember in what year Dr. Livingstone saw it in its flourishing condition?"—"I think the Doctor came home to England and represented the flourishing state of affairs in 1859, and we found the

altered state of things in 1861; the inhabitants of that district were a very industrious and intelligent race; they had an immense quantity of iron all through the country; coal also was found there, and gold; and copper was taken away to the coast in the form of malachite."

949. "They have been swept away?"—"Entirely swept away. I may say that the country was formerly so thickly populated that you might have travelled for seventy or eighty miles, and have come to a village at every two miles; in many places you would have found a village at every half-mile. It is thoroughly well watered, and it is hardly necessary in any case to take any precaution about water. Another proof of the great population in the hill country is this: that there was no game to be found at all, with the exception of a few guinea-fowl."

950. *Sir R. Anstruther.*] "The consequence of this depopulation is that all this land is lying waste?"—"The Doctor, in one of his last letters to me, speaks of having to cross a tract of 120 miles where they found not a human being of any kind. All this land that I am speaking of is perfectly swept of its inhabitants, and I have no hesitation in saying that every bit of this damage and misery has been caused by the slave trade."

There is probably little in the foregoing extracts not already familiar to those who have studied the question, and it might not have been worth while to reproduce them; but it would require more dexterity in picking among Blue Books than we think Captain Colomb possesses, to escape the conclusion that "the slave trade is a frequent cause of war in the East African slave trade," a position which he seems disposed to controvert. He may not be able to accept the statement that war, however produced, is "the chief cause of those vast depopulations we hear of from the interior;" but others can accept it and do so. We will venture, then, to maintain the opposite conclusion to that of Captain Colomb, as we cannot admit that he has a greater capacity for judging of Blue Books than ourselves or anybody else; and as for the power of estimating evidence as to the condition of the interior of Africa, we rate him infinitely below General Rigby and Mr. Waller, who really had opportunities of knowing and understanding what they were talking about.

From the condition to which the slave trade reduces the towns and villages of Africa, our attention has next to be directed to the transport of the slave from the interior to the sea-board. Here again, Captain Colomb, who, of course, knows nothing himself about the matter, opposes his opinion to that of "innumerable witnesses." He asserts that "only a small minority speak to what they have seen; the remainder relate what they have heard; and most of them only repeat what they understand they have heard." In opposition to them, Captain Colomb puts forward not what he has seen, nor what he has heard, nor what he knows, but what he fancies. The usual assertion is, that a waste of life, estimated at four to one, occurs in the carriage of the slaves to the coast. To Captain Colomb it was "more than a comfort to believe that not above twenty or thirty per cent. perish by the way." It is true that afterwards he has some misgiving as to the amount of comfort, to any one of ordinary humanity, derivable from such a reflection. We venture to think that the testimony of Dr. Kirk, Dr. Livingstone, and Mr. Waller, is far more reliable than the conjectures of Captain Colomb—belief we cannot term them. We turn to the Blue Books quoted by Captain Sullivan:—

Mr. Churchill, C.B., called in.

287. "I will ask you whether you are acquainted with the statements of Dr. Livingstone with regard to the slave trade?"—"Yes; I have read his book, and I do not think them exaggerated at all from what I have heard from Dr. Kirk, who accompanied Dr. Livingstone. In conversations with the former, I have gleaned that the road between Nyassa and the coast is strewn with the bones of slaves that have been killed or abandoned on the road, and the villages which, on their first visit were flourishing, were on their second visit quite abandoned and destroyed; in fact, the whole place had been reduced to a state of desolation."

288. "You would not think the statement exaggerated, perhaps, that for every slave brought to Zanzibar there is a loss of four or five additional lives?"—"No, I think it is not exaggerated."

The Hon. C. Vivian called in.

If Captain Colomb had been able to produce any evidence procured upon the spot by personal investigation, in contradiction to the foregoing, we would gladly have examined into it, and have striven to rejoice with him. If we could, we would have endeavoured to extract some of the poor "comfort," which he professes to feel; but we are unable to derive it from what are after all only vague criticisms on the statements of those who have been eye-witnesses of the horrors they describe. He will pardon us if we esteem such persons the more credible. Captain Sullivan evidently reposes confidence in them.

When what Captain Colomb calls the "black goods," or the surviving portion of them, reach the coast, we find ourselves entangled in fresh discrepancies of statement between Captain Colomb and his brother officer, Captain Sullivan. Captain Colomb has a chapter on the slave market at Zanzibar. It is quite refreshing to read it. Benevolent-looking, old Arab gentlemen are to be seen chatting in a very sociable way with the slaves—smiling "chattels," girls decorated for the day in the latest fashion, valuable female slaves with dark veils thrown back, crowned not unpicturesquely with glittering spangles. Purchasers with quiet faces, looking down and smiling upon chil-

25. "Have you any reason to doubt the statement made by Dr. Kirk, and confirmed by Dr. Livingstone and the Rev. Mr. Waller, that four or five lives are lost for every slave delivered safe at Zanzibar?"—"I have no reason to doubt it, and the hardships the slaves encounter become greater every year. As the country near the coast becomes depopulated, and the slave hunters have to go farther into the interior for slaves, so does the march become more horrible and deadly to the slaves."

The Rev. Horace Waller called in.

942. "Dr. Livingstone, in one of his letters, estimates that about one-fifth reach the coast; do you think that that would be a fair average?"—"I should say that one-fifth do reach the coast—perhaps more; but I would also state this, that the Doctor believes that for every slave that comes to the coast perhaps ten lives are lost in the interior."

dren, who smiled in return. Captain Colomb saw no violence or rudeness of any kind; no coarseness or indecency; no preparation for the employment of force; nothing approaching to dissent on the part of the blacks. In the course of two visits, one paid especially to test such matters, he saw nothing revolting or offensive to his feelings as a Christian gentleman. His brother officer, Captain Sullivan, and indeed, for the matter of that, the officers of Captain Colomb's own ship, do not seem to have been equally fortunate. We extract Captain Sullivan's version of what he saw at the very same place, and nearly about the same time:—

The first thing that meets the eye is a number of slaves arranged in a semicircle, with their faces towards us and the centre of the square. Most of them are standing up, but some are sitting on the ground; some of them, in fact, utterly incapable of standing upon their feet, miserable, emaciated skeletons, on whom disease, and perhaps starvation, has placed its fatal mark. If those who are sitting down had evinced half the stubbornness on the mainland that they do here, they would have been knocked on the head and left a prey to the wild beasts; but there is a limit to such treatment in Zanzibar, on account of the presence of the Europeans. Inside this semicircle are half-a-dozen or more Arabs talking together, examining the slaves, discussing their points, and estimating their value, just as farmers examine and value cattle at an English fair or market. Near the middle of the square are groups of children, also arranged close together in semicircles, and sitting down when not under inspection by would-be purchasers. Children, young as they are, some not more than five years old, looking old already. Native children, whom I have seen in their homes, and who have not passed through the bitter experiences which these miserable little creatures have endured, are like all children, black and white, fond of toys, even though it be but an "old shoe" or a "dead kitten," and the ever-present doll, though made of a mere bit of stick or scrap

of straw-matting. But these unhappy slave children had passed all that; they had no inclination to play, they sit in silence, or rise up when required; they utter a few words amongst themselves, for they have long lost parents and friends, and those in the same position sitting round them are utter strangers, often foreigners, to them.

In another portion of the square are a number of women, forming several semicircles; their bodies are painted, and their figures exposed in proportion to their symmetry, with barely a yard of cloth around their hips, with rows of girls from the age of twelve and upwards exposed to the examination of throngs of Arabs, and subject to inexpressible indignities by the brutal dealers. On entering the market on one occasion we saw several Arab slave-dealers around these poor creatures; they were in treaty for the purchase of three or four women, who had been made to take off the only rag of a garment which they wore. On catching sight of English faces there was a commotion amongst the Arabs, and the women were hurried off round a corner out of sight. And this is the only expression of shame that occurs on the part of these slave-dealers, who, knowing the opinions of the English respecting the trade, are unwilling that they should detect them in the perpetration of all their enormities.

As for the condition of the "black goods" in the hands of the Portuguese, the following extract from Captain Sullivan may suffice:—

Mr. Young, in writing on this subject, in the narrative of his research for Livingstone, alluding to the Portuguese, says, "Sent out here for a term of years, it best suits the powers that be if they are never heard of, least of all in their sole occupation, slavery and its attendant vices. . . . The slaver in these dismal mangrove swamps leads a life of incessant terror, lest he should be overpowered by those under him. . . . He is alone with his conscience, far from other white men, ardent spirits and debauchery cannot keep the spectre long from his mind; his plan is to rule by intimidation, nor will the death of a refractory slave here and there suffice to

establish the fear he reckons on as his best defence against outbreaks. Mutilation, such as cutting off a right ear, or lips, is amongst the minor punishments; in the code of severe penalties, and in special modes of death, the horrors perpetrated on the wretched slaves, and on the women especially, leave it very hard to believe that the ingenuity of such men is a whit behind the cruelty of Satan. To detail things that have come to my knowledge would make the reader sick at heart, wearied to think there could be such a chapter of human agony and torture upon this earth of ours."

From the condition of the negro in the slave-marts, we pass on to the next point—his transport in the dhows to his final destination. According to Captain Colomb, "Except that they are more crowded" [this, however, may be an awkward exception—Ed. C. M. I.] "the condition of the slave in transit across the Arabian sea, is not very different from that of his master: no one should talk of the cruelty of the Arab to his slaves on the northern voyage, unless acquainted with the conditions under which he and his family perform the voyage of business or pleasure from Arabia to Zanzibar." Possibly Captain Colomb would wish some deduction to be made from the comforts of this pleasure trip, owing to the interference of British cruisers, necessitating extra rigour and inconvenient stowage of the "black goods." The representation of Captain Sullivan is not equally "couleur de rose:" one illustration in his book of a slave taken out of a dhow captured by the "Daphne" would make a very sensational frontispiece to an anti-slavery tract far surpassing the well-known "Am not I a man and a brother?" We extract another and quite opposite version of these "pleasure voyages" from Captain Sullivan's book. It does not perfectly tally with Captain Colomb's. Our readers must judge between them:—

On the morning of the 1st November, we observed the cutter, under charge of Mr. Henn, chasing a dhow outside her, which, on seeing us, lowered her sail, and a few minutes after she was brought alongside, with 156 slaves in her, forty-eight men, fifty-three women, and fifty-five children. The deplorable condition of some of these poor wretches, crammed into a small dhow, surpasses all description; on the bottom of the dhow was a pile of stones as ballast, and on these stones, without even a mat, were twenty-three women huddled together—one or two with infants in their arms—these women were literally doubled up, there being no room to sit erect; on a bamboo deck, about three feet above the keel, were forty-eight men, crowded

together in the same way, and on another deck above this were fifty-three children. Some of the slaves were in the last stages of starvation and dysentery. On getting the vessel alongside and clearing her out, a woman came up, having an infant about a month or six weeks old in her arms, with one side of its forehead crushed in. On asking how it was done, she told us that just before our boat came alongside the dhow the child began to cry, and one of the Arabs, fearing the English would hear it, took up a stone and struck it. A few hours after this the poor thing died, and the woman was too weak and ill to be able to point out the monster who had done it from amongst the ten or dozen Arabs on board.

From the ghastly pictorial representation which accompanies it we are sceptical as to the enjoyment which the negroes, low as may be their intellectual condition, can have derived on this particular trip at any rate. Nothing is stated as to the physical condition of the Arab gentlemen on this occasion, but from the energy they displayed in the preservation of order it must have been pretty good. We have now, under the guidance of sundry conflicting authorities, conducted the negro from his home in Africa to the scene of his future labours. It seems to be generally conceded that slavery in the East, under the Arab, does not in cruelty and abomination equal what slavery was in the West under the European and American. At any rate, the discussion would carry us far beyond all the limits we can afford, and we pretermit it of necessity. It might, however, even to those who would take an optimist view of the negro's condition under an Arab or Indian master, be a question whether it is after all worth his while to undergo in transitu so much in order to arrive at it.

It will be seen, from what we have submitted, that two gentlemen of equal rank in H.M.'s service, commanding two ships, engaged in the same service, in the same seas, about the same time, have come in very many important respects to completely opposite conclusions about the same facts. The reader will not forget the story attributed to Sir W. Raleigh about the quarrel under his window, of which he in vain endeavoured to get an accurate account. We may, however, in this instance be permitted to say that our sense of right coincides with the statements of Captain Sullivan. He does not run

counter to the testimony of well-informed witnesses on points of which he has personally no knowledge ; whereas Captain Colomb, perhaps from a love of paradox, does so continually. Moreover, he seems to have eyes where Captain Colomb has no eyes. We trust that the latter gentleman will pardon us if we say that, so far as we can gather from his book, he has gone forth on his duty under a prepossession which we imagine to be something of this kind :—"The African is a creature very low in the scale of intelligence and moral being. Any change from the interior of Africa is for him a change for the better. Certain Arab gentlemen interest themselves on his behalf, with of course some view of profit to themselves. He is somehow or another induced by them to quit his native home. The walk to the sea-board is a long one, and he has to undergo hardships ; nay, if not a strong constitution, he may fall sick or die *en route* : ' Nil sine magno Vita labore dedit mortalibus.' On arrival at Zanzibar, he meets some more pleasant and benevolent Arab gentlemen, who treat him with courtesy and consideration. Eventually they find him a free passage to Arabia, where 'neither in manners, appearance, apparent condition, apparent stage of happiness or comfort,' is there the slightest difference to be detected between the freeman and the slave : 'O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint.' It is not easy to see what call England has to interfere between the poor African and the consummation of so much earthly bliss, secured to him by the 'gentle indolence' of his Arab master." For the Arab the enthusiasm of Captain Colomb is intense. He compares him at one time to a Knight Templar, at another to an Irish gentleman "hard up!" "A natural gentleman ; a man free from pettiness, envy, and guile ; with a manner wonderfully gracious ; a speech ready, but not too ready ; sympathetic, but not overpowering ; courteous, but not oppressively polite ; hospitable, but not either vulgarly ostentatious or uncomfortably eager to entertain you : with him indolence is a virtue ; he has a childlike faith in the unlimited goodness of God ; he is grandly simple and simply natural ; straightforward and frank ; in his walk and attitudes singularly graceful and dignified ; essentially temperate ; of the strictest honour in matters of business, but always in many difficulties ; as a gentleman he takes what he needs at the sword's point ; with him plundering is a gentlemanly way of getting riches." We commend the sketch to Mr. Froude for his forthcoming volume of "The English in Ireland." We can almost fancy that it must have been with no common feelings of regret that Captain Colomb drove ashore the dhows of these high-souled gentry, and seized upon the "black goods" which they were "conveying." Whatever may have been his sense of duty, it is plain that his sympathies are with the oppressor, not with the oppressed.

It would, of course, not be expected that one so filled with enthusiasm for the Arab, whose everyday thought is pervaded "with the idea of God merciful and compassionate," and "before the beautiful picture of whose trust in the goodness of his God we might well stand still to gaze," only "unluckily there is practical evil connected with it," could have very lively sympathy with Christian Missionary effort. Nor has Captain Colomb. He has mixed up his notions on that point with an onslaught on the ill-starred Central African Mission. We must leave the promoters of it to defend their own proceedings. He speaks, however, on the general question. His general views of Missionaries and Missionary questions are as follows :—

I suppose very few naval men can clear themselves from that general prejudice against Missions and Missionaries which is decidedly current in the service, and which, rightly or wrongly founded, sways our general opinion. Our representative Missionary is never the man endued with the spirit of a Christian martyr, utterly careless of personal comfort or convenience, bold to rashness in confront-

ing danger, and absolutely oblivious of all ends and aims except the single one of persuading the greatest numbers possible to accept the Christian beliefs and systems. Our typical representative is, on the contrary, what schoolboys call a "sawney ;"—a man who will weep copiously and publicly over his own sufferings and self-denials, such as they are ; a man of petty jealousies and

womanish complaints, who seems to have taken up Missionary life in default of success in any other line, and who goes maun-dering about and whimpering over his difficulties; whose want of breadth of view and largeness of mind attaches him fanatically to the tortuous path of barbarian policy, of which the narrow, fearful, and cunning course must at last be met, dammed up, and turned, by the rough argument of the British rifle. Rightly or wrongly, our little wars are nearly always reputed to be the work of ignorant Missionaries, who, gaining an influence over native princes, are incapable of advising them for their good.

Then, again, we see so small an amount of practical good resulting from the labours of Missionaries. We may be told that the spiritual life of many who are mixed up with our everyday affairs abroad in barbarous or semi-civilized countries has been so much changed for the better, and yet, as a rule, we do not see it. The idiosyncrasies of character which we call vices, if peculiar to the people before the arrival of Missionaries, remain peculiar to them afterwards; and our rough-and-ready minds refuse to think that if a man is not more truthful, less passionate, less given to lay his hands on what is not his own, and so on, he is no more Christian than he was before. We know that there is a considerable section of the religious world in England which places no great stress on these outward formalities; and a Christian in their view is one who has thoroughly mas-

tered their system of Christian metaphysics as a science. In their view, cheating your neighbour is a much more pardonable offence than the expression of a doubt as to the common interpretation of the words "original sin." And yet I honestly believe that naval officers as a body are not—on the face of matters—unready to think the best of any fresh instances of Missionary labour. I have seen them quite affected at a native Christian service, and only awakened from their pleasant dream by the knowledge that the devout worshippers were engaged in many species of villany. I am also quite confident that there is no class of the British community who would more rejoice in the spread of that kind of Christianity which is moral as well as religious, than the British naval man. We are altogether too much accustomed to notice earnest religious feelings which in no degree touch the everyday life, to accept any other kind of Christianity. In our dealings with the half-civilized races, we find the honestest men professing the most dishonest faith; and those of the purest faiths showing themselves the greatest scoundrels. I am not sure whether I use exaggeration when I say that we most distrust the Christian convert; our personal and hearsay experience is against him. So we learn to dissociate the man and his faith, and will hardly believe in the results of any Missionary efforts which do not re-associate the man and the religion. Such, I believe, to be a fair representation of the bias of the naval mind respecting Missionary enterprise.

We leave this to carry with it its own confutation. To offer arguments in reply would be to diminish the force of its absurdity. Captain Colomb prefaces his remarks by saying that he may be liable to "crude misstatements;" probably many will agree with him. Further on, he comments upon the phrase "preaching of the Gospel," which seems to be peculiarly offensive to him. According to him, the leading thought of many Mission promoters is, "Let us preach the Gospel for a testimony against the wickedness of the heathen, and consequently of our own superior goodness." Our readers will now, probably, not be surprised at hearing that he finds much to approve of in the Romish Missions of the French:—

The French Missionaries are not troubled, as ours are, by a surrounding cocoon of sentiment on the subject of slavery. If they see a likely scholar any day in the slave market, they go and buy him, and are not afraid of their countrymen raising a cry against them as slave-dealers. They buy him, they are not troubled about conferring the form of freedom on him, and as I understand, they never intend to put any artificial

notions of freedom into his head, but desire to let those notions come by the natural process of educational development. The aim of their Mission is most benevolent. Of its practical good there cannot be the smallest doubt, but it would be almost impossible for Englishmen to attempt a Mission on that system, unless legislative sanction were obtained for what would amount to a reversal of our policy respecting slavery.

He mentions, in connexion with the foregoing, that the French Mission at Zanzibar has a colony on the mainland at Bagamoyo; the only negroes under that Mission on

whom, what Captain Colomb, with a hardly-disguised sneer, terms "the precious boon of freedom," will be conferred, will be those who may acquire it by force of character, or be deemed incorrigible. It was by a Bull of Pope Paul III. that slavery was first introduced into Africa. *Semper eadem* is the motto of Rome. May there not be in connexion with this slave colony, some clue to the French opposition to the Mission of Sir Bartle Frere? It is clear from Captain Colomb's pages that in East Africa Romanism and Mohammedanism are the joint upholders of slavery of the body as they are of slavery of the soul. It is Protestantism which, in conformity with the spirit of the Master, "binds up the broken-hearted, proclaims liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

THE GREEK CHURCH IN RUSSIA.

IN our volumes for 1863 and 1864 there will be found communications of a very interesting character on the condition of the Greek Church, more especially as it is developed in Russia, proceeding from the pen of our esteemed Missionary, the Rev. James Long. We furnish one more, which has recently come to hand. At the same time we must confess that we are hardly prepared to take the same sanguine view which he does of the progress of Christianity in the regions where Greek superstition is the dominant power. In stating this we are quite prepared to believe that there may be a most marked difference between the vitality of the Russian Church and the cataleptic state in which a residuum of Christian belief survives in what may be termed the Greek Church proper. Of the latter, as a spiritual system, we hear little, and there is probably little to be heard beyond the faction fights in which the clergy periodically engage with their brethren of the Latin Church at the Holy places. Quite recently there has been such an outbreak, and after a serious disturbance, which has been quelled by the interference of the Mahometan soldiery, who must have been called in to see how these Christians hate and quarrel with one another, the wrecking was put a stop to, and a fair number of Greek and Latin priests have been returned as "killed and wounded." It would probably be hardly possible to imagine anything more drivelling than the abject superstitions which are the substitute for religion among these Greek Christians. Until very recently, the condition of Russia was very similar. In that country the ancient Slavonic, which few except the learned understand, was and probably is still used in the Church services. Under the Emperor Alexander the New Testament in modern Russ was introduced for the first time into general circulation in Russia, but it was suppressed by the Emperor Nicholas. It is only within very recent years that there has been any translation of the Old Testament except in the dialects of some particular provinces, and for many years the New Testament in modern Russ was out of print. The ecclesiastical authorities, who alone could give the permission to do so, persistently refused to authorize the circulation of God's Word. Meanwhile two editions published in Leipsic were readily purchased by Russians out of their own country; none, however, were allowed to pass the frontier. We rejoice, however, to find from Mr. Long's communication, that there is now an improvement, and that eminent ecclesiastics in Russia are manifesting interest in the circulation of the Word of God. In this we most heartily wish them God speed; we would not despise their efforts because as yet it may be with them the day of small things, nor would we too curiously inquire into the motives which may be actuating them.

In Greece itself the services of the Church still retain the ancient Greek language. A version of the New Testament in modern Greek was first published in 1827 by the sanction of the Greek Church, and with the aid of the Bible Society; but we believe we are correct in stating that they still refuse their sanction to any existing edition of

the Old Testament in modern Greek, and forbid the use of that which is circulated by the Bible Society. We need not enter into the spiritual condition of the Armenian and Syrian Churches in Mesopotamia and India; tried by that sure test, freedom and true reverence conceded to the Word of God, even at the present hour, they are miserably deficient.

We have thought it necessary to remind our readers of these facts, not with any intention of leading them to undervalue the efforts now making to regenerate the Russian Church, but that they may be made acquainted with the extreme novelty of these changes. The work is a work yet to be done—which can hardly be said to be inaugurated—which must be exposed to many most trying and adverse influences—but which may, we trust, with the Divine blessing, in due season be successfully accomplished. It would be a marvellous thing for a future generation to behold in Russia a Bible-loving and Bible-reading people, who had cast their foolish superstitions to the moles and to the bats; were it so it would be a mighty bulwark against the pretentious and blasphemous claims of the Church of Rome, and be to Russia an element of incalculable greatness. Into such a speculation, however, we must not presume to enter; we have no warrant for asserting out of the sacred records that there is such a mission assigned to Russia. We must therefore be content to rejoice at any indication which would lead us to suppose that a mighty people, who have been so long the bond-slaves of superstition, are coming forth out of it, and are vindicating their claims to stand up in that liberty wherein Christ makes His people free.

Moscow, February 21, 1873.

It was with deep sorrow I read in the *Times* at Petersburg the account of the death of Mr. Venn. I owe much to him as a Missionary by the encouragement he gave me in pursuing my work in India. His letters produced an effect which no official orders could, and his sympathizing spirit gave me fresh courage. Well do I remember, when calling on him in 1862, after my return from India, his first question was, "Now, are you in debt in connexion with the legal proceedings of the Nil Darpen case? for myself and some of my friends have resolved to pay all." I thanked him and said, "Mr. Venn, my native friends came forward in court and paid down at once the fine of 1000 rupees imposed by the judge, and afterwards they raised a subscription to defray other expenses." He was subsequently very much pleased when I told him how Sir C. Wood (Lord Halifax) said to me that, had there been a telegraph to India, he would have forthwith ordered my release from gaol. Mr. Venn had a wonderful insight into the bearings of the social condition of a people on their religious progress; and I recollect, when in gaol in Calcutta, the firm conviction I had that Mr. Venn and the Committee would thoroughly understand my position in relation to the oppression of Natives in the Indigo districts.

Six months have now elapsed since I addressed a letter to Mr. Venn from Odessa. I proceeded from Odessa to Khiev, the ecclesi-

astical metropolis of Russia; then to Moscow. I have spent four months in Petersburg and one in Finland, and I remain here for about six weeks, hoping to reach London at the end of April, a year after my departure from India; but I trust not an unprofitable one, and certainly a very busy one, for I have been brought extensively into contact with Russian society, and I hope the blessing of God may crown my humble labours. The great sweetener of all is seeking more the love of Christ by partaking in His work.

I can now only glance at some of the leading subjects that attracted my attention.

Visit to Finland.

When I first travelled in Russia, ten years ago, a Russian gentleman in Petersburg, now with God—Monsieur Lemsén, Conseiller de l'Etat—directed my attention to the Missionary spirit springing up in Finland, and urged me to visit the country. I was unable then, but this time I spent a month in Finland. When at Helsingfors, the capital, I paid a visit to Pastor Ceyrelins, the secretary to the Finnish Missionary Society. The first thing I saw was your "Church Missionary Intelligencer" lying on his table. I found it subsequently in Petersburg. The Fins raise 50,000 francs annually for Missionary objects. They had a seminary for training Missionaries, but as the Russian Government allow none but members of the Greek-Russ Church to engage in Missions, they have been obliged to establish Missions in Africa.

In Finland I found my dreams in Bengal realized—an educated peasantry with full rights over the land. In Finland no peasant can be married unless he is confirmed, and no one can be confirmed without being able to read and write. A good deal is being now done to improve the quality of the education. It was very pleasant in a Finnish Church to see of a Sunday the peasants able to use their Bibles and Prayer-books. What a contrast to our Indian peasants! I spent a week at Iouschule in the interior, beautifully situated at the head of a range of Finnish lakes, where the head-quarters of the Normal schools for the peasants are, having 200 male and 200 female teachers under instruction. I wish those in India who ignore the vernacular for popular instruction could have seen with me what the Finns are doing for giving a sound education through the vernacular. The people speaking Finnish amount to only 1,500,000, less than half the population of London, yet they have developed a vernacular literature which contains 10,000 volumes; while in the Normal schools instruction in botany, and various branches of natural sciences, is given through the vernacular. I was invited to a fête given at the University of Helsingfors to three professors who had been great vernacular scholars. It was very interesting to witness the enthusiasm with which the students chaired and cheered them. But the Finns are a practical people, and their education takes that turn. I visited institutions where pupils are instructed in gardening, agriculture, the dairy, &c. In Helsingfors I spent an evening with General Bonane, the Minister of Agriculture. It was delightful to see the enthusiasm with which he spoke of peasant education and peasant proprietorship; it reminded me of similar men in India—Thomason, Colvin, and Sir W. Muir. In Finland peasant proprietorship is in full operation, and has those blessings, religious, social and moral, in its train which has attended it throughout Europe. I met with a cordial reception in Finland, and only regret that so few travellers direct their attention to the educational and social position of the peasantry of Finland.

The Russian International Statistical Congress.

On my arrival in St. Petersburg I found I was elected a member of the Russian International Statistical Congress, and, in common with all the foreign members, was allowed quarters in a hotel, and travelling expenses free, the municipality of St. Petersburg

paying for it. In India I had seen, in regard to Missions, the value of statistics, for the religious and social condition of a people are closely connected. Statistics teach us not to carve on rotten wood. This Russian Statistical Congress was a great success, not only in showing the progress Russia is making, but also in the friendly international relations produced. We Indians have a particular interest in this. If the temporal power of Mohammedanism is to be fully crushed—if the interests of the peasantry are to be attended to in Asia, instead of those of tyrannical Native princes and rulers—then is an *entente cordiale* necessary between England and Russia for this work. It ought to be a subject of our Missionary prayers.

The Czar gave a grand dinner to the members of Congress at Tserku Celo, while sixty royal carriages conducted them from the railway station to the palace. The members visited Moscow in a special train, where carriages awaited to conduct them to all the public institutions. All the members were deeply impressed with the improved condition of Russia and the contrast to former days. Russia is now, like ourselves, becoming a great Asiatic power, and therefore the friends of Christian enlightenment ought to take a deep interest in her home movements.

The Russian Church.

The Russian Church is so intertwined with all the historical associations of the Russian people that no one can judge of Russia without examining into the working of its Church. I have had an opportunity in Petersburg of seeing some of the leading members of the Church, and I am glad to find that various important reforms are going on; a better education is being given to the priests; their social condition is being improved; men of more energy are placed in high ecclesiastical positions; a priest can no longer, by marrying a priest's daughter, succeed to his father-in-law's parish as a matter of right. The next generation of priests will be very different in various respects from the past.

But it is in respect to *Bible circulation* that much good is being done by members of the Russian Church. I spent an evening lately in Petersburg with the President of the Russian Bible Society, composed of members of the Russian Church with the Czar at the head; they have colporteurs employed, and in journeying by rail you see these agents selling copies of Scriptures to travellers. I came from Petersburg to Moscow along with one of their colporteurs who has been seven

years in their service. He told me he had been in the Caucasus and near the Caspian Sea, and had sold as many as 28,000 copies of portions of Scripture to the soldiers, who are quite eager to purchase them, all the Russian soldiers being now taught to read; but, he added, while he had free access to members of the Russian Church, it was quite different with Roman Catholics, who would have nothing to say to the Scriptures.

Attention is now being given in the seminaries for training priests to the important subject of preaching, and in the chief churches in Petersburg there is preaching every Sunday. The sermons of Philaret, the saintly Archbishop of Moscow, now with God, are beautiful models for the Russian Church. In olden times no priest, according to law, could preach without submitting his sermon previously to the Censor, who often kept it for months!

Philaret, the late Metropolitan of Moscow, was a bright and burning light in the Russian Church for more than half a century. Well do I remember his apostolic form when dining with him ten years ago at the monastery of Tairta; but he has passed away, and his mantle has fallen on Innocent, once a Missionary.

Interview with Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow.

I had the honour of two interviews with Innocent, the Metropolitan of Moscow, who was in residence at Petersburg, a member of the Holy Synod. He had been for many years a Missionary in Kamskatka and Siberia, when he lost his sight, owing to privations and the snows of those dreary countries. He translated various portions of the Scriptures into the native language. He is still a strong man; though deprived of sight, he is very cheerful. He asked me about the Missions of the English Church in the East, and was much interested in what I told him about the development of Native agency in India, and that we hoped ere long to have Native Bishops in India. When I told him that the English Church raised nearly a quarter of a million sterling annually for its Missions, he was struck with the contrast to the Russian Church, which has only lately raised 7000*l.* annually. I spoke with him on the Missions of the Russian Church. He said he would give me a letter of Leonide, Bishop of Moscow, who would furnish me with full information regarding them, and with all the documents I required. He stated Moscow, not Petersburg, is the centre of the Missionary move-

ment. This is a contrast to London; but Moscow is the centre of the natural and religious feeling of the nation, the headquarters of the Slavophiles, who may yet be great benefactors, not only to Russia, but the world.

It is of great importance for the reforms going on in the Russian Church to have such a man as Innocent as Metropolitan of Moscow. His experience as a Missionary has given him a wider and broader view on ecclesiastical matters. As Missionaries know well by experience, you do not need razors to cut millstones, the growing Church cannot be compressed by the ecclesiastical swaddling-clothes of past days.

I had a good deal of intercourse with other ecclesiastics of the Russian Church in Petersburg—Yanisef, Principal of the Russian Academy for Training Professors; Waneleef, at the head of education in connexion with the Holy Synod, whom I had known in Paris ten years ago. These are men of liberal views, willing to march with the times.

The Russian Church Society for Religious Enlightenment.

This is a Society connected with the Russian Church composed chiefly of influential laymen, who hold monthly meetings for the reading and discussion of questions relating to practical religious questions. It has lately taken a deep interest in the Old Catholic movement in Germany, and has sent delegates to the Conference held last year in Cologne. It is an important anti-Romish movement, and calculated very much to strengthen the hands of those who see the evils Ultramontaniam is inflicting in the world. It publishes a valuable journal on the subject.

I was invited by the Grand Duke Constantine, its President, to attend one of the monthly meetings, and I was glad to see the interest taken in its object by men of the highest rank and position. I was asked to give them an address at the next meeting on the subject of Indian Missions, which I did. I wrote my address in English, and a Russian gentleman translated it into Russ, which was read to the meeting by Colonel Khyreef, the much-respected secretary of the Society, a man of very enlightened views, and whom I saw a good deal of in Petersburg. I was glad to have the honour of bearing my humble testimony on our Indian Missions before such men as the Grand Duke Constantine, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of the Council of State, and military officers. I gave a general view of the Missions of the

English Church, and particularly dwelt on the co-operation of the laity in it, especially that of military men. I gave them some account of the labours of Lieutenant Puxley, Colonel Martin, Colonel Wheler, and others. I pointed out the undercurrents working in India in favour of Christianity, and I concluded by dwelling on the importance to the cause of Christianity in the East of a good understanding between England and Russia in the East. I quoted the remarks Sir H. Edwardes made at a Church Missionary meeting in Calcutta seventeen years ago, that "it could not be doubted Mohammedanism was eventually to be rolled up between the advancing tides of British and Russian Christianity." Mohammedanism has hitherto been strong in the temporal power, but the moves of Russia and England must pulverize that.

My address is to be printed in the Transactions of the Society. The Grand Duke Constantine afterwards sent for me to his palace, and I had an interview of an hour with him. I found him to be a liberal, enlightened man, well acquainted with English; he speaks our language with fluency. He takes a deep interest in the Old Catholic movement, and knows the history of the English Church. I told him our Missionary movements in India were in favour of making an Oriental Church, and not an Anglo-Saxon one; that our whole system, Missionary and political, was to make over all authority gradually to the natives.

Russians find such difficulties from the fanaticism of Mohammedans, that they can easily understand our Missionary obstacles from the Moslems of India. In an interview I had with General Kaufman, Governor-General of Turkistan, he told me many things about the followers of Islam in Central Asia; but the Russians have scotched the snake by their conquest of Samerkand and Bokhara, which are a holy land, a second Mecca to all the followers of the Prophet; but the temporal power of the Mohammedans, like the temporal power of the Pope, originated much about the same period, and they are both becoming things of the past.

Much of the future of the Russian Church depends on the active co-operation of the laity. They are beginning to take an interest in works of benevolence and religion. I have become acquainted, during my residence in Petersburg, with various interesting illustrations of this. One Madame —, the wife of a general high in the Russian service, took me one day to visit an institution founded by her for the education of girls and the affording

aid to poor women. She held a mothers' meeting, in which, while the women worked, she expounded to them with great zeal and efficiency the epistle for the Sunday. She has been frequently in England.

I visited two of the prisons with a Russian lady who expounds the Scriptures to female prisoners. I went to one of the worst houses in Petersburg, the nest of thieves and the vilest characters, where a few years ago the skeletons had been dug up of parties who had been murdered there at night and then buried on the premises; yet two Russian ladies pay weekly visits to this place, give religious instruction, and are endeavouring to form a ragged school on the premises. The system of district visiting is being introduced into various parishes in Petersburg. I met one lady of high rank, who, when in England, engaged herself as a district visitor in a parish in order to learn our system. I know another case of one who devotes herself to translating books from the English into Russian. Among the books translated is the "Missing Link."

I attended two popular conferences, which are held on Sunday afternoons in various parts of Petersburg for the purpose of enlightening the common people on Scriptural and secular subjects by means of lectures, illustrated by pictures exhibited with a magic lantern. The Life of Christ was thus illustrated. I have often thought in India of a similar plan for natives; certainly it is a great success in Petersburg. The whole system was organized by the excellent head of the police, Count Trepoff, who has in this and in police matters effected great reform.

Russia has sustained a great loss in the death of the Grand Duchess Helena, aunt of the Emperor. I spent an evening with her ten years ago at Petersburg, and well do I remember the information she gave me about her advocacy of serf emancipation, and introducing the deaconess system into the Crimea. I spent an evening with her at her Palace of Oranienbaum four months ago, and she was talking to me about India and Russian peasants. She has left a gap in the ranks of Christian philanthropy which will not be easily filled up.

Just before leaving Petersburg, I gave a lecture on the "Races and Religions of India," which was attended by Russians and English. It is a new subject in the capital of the Russian empire. As a rule, excepting members of the diplomatic circles, few Russians know anything of the East.



NEW BUILDINGS AT LAFORE COLLEGE. (*From a Photograph.*)

THE LAHORE COLLEGE.

WE now present our readers with a second view of the College Buildings at Lahore. It has been a work involving much irksome labour and continual anxiety to procure these buildings, to adapt them to the purposes for which they are designed, and to furnish them with all the appliances necessary for sound learning and religious education. In this latter respect we believe much remains yet to be done, but He who has prospered the Institution so far will no doubt in due season provide that there shall be nothing lacking to the high and holy purpose to which the college is dedicated. It has been a work begun and carried on in faith and in implicit deference to the counsels of the Most Highest so far as the wish of man can ascertain them. It has already furnished evidence that the labour which has been so lavishly bestowed in the education of the students has not been without corresponding fruit. We must not, therefore, feel serious anxiety about the welfare of the Institution. It may be convenient to note that the fourteen students in college are all Christians, selected for theological training, in the belief that so far as man can judge they are all truly converted men, and the training given to them is all religious, and technically theological. As we turn our eyes to the picture it may be worth while to remember and adapt some eloquent words in which Dr. Duff treats of the general value of all such schemes as that which has been here inaugurated by the labours of Mr. French and the self-devotion of Mr. Knott. Such an institution is instituted for "the qualifying of a body of native agents, who, as teachers and preachers of the Word of Life, are destined to go forth in the name and strength of the Lord, sowing the indestructible seed, which, watered by the dew of heavenly grace, shall one day be reaped in a harvest of redeemed souls—redeemed through the blood of Immanuel from the bondage of sin, the dishonours of the grave, and the horrors of perdition.

"Let us, then, persevere as we have begun. Let us be instant in season and out of season, in making known the Saviour's name. Let us strive directly and indirectly in winning souls to Christ. Let us pray without ceasing for a more copious effusion of the Spirit's influences on the labourers and their labours. Let us entreat the Lord especially in behalf of 'those' who are mentally emancipated from the yoke of ages, who are intellectually persuaded of the truth as it is in Jesus, and who are thus not far from the kingdom of heaven—that the Holy Spirit may touch their hearts as with a live coal from the altar, converting their knowledge into wisdom, and their gifts into graces. Abjuring the more than presumptuous dogma, that there is any inherent renewing efficacy in mere human means apart from the divine blessing; let us also abjure the worse than fanatical dogma, that there is reason to expect the divine blessing apart from the use of appointed means. Let our most strenuous labours be ever accompanied with not less strenuous and persevering prayer; let our most fervent prayers be ever followed by hearty practices, and we have the promise of the Eternal, that sooner or later we shall reap the glorious reward."*

With such a prayer, which he has quoted from Lord Bacon, we dismiss the matter.

"To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour most humble and hearty supplications, that He, remembering the calamities of [India] . . . would please to open new refreshments out of the fountain of His goodness for the alleviation of its miseries. This also we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are Divine. . . . But rather that by minds thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and varieties, and yet subject, and perfectly given up to the Divine Oracles, there may be given up unto faith the things which are faith's. Amen."

* Duff's "India," pp. 624. 628.

CHARGE OF THE ARCHDEACON OF WORCESTER.

It is with no ordinary gratification that we furnish our readers with a report of a Charge recently (on May 26th) delivered by the Venerable Archdeacon Hone to the Clergy and Churchwardens of his archdeaconry. It has long been well known to those who are familiar with such matters, that Archdeacon Hone has for many years past taken an active and intelligent interest in Missionary questions. As a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ he has felt it to be his duty in his own parish heartily to promote the Missionary cause, and now, as a dignitary of the Church of England, he has come forward to lend the weight of his official position to the same holy and blessed work. Usually, in episcopal and archidiaconal charges, Missionary topics are discussed and dismissed in a brief paragraph, mostly dwelling upon dry statistics of the amount of pecuniary contributions realized during some previous period. Now money is an important element in Missionary work ; the amount contributed is also some test of the Missionary spirit in a diocese or an archdeaconry ; but it is not likely that a body of assembled clergy, many of whom are notoriously indifferent to the question, are likely to return to their several parishes with hearts inflamed and interest awakened by a statistical report from the Bishop or Archdeacon of sums contributed to various Societies. Such dry details, when they fall under our notice, involuntarily suggest to us (we ought perhaps to apologize for the comparison) what is more appropriately found in the reports of Railway and other Joint Stock Companies, made at annual meetings at the Cannon Street Hotel. Such intimations in such reports are matter of deep interest to shareholders in financial projects, but do not much affect or concern the general public ; nor do they seem to afford a suitable precedent for ecclesiastical charges. In the present instance Archdeacon Hone has boldly deserted the beaten track, and passing out and beyond the smoke and din and stir created by matters of local and ephemeral interest, has brought under the notice of the clergy and the churchwardens, as influential members of their respective parishes, that which is or should be the paramount and abiding object of the Church of Christ. Such a Charge, therefore, partakes of the nature of a phenomenon, and we regret to say well-nigh a solitary one, in its exclusive reference to the spiritual work of Christianity. None who left St. Helen's Church, after having listened to it, could go away under the impression that a kaleidoscope had been turned before them, confusing their minds and distracting their attention : their thoughts for a brief space had been concentrated on one, and that the most essential, topic which can engage the intellect and the heart of a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ : they had been forcibly reminded that it was their personal concern. Whether they agreed or disagreed with the monition of their ecclesiastical superior, they had no other topic upon which to descant. We trust that the words of kindly and important advice tendered upon this occasion will not be without fruit, especially in the many churches and parishes in Worcestershire in which, as elsewhere, no effort is made for " Missions to the Heathen," or in which some solitary subscriber calls attention to the fact that he stands alone, and that nothing is done by anybody else. We gladly do all in our power to give the Archdeacon's Charge more extensive circulation, and to bring it under the notice of our friends. Although it handles topics with which they are familiar, and treats of a duty which they fully recognize, they may not be sorry to have their testimony confirmed by one whose position among his brethren, and long personal interest in the cause, lends influence to his utterances of no ordinary kind. After divine service in St. Helen's Church, Worcester, at which there was a large attendance of clergymen and churchwardens, the Archdeacon proceeded to say :—

MY BRETHREN OF THE CLERGY AND LAITY,—
For the annual Visitations of the clergy and churchwardens, whether held by the Bishop or

Archdeacon, there is in these days no lack of subjects eminently worthy of thoughtful consideration. They may be found in the ques-

tions which interfere with the peace of the Church within her own borders, in the assaults made from without upon her faith, her formularies, her relation to the State, and the endowments (not given by the State), which now provide (though insufficiently) for the ministrations of her clergy in every parish in the land, but also in matters pertaining to the maintenance and development of her inner life, and the duties which she has to fulfil for her Lord's sake.

The prominence necessarily given to subjects of a contentious nature, in consequence of the various aspects which from time to time they assume, may easily produce an erroneous impression on some minds that these are the subjects which engross our thoughts, and divert us from the interests most worthy of our devoted care. But I cherish the belief that the greater part of the clergy and thoughtful laity are far from living in the unwholesome atmosphere of controversy; that when they breathe it, it is under a painful sense of necessity, and because momentous interests are at stake; and that day after day, and week after week, they pursue a more congenial path of duty, as those that are quiet in the land, the clergy making it their chief concern to seek the conversion of the thoughtless, and the edification of God's true servants, and ministering to the sick and the whole as intently as if there were no noise of battle around them.

Even if it were as pleasant to us as it is, I believe, generally distasteful, to live in troubled waters, it would be wrong on these occasions to thrust into the background the various subjects which more immediately concern the life and responsibilities of the Church; and I offer no apology for now pressing upon your consideration a duty to which we are called, whether clergy or laity, by the voice of the great Head of the Church, but to which few assign its proper place of importance in their estimation, and which too many disown, or only faintly acknowledge, if we may judge by the manifest deficiency of earnest efforts for its fulfilment. That duty is comprised in the words "Missions to the Heathen."

Before the memorable Day of Intercession in December last, I had resolved (should I live to hold another Visitation) to make this duty of the Church the principal subject of my Charge; and now, the spirit in which the day was observed, and the blessing which appears to have descended upon it, seem to point out this as a particularly favourable time for endeavouring to spread more widely

that sense of Christian duty which then was evidently awakened in some cases, and in many strengthened and quickened. I pray God that I may now be permitted, by addressing you on this subject, to minister in some degree to the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ upon earth. The will of our Lord and Master on this subject has been revealed in terms so distinct that none who weigh His instructions with candour can doubt of their meaning.

His Church, while making it her primary care to build herself up in faith and purity, as a structure of living stones, acceptable to Him, is also bidden to extend her boundaries, and never to rest until she has occupied the whole world in her Lord's name. The great command, so familiar and yet so little taken to heart, addressed by Christ to His apostles on the eve of His ascension, will not cease to be in force until its object has been fully accomplished. His words, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," will stand in the Great Statute Book as the expression of His will to all the whole Church upon earth, to the end of time; for the promise annexed to it stretches on from the days of the apostles' labours of self-denial and love, through all succeeding ages, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world!"

The prophets had foretold that this should be a distinguishing feature of the Messiah's kingdom, and that the blessing should not be confined to its birthplace, within the narrow borders of Palestine. Some of the most glowing imagery that lights up the books of the prophets, and many of the psalms, is due to unlimited hopes and aspirations for mankind. We have pictures of a brilliant sunrise, bringing light and gladness to all nations. The Sun of Righteousness arises to our view, a light to lighten the Gentiles, no less than the glory of Israel. All earthly kings are represented as bowing down their heads before the greater King, the Messiah. All nations do Him service. His way becomes known upon the earth, and His saving health among all nations.

The frequent reference made by St. Paul to such promises of favour to the Gentiles, is accompanied by intimations that he himself drew strength for the fulfilment of the commission which the Lord Jesus had entrusted to him, from the study of those ancient revelations of the Divine purposes. And that commission itself was significant of more than the work and duty of any one man's

life, it was also a reiteration of the will of God concerning the heathen. "Rise and stand upon thy feet, for I have appeared to thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith which is in Me." A direction being thus given to his whole subsequent life, St. Paul felt himself, ever after, to be a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise; and the like debt will rest upon the Church until it be fully paid.

To know for certain what the will of the Lord is, ought always to be enough to prescribe a Christian's duty; but in this case, as in so many others, there are special considerations which should stimulate him to a zealous fulfilment of it, and to a strenuous resistance of those obstacles and discouragements which are almost certain to arise. Though the heathen will not be judged by the standard which is to be applied where the Gospel is known, but rather, as it appears, by a law written in their hearts, the witness of their consciences,—yet it is distinctly revealed that they will all be brought to judgment in the great day of the Lord. Then, as we are taught, they who have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and they who, while surrounded by the works of the Creator, have remained vain in their imaginations, and have had their foolish hearts darkened, will be dealt with as without excuse. St. Paul's testimony with regard to the actual state of guilt and degradation of the Gentiles is strong and appalling. His perception of it stirred his soul to its inmost depths. The first chapter of his Epistle to the Christians in Rome draws an awful picture of the sin and danger in which the heathen lived. He wrote also to the Ephesian Christians as one who knew the state out of which they were conscious of having been delivered, through their conversion to Christ, speaking of them as having been dead in trespasses and sins, as having walked under the guidance of the evil one who worketh in the children of disobedience, as fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, as being children of wrath, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers

from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.

Turning our eyes from those times to our own, we may hope that there are some amongst the heathen who live according to that light of nature and conscience of which St. Paul speaks. But the more we know of the various heathen religions, the more sure we become of their possessing no power or even tendency to restrain their votaries from vice and cruelty, and that, on the contrary, they generally minister to, and foment, the lowest impulses of human nature, at the same time lulling the conscience into a profound sleep. In fact, the testimony which St. Paul bore in the first century to the pitiable and perilous condition of the Gentiles who knew not God, is echoed back at the present day in mournful tones, from the realms of heathen darkness.

Thus charity puts in a plea for Missions; but even charity only comes in aid of the highest motive of all, the motive which alone is sufficient. If the clear revelation of the mind of Christ were regarded with due reverence, and in a spirit resembling the Psalmist's, who delighted to do the Lord's will, there would not be a man, woman, or intelligent child, bearing the sacred and suggestive name of a Christian, whose prayers and desires would not follow the messengers of Christ into heathen lands, who would not long for the increase of labourers to gather in a plentiful harvest, and who would not render substantial assistance to the enterprises of faith and love, in proportion to the means at their command. Alike in the mansion and the farmhouse, in the shop and in the working man's home, the heathen, instead of being regarded with contempt or indifference, would be the objects of lively concern, for the Lord's sake and their own.

How different the common feeling! Few care to lift up the Gospel light, that it may shine afar off. Here and there may be found a person who gladly makes a generous sacrifice in order that a share of his own blessings may be imparted to other needy souls; but, for the most part, and in our parochial efforts, the best that we can discover is no more than a too scanty first-fruits, upon which it would be imprudent to reckon as giving sure promise of an abundant and sufficient gathering.

That was a cutting taunt which obtained a wide circulation on the eve of the day of intercession,—that few of our countrymen knew anything about our Missions, and that fewer still took any interest in them. The

reproach was the more severe because there was too much of truth in it.

At the same time, it is just to mention that, scattered over our country, are some who recognize the force of our Lord's command; and that members of the Church of England dedicate year by year full 200,000*l.* in promotion of Missions; and that the small number of our fellow-countrymen,

able prejudices against our religion in the minds of the heathen, and provoke them to meet us with the ready answer, that our faith is no better than their own, when judged by the fruits. But none of these objections were unforeseen by Christ when He gave the word of command; and we may believe that most, if not all, of them were also present to the minds of the Apostles, when they dedicated and prosecuted th gave them

CHURCH

FOR

THE NATIVE PROTESTANT CONGREGATION

OF THE

Church Missionary Society

AT JERUSALEM.

In the *Church Missionary Record* for July, 1871, an appeal was published from the REV. F. A. KLEIN, the Society's Missionary at Jerusalem, asking for help from friends in England to assist him in the erection of a church for the native Protestant congregation of Jerusalem in connection with his Mission.

Mr. Klein stated that this congregation numbered from 70 to 80 souls, exclusive of the members of the Protestant community living at three villages in the neighbourhood of the city, who occasionally attended the services at Jerusalem; that the Arabic services, of which there were two every Sunday, were attended not only by regular members of the native congregation, but also by the boys of the Syrian Orphanage, to the number of about 80, and the girls under the care of the Prussian deaconesses, numbering about 90, besides strangers; so that accommodation had to be provided for about 250 persons. It was with difficulty Mr. Klein could find a large room in which to hold the services, that occupied by him for this purpose being inconvenient and too small, and it being very uncertain how much longer it could be held in possession. He also stated that the Church

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we must still persevere, and be patient, and leave the issue with Him. He foreknew all that can now daunt the Christian pioneer, and foreseeing it He said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." He not only bade them work, but encouraged them with the promise that He would be with them always, that the gates of hell should not prevail against His Church, and that His kingdom should in due season spread itself over all the earth. Let us remember that they who first received His command were a few obscure men; but they were not men of doubtful mind. The eleven, and the added Matthias, and in a little while Paul of Tarsus, and others, went forth in simple faith, and with a good courage, to do their Lord's bidding; and though the fruit immediately borne to their labours was probably less than has been housed in our Missions within the last half-century, yet we never hear a whisper of hesitation or distrust, of dismay or weariness, much less of despair. St. Paul was as eager and as devoted at the end as he was in the beginning; the restraint put upon him as a prisoner suspended his travels, but not his labours; though in bonds, he was still an ambassador for Christ, making known that blessed name to the extent of his opportunities, and assured that faithful efforts, made in a trustful spirit, would not be in vain.

The apostolic history further teaches us that the first preachers of the Gospel understood, in the most comprehensive sense, the word of authority which the Lord had spoken to them, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." They received it as at once making the whole world, without preferences, the scene of their faithful labours. They therefore did not wait in Jerusalem till all its inhabitants bowed down at the feet of Jesus (as some would keep our Missionaries at home, until every heart in our own country has learned to rejoice in the Gospel of Christ); but from Jerusalem and Palestine they went forth to Parthia and Scythia and India, to Africa, to Greeco and Italy and Spain, preaching Christ Jesus the Lord, believing that His name would be great among the Gentiles, and convinced that it was the Lord's will that all the ends of the earth should be called to rejoice in His salvation.

It is sometimes objected that the labour now bestowed upon Missions is an absolute waste of energy and money. From India, soldiers and civilians come home and report that the Missions have no fruit to show. If this

were established by facts, it would not furnish a lawful plea for declining the fulfilment of a duty, and especially in a case in which there is no prescribed or accustomed interval between the sowing-time and the harvest. The most that it would justify would be a careful reconsideration of the methods we are using. But what measure is to be employed for testing results? Are they, for example, to be acknowledged if we find, in one station in India, in eight years from the first preaching of the Gospel, and where there were never more than two Missionaries at a time, and generally only one, 800 Christians, of whom 300 are communicants, bountiful in weekly offerings given out of their extreme poverty? Are there no results, or are they to be pronounced scanty and disappointing, if on the shores of the Pacific, in British America, a large Christian village is advancing in civilization, becoming a light and attraction to the heathen around it, the inhabitants of which were all brought to the knowledge of Christ within some twelve or thirteen years from the present time? Or is it nothing that on the western side of the same vast territory, detachments of the wandering Indian tribes, having gladly received Christ's blessed Gospel, have established themselves in settlements, each numbering some hundreds of inhabitants, who rejoice in the kindness of Christian men, and in the good providence of God, which sent amongst them the willing preachers of His truth? Or, taking an instance of another kind, in which the Divine blessing has been vouchsafed to a seemingly smaller extent, can we refuse to own that the Spirit of God is granting fruit to the faithful but unobtrusive labours of His servants, if, last year, twenty-one real converts were added to a small congregation of about 120 Christian Hindoos in the suburbs of Calcutta, under the ministrations of a native clergyman,—some of those converts having had to wade through deep waters of hatred and persecution, from their nearest relations, before they confessed Christ and sought to be baptized in His name? By what measure we mete the success of Missionaries, by the same we ought at least to submit to have our own work tested. Can many of us of the clergy point confidently to twenty-one real converts gained for Christ in our parishes in the past year? Or have we been encouraged by anything corresponding with a number of 800, in eight or ten or twelve years, turned from heathenism to God, walking to all appearance in the path of life,

and more than a third of them regular partakers of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?

Against the evil reports brought from India by those who know nothing of Missions, and would not care for them if they did, or who are influenced by various prejudices, we may set the testimony of Lord Lawrence, recently Governor-General of India; and of his distinguished brother, Sir Henry Lawrence; of Sir Bartle Frere, late Governor of Bombay; of Lord Napier, late Governor of Madras; of Bishop Cotton, Bishop Cloughton, Major-General Sir Arthur Cotton, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald McLeod, and a host of other civilians and soldiers (less known to fame, but not less worthy of belief), who have spoken of what they have known, and testified of what they have seen, and who, instead of leaving us to despond, have called upon us to lift up our voices to God in thanksgiving, both for the blessing which He has already bestowed upon such faint and unworthy efforts as we are making, and for the signs, discernible to a thoughtful eye, of the approach of an abundant harvest.

Instead of yielding to despondency, and doing nothing, we ought to hear, in the circumstances of our own times, a special call to this work of Christian beneficence and faith. In the first quarter of the present century, nearly all the heathen world was, in some way or other, closed against the preaching of the Gospel. It was peremptorily forbidden in India, in China, and in Japan. The risk of life and other discouragements rose up against it in other parts of the world. Moreover, the conscience of the Church at home was on that point asleep. Now, India, China, Japan, are open; ways of entrance into Africa are increasing in numbers. The higher latitudes of North America are proving that it was a hasty judgment which pronounced them inaccessible to Gospel light. The islands of the Pacific, once regarded as the abodes of inaccessible savages, have their thousands who rejoice in the knowledge of Christ, and in hope of His everlasting kingdom. It is difficult to point to any part of the world which is now beyond the range of reasonable hope, either at present or ere long; and the populations actually open to the messengers of Christ provide a field for a hundredfold more than are already dedicated to that service. Amongst the tokens that the Gospel has been truly received is the zeal of the converts to share their blessings with their fellow-countrymen.

This is particularly manifest in the infant Church in China; and in India one-third of the clergy, and nearly all the lay teachers, were either themselves born in heathenism or are the sons of earlier converts.

There are also, in the case of India, special considerations, which urge us, as Christians, to befriend her. Intercourse with Europeans, and acquaintance with Western literature, have to a great degree shaken the faith of the educated and intelligent classes in the native religions. With some, this has been produced by their knowledge of revealed truth. With others, it has rather proceeded from a knowledge of nature, of science, and of Western philosophy. The family relations are also in a state of transition. The women, who have been kept for ages in profound ignorance, are now often placed under the instruction of European teachers. At such a time of intellectual awakening and social change, there is a loud call upon the Church of Christ to make full use of her opportunity of bringing the Gospel to bear on Hindoo minds and homes.

I turn from the necessities of the heathen, and the duties of the Church, to the interest shown in Missions within our own narrower borders.

We have access to the returns of those two Societies of the Church which undertake Missions to the heathen (the one in part, the other altogether), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Church Missionary Society. Their returns are differently arranged, but from them may be obtained a fairly correct if not minutely precise knowledge of the aid which is rendered to Missions in this Archdeaconry. A few of our 318 churches are chapels of ease; but these, for the most part, if not altogether, are attended by their own congregations. In the year 1871 (the latest year for which the returns of both Societies have been available for my present purpose), neither offertories nor other collections were gathered in nearly one-third of the whole number, there being also no meetings for Missions in the parishes to which they belong. In a very few instances the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel gives the name of a solitary subscriber in some of those otherwise inactive parishes. But even the statement now made does not fully exhibit the deficiency of our zeal for Missions. The general income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is devoted only in part to the benefit of the heathen, and the

Society affords facilities for the appropriation of contributions to special purposes, which may be exclusively colonial. This privilege is frequently used. These two considerations involve large deductions, when we are estimating the amount of sympathy shown by us towards Missions to the heathen. When, further, we examine the amount of the contributions sent from the parishes of this Archdeaconry to the two Societies, including the lists of annual subscribers (which generally represent the gifts of the more prosperous classes), it seems to be certain beyond dispute that we are far from being in the state in which a proper sense of duty would place us, in which, as I have before expressed it, every man, woman, and intelligent child in the Church would be animated by a burning desire, seconded by self-denying efforts, that God's way may be made known upon earth, and His saving health among all nations.

These considerations embolden me to urge a careful study of the duty which we owe to Christ our Lord, and an honest inquiry into our own zeal for its fulfilment, and into the amount of active service which we are rendering in furtherance of His so plainly and solemnly declared will and pleasure.

Let my brethren of the laity weigh for themselves the obligations of this duty, using the only safe balance—that of God's Holy Word. As churchwardens, you occupy a place of influence in your several parishes. Exercise it, and let it be sanctified to the good purpose of awakening and sustaining an interest in Christ's Missions.

Let my brethren of the clergy bear with me if to them also I venture to address a word of brotherly exhortation. A body of educated ordained men, ministering in more than three hundred churches, and themselves more in number than those churches, possesses great opportunities of making known the merits of any good cause, and of recommending it to the favour of the people. Let us keep this great duty of the Church distinctly before their eyes. If at first we doubt whether it will be a welcome subject, let us only be the more careful in preparing a way for its being worthily estimated. Ample materials are ready to hand in the clear expressions of the mind and will of our Lord, in the glowing pictures of Divine prophecy, in the lively histories of the earliest Missions as they are written in the Acts of

the Apostles, and illustrated by the Epistles,—and especially in the instructive story of the toilsome but fruitful life of the devoted Apostle of the Gentiles—the most eminent of those who ever went forth to preach Christ crucified where He was not already known.

In addition to these sacred records, and to further traces of Christian zeal as seen in the labours of other men of God in the early days of the Church, there is, in these latter times, enough of authentic history of modern Missions to inform and interest the minds of all to whom Christ's Gospel is a possession really valued, and to enlarge their hearts in tender sympathy with their less-favoured fellow-men. It may be an inducement and encouragement to some to know that amongst the means of sustaining the life of godliness in our parishes, efforts to awaken and feed an interest in Missions have not been the least efficacious. Many a reader or hearer of the progress of God's truth amongst the heathen, and especially of its power, has found it rich in instruction and edification to his own soul, and has confessed himself helped to be a wiser and better man. In this, as in other measures, let us look for God's blessing, believing that it will descend upon ourselves and our flocks; and if for a while the gifts of the people be small and disappointing, let us not vex our spirits, but labour on patiently, hoping for more fruit, in the time which God shall be pleased to appoint.

There is one essential pre-requisite to Missions holding their proper place in the estimation of the Church. It is a conformity of mind to the mind of Christ. Whenever that great condition shall be universally fulfilled (let us hope and pray that the day may speedily come!), a full supply of well-qualified Missionaries will be ready to dedicate themselves to the Master's service, the Church will be bountiful, and zealous to send them forth; and we may confidently expect that the name of the Lord will be great among the Gentiles, and that He will be exalted, as a light shining in the dark places. On the other hand, to whatever degree the Church fails in compassion for those who know not God, to that extent it is vain to pretend that we desire that His will may be done. May He be pleased to infuse into us new life, for doing our own part in this branch of His service, that we may promote, and earnestly pray for, the coming of His kingdom!

GEOMANCY IN CHINA.

BY A NATIVE.

VERY many and very various are the hindrances which arise in the heart of fallen man to prejudice him against the reception of the truth as it is in Jesus, and to debar him from that peace and enlightenment which are the portion of minds freed from the thralldom of foolish superstitions. Attempts have been made at various times by learned men to trace to their origin these noxious delusions which have been fostered by human credulity, but we doubt whether great success has attended their researches. Much that is foolish is found to be very ancient, very wide-spread, and very permanent. The records of our police-courts, and the accounts which appear in newspapers and magazines, proclaim the continued existence among high and low of follies which were rife in Greek and Roman times. Even in the nineteenth century and in such a country as England (we do not speak of America, for there the wildest fancies run riot at their will) degrading instances of childish delusions perpetually recur. Still they are the absurdities of individuals, and are rejected by the common sense of the nation enlightened by Christianity. It has been, however, no easy matter to eradicate them even from amongst ourselves; indeed, it is only within comparatively a recent period that many of them have passed away. Some, too, which had apparently been ploughed down, like ill weeds, are springing up again. Geomancy, however, does not seem to be of the number of these. It is not a superstition confined to China; it has existed in other, indeed in most parts of the world, and has only been extinct amongst ourselves during the last two hundred years. One writer asserts that "the beginning and original of this art came from the Indians, who found it out before the world was drowned." It has been defined to be a species of "divination by points and circles made on the earth." Neither the rules nor the application of it seem to have been universally the same among all nations; but there is sufficient identity in what is known concerning them to enable us to understand that the art, if such it can be termed, is one and the same, wherever met with. It is in the contemplation of these absurdities, and the baneful influence which they exercise over the intelligence, and still more over the spiritual affections of men, that we can best understand and appreciate the stern prohibitions which we meet with in the Old Testament, against those who professed to have dealings with wizards and those who had familiar spirits. Whether unhappy persons really were under the dominion of such evil influences, or only professed to be so, in either case the heart of the deceiver and the deceived was alienated from God as the Supreme Ruler and Disposer of all events, and trust in Him was proportionately diminished. We are indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. J. S. Burdon, of Peking, for this interesting communication, which shows to what an extent the injurious influences of one such superstition spread. In a note which he has added he declares that while it flourishes "no progress of any kind in China is possible." He adds, too, that it is "only cannon or Christianity which can remove this obstacle." Who among our readers will not earnestly strive and pray that it may not be the thunders of human wrath, but the "still small voice" of God, which shall deliver China from this absurd and cruel bondage?

Foreigner.—May I ask what geomancers are employed for?

Native.—Geomancers* are employed to examine whether a house or piece of land is suitable or otherwise to the person wishing

to buy it. They are called in also to determine whether, in repairing a house, in building at cemeteries, in moving an old grave or opening a new one, in erecting a wall or doing anything involving the displacement of earth, any hindrance exists to the work being proceeded with. Sometimes, when faith in

* Called in China "Professors of Fêng Shwei."

geomancers is not very strong, their aid is not sought in such a simple matter as the repairing of a house, but in everything connected with graves, the universal custom is to employ them. Hence there is no region without its geomancers.

F.—What do the geomancers examine into, and wherein do they guide those who hire them?

N.—They examine into the good or bad luck of a place, and they guide their employers to the attaining the one and avoiding the other.

In examining the Fêng-shwei of a house or piece of land, the first thing done is to inquire for the "eight characters" of the applicant (i. e. the two characters indicating respectively the year, month, day, and hour of birth), and then to see if they agree with the position (also indicated by eight characters) of the house or land. This is done according to the male and female principles of nature and the five elements. Besides this, the fêng-shwei of the house or piece of land is determined by itself, without reference to any individual. The four points of the compass, the eight points of the "position," the ten celestial stems, and the twelve horary characters (which are all marked on the Chinese compass invariably used in this operation) are each associated with lucky and unlucky deities, the latter being the more numerous. If through ignorance any one should offend against these, it would be difficult to avoid calamity. The one most to be afraid of is T'ai Swei, the god of the year, who is very malignant. If he be offended, calamity must ensue; hence the proverb, often applied to a bad-tempered and tyrannical man, "Don't move the earth at T'ai Swei's head." There is a host of deities of this kind, and as they change from year to year, and even from month to month, their different positions cannot be ascertained without the most careful examinations and calculations.

With reference to houses and lands, there are many other points that must enter into the geomancer's calculations. In the case of houses the most important are—that the principal house* be lofty, and the other

* The Chinese houses of the better class consist of a collection of buildings arranged round courtyards in the form of a square, the principal house being that which faces the south. The side houses, which are smaller, face the east and the west. In large houses there are many courtyards of this kind, extending one behind the other.

buildings low; that neither exactly opposite the outside gate nor on either side of it shall there be a temple of any kind; that the private drains be arranged according to geomantic principles; that a certain number of doors follow each other in succession, and that the windows be on certain sides of the houses; the differences in the height of the ground must be taken into consideration, and the neighbours' roofs must be examined, lest there be anything thereon to interfere with the Fêng-shwei of the house in question.*

In the case of land, the secret† influences that come and go, the height and evenness of it, on which side the hillocks are to be raised, the low parts filled in, in what direction the water is to flow off, and how the trees are to be planted, &c., are all points that are intimately connected with the fêng-shwei of the place.

In the case of cemeteries much more has to be attended to, such as how to "find the dragon;" how to point out the spot to be opened for the grave; how to determine which shall be the back and which shall be the front; how to lay out the sacrificial ground; in burying, the day and hour of breaking ground, and the day and hour of burial, must be carefully regulated according to the characters of the "position" of the cemetery, the eight characters of the deceased, and those of his surviving relatives. If no obstacle is found to exist, then and then only can the interment take place.

Changing the place of burial, however, is a much more troublesome business than fixing upon one in the first instance. The "position" (in a geomantic sense) of the temporary grave being different from that of the permanent cemetery, the peculiar character (also in the same sense) of the year may not allow of the change being made. In con-

* The houses of the Chinese are so arranged that chimneys are never needed. Foreigners, however, in the north of China, can no more do without chimneys than they can without fires. Hence the Chinese (in Peking at least) shun as much as possible living next door to a house occupied by a foreigner, the roofs of which are dotted with chimneys, built simply with a view to comfort and convenience, and with a reckless disregard of all the laws of fêng-shwei.

† These influences must be very "secret," one would think, to the geomancer, and to everybody else, for the literal translation of the terms used to express them is "the coming dragon," "the departing pulse," "the breath of the earth," "the energy of the earth."

sequence of this, it frequently happens that parents cannot be permanently buried for many years after death.*

Even cemeteries that have actually been bought and put in order for permanent use are sometimes abandoned at the word of the geomancer. Something goes wrong in the family—a geomancer is called in; he makes inquiry into the state of the family cemetery, and finds its position or its buildings unpropitious, and he recommends another piece of land with better geomantic influences. The land first bought is abandoned, and, though interments may actually have taken place, the coffins are all moved to the new cemetery. Is not this a piece of incredible folly? But, after all, it is only rich noodles who, without any understanding of true philosophy, take this stupid method of seeking good luck and avoiding bad luck.

F.—Is there any result of all this talk of the geomancers about good and bad luck?

N.—This is a thing that cannot be determined. It depends altogether on how a man likes to think about it. If, after calling a geomancer, a man's family keeps in health, his property in peace, and he meets generally with success in his undertakings, he attri-

* Instances of this are constantly occurring among rich fools, who can afford to waste money on the professors of Fêng-shwei. A story is told of a certain rich man who died, leaving a large property to his two sons, between whom it was equally divided. After some time the sons began to look out for a piece of ground for a cemetery, and one was bought for this purpose. The professors of Fêng-shwei allowed thus far, but no further. In the erection of buildings on the cemetery no agreement could be come to—those proposed by the geomancers employed by one son being invariably rejected by those employed by the other. Years passed, money was all the while being frittered away on the erection and the changing of buildings, and the only result of all was, that both sons were brought to beggary, and the corpse of their old father was still unburied. This case can occur, of course, only among the rich, but every one, rich or poor, is more or less under the influence of this wretched superstition. It is, moreover, a melancholy fact, that China contains nothing within itself to counteract it. The more educated a man is in China (as education goes in this country), the more is he under the power of the belief in Fêng-shwei. Whatever attempt (and it is a very feeble one) is made at liberality in the conversation given in the text, is due to the writer having been long in the employ of a foreigner, and to his writing this paper for foreign eyes.

butes it all to the merit of the geomancer, and says it is owing either to the change rightly made on the gate, or to the proper building of his wall. If any of the family is successful at the examinations, or obtains office under Government, the geomancer again gets the credit, and the luck is attributed to the good influences of the cemetery. If, on the other hand, after the geomancer's visit, sickness or trouble come upon the family, it is laid at once either to the malice or ignorance of the geomancer, and another is called in. If trouble still continues, it is attributed to something wrong about the cemetery. Such people, however, are ignorant of what really governs the actions of men, and know nothing and believe in nothing but fêng-shwei. Although it brings them no profit, they cannot shake off their belief in it. Is not this a case of self-deception?

F.—I see that the people of China generally believe in Fêng-shwei; if there is really no good to be got from it, why should so many believe in it?

N.—People do not believe in it for any good that is to be got out of it, but simply because it has become a custom. If, as is the universal belief, such a malignant demon as T'ai Swei exists, who will venture to risk offending him? It is better to believe, if thereby you may avoid calamity, than to suffer from want of faith. And so the common saying is, it is better to believe that these things exist than to reject all faith in them. Every man naturally shrinks from calamity, and if the whereabouts of unlucky demons is plainly pointed out to us, who will venture to run right in their teeth? Hence in China believers believe in Fêng-shwei, and unbelievers believe in it; every one thinks like his neighbours, and thus a custom is established. Although a man may be fully convinced that calamity and prosperity are not necessarily connected with this, yet it is impossible not to comply with the custom. If a reformer were to arise to expose the folly of Fêng-shwei, everybody would say he was mad, and would regard him as a foreigner. Custom, then, rather than any benefit obtained, is the foundation of people's faith in Fêng-shwei.*

* The true "foundation" of Fêng-shwei lies in the utter ignorance of the Chinese of the origin of matter or of the laws of physical science. Pantheism is, in fact, the true source of this superstition, and until right views are instilled into the minds of the Chinese about the Creator, and the laws by which He sustains the universe,

NEWS FROM METLAKATLAH.

IN a review, which will be found in our last number, of a book by Captain Colomb, R.N., on "Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean," that gallant officer is pleased to affirm that in the distinguished service to which he belongs there is a general *prejudice* against Missions and Missionaries. He does not seem quite positive whether the prejudice is "rightly or wrongly founded," although this might be deemed somewhat material towards the formation of a correct opinion. In the next page (p. 404), with reference to a statement he makes, he adds in a note, "I am describing a *prejudice*; I am not stating facts." It would be no unfair retaliation to remark, in the words of Locke, "when a man cannot bear any opposition to his opinion, if he cannot so much as give a patient hearing, much less examine and weigh the opinions on the opposite side, does he not plainly confess it is *prejudice* governs him?" A still older writer than Locke observes: "Such is the froward disposition of prejudicated persons that, let the truth be never so evident, the arguments, the authorities against them never so convincing, yet they will quite reject and pre-condemn them ere they have once examined them." Will Captain Colomb admit this? We are fully conscious that the cause of Missions has frequently suffered much from such hasty and unfounded fancies among ignorant and prejudiced people—prejudiced because they were ignorant—but we would fain hope, from a feeling of sincere respect for a distinguished service, that "very few naval men" would endorse the caricature which Captain Colomb has put forward as a representation of their opinions, or allow that "prejudice" governs them in such an important matter; if so, it must often sway them in the execution of their duty. Our own experience of naval officers has rather been in the opposite direction. We can perfectly remember, some years ago, a gentleman presenting himself in the Committee Room of the Church Missionary Society, who had recently returned from service on the West Coast of Africa. He may, for aught we know, have originally been under the dominion of prejudice such as Captain Colomb describes; but, if so, he had made a most rational and successful effort to clear himself from it. Being on shore in Sierra Leone, as he described it, he struck into the country for a walk one Sunday morning, and made his way to a station a few miles in the interior. Presenting himself unexpectedly in the village, he was struck with the stillness and order which reigned, and with the devotion apparent in the worshippers in the church. He heard an excellent sermon from the native minister, by whom he was hospitably entertained, and whom he found an intelligent and well-informed man. He visited the Sunday Schools, and was gratified with the answers made by the children to the questions put to them. Although a stranger to the Church Missionary Society, he felt it his duty on his return to England to report, not the fantastic illusions of a "biased" mind, but the result of personal investigations. The experience, moreover, of the Church Missionary Society, which has been throughout its existence most deeply indebted to the generous assistance of many most distinguished naval officers, runs counter to Captain Colomb's theory. Still that theory may be the rule among

there is no hope of any change. Foreigners may laugh at Fêng-shwei and all its nonsensical rules and fancies, but it is a real Power in China, and so long as it exists, no progress of any kind is possible. England is interested in the development of trade with China. Fêng-shwei, however, stands in the way. It forbids railroads, telegraphs, and other means by which alone trade can be rightly developed. It is only cannon or Christianity that can remove this obstacle. It will redound to our honour as well as to our interests if we make every effort to send the latter as the only really effective means of saving China from her superstitious, and opening the country up to free intercourse with the other nations of the earth.

naval officers—we hope it is not—but, if so, the exceptions have been most conspicuous and reassuring.*

In no Mission has this been more remarkable than in the Mission to Metlakatlah, which may fairly be said to have originated with naval officers, and to have been fostered by them throughout all the stages of its existence. More than one honourable testimony has been borne by such naval officers to the ability, assiduity, and success with which, alone and unaided, Mr. Duncan has initiated and conducted this difficult Mission at great personal risk. Testimonies upon this point might be accumulated afresh from naval officers, but in many instances they have been already before the public; and in the present instance they would be plainly superfluous, as the letter we subjoin speaks for itself as to the estimation in which Mr. Duncan is held by the civil authorities, H.M. judges, and the naval officers on the station. It does not seem to be the impression in British Columbia that Mr. Duncan is the “whimpering” “sawney” of Captain Colomb’s fancy, although, perhaps, his “prejudices” might indispose him to view him in any more favourable light. For ourselves, as regards this and all our Missions, we would say, once for all, with stout John Knox, “It is not free and impartial inquiry that we deprecate; it is hasty and arrogant prejudgment.”

Feb. 3, 1873.—In my last annual letter I mentioned that a new source of danger and trial to the Mission had arisen in our vicinity by the discovery of gold in the interior of British Columbia, and the route to the new mines being up a river about ten miles from Metlakatlah. We were soon made to feel the fatal tendency of the new danger by the drawing away of several of our young men and one young woman. We had to excommunicate six persons in all, one of whom is since dead. Two men and the young woman of the remaining five are desiring to return, but we refuse to take them back till we have some proof of their sincerity.

To stem this evil I called several meetings last winter, and finally resolved to forbid any person working for or mixing with the miners and traders on the river. I also divided the men of the settlement into ten companies, placing over each company two council-men and two constables; and then divided the females into ten classes, with two responsible women to look after each class. And now, after a year’s experiment, I am happy to say we have found these arrangements work admirably, promoting unity, vigilance, and steadiness.

Thus we are able to keep our eyes upon

each member of our flock, and check the straying ones before they are far out of the way. Another great advantage is that every fresh arrival from heathen tribes is at once drafted into a company, where he can find advice, help, and sympathy suited to his need.

The Indians have taken to the plan with great zeal, and I trust, under God’s blessing, it may prove a formidable barrier to the enemy, as well as a source of much good.

I had fully hoped to be able in this letter to report the completion, or near completion, of our new church, but on account of my being summoned to Victoria during the summer to attend the trial of four Indians for murder, and my helping the Governor on his visit shortly afterwards in some serious troubles with the Indians, so great a part of our season of fine weather was lost to us as rendered it quite impossible to carry out our intentions about building.

I have called to my aid a church committee of ten Indians, who occasionally meet together to receive contributions and discuss with me any matters respecting our new building. I am happy to inform you that the Indians of Metlakatlah and their friends in the neighbourhood have subscribed over \$400 already towards the church, and intend contributing

* Our attention has been called to a curious error into which Captain Colomb has fallen as to the form of the dhow. A naval officer has suggested to us to inspect the models in the United Service Institution, in Scotland Yard, which would make it evident that, so far from “the bow sinking deeply in the water while the stern floats lightly upon it” (page 35), the dhow does not draw much water forward. In such matters, however, it would be very easy for us to get out of our depth, and we therefore simply notice, without pretending to argue, the point. It is not one on which Captain Colomb could have any “prejudice,” inclining him to write “bow” for “stern;” but he may be fallible, even in matters relating to his own profession.

further as the building is growing and as their means will allow. I proposed (and they have agreed to the proposal) that they should find money or labour for half the cost of the building, while I, with the funds contributed by friends in England and profits of the trade of the village, supply the other half of the cost.

This year gives the prospect of being a very expensive one. We are now busy refitting and improving our saw-mill, which will cost about \$500; and this expense, with the church and model-house building, threatens to leave us very poor before the end of the year. We will go on as heretofore in faith, looking to God to supply all our needs in His own good time and way.

I have laid aside for the present all attempts of introducing fresh branches of industry, and intend to devote all the time I can spare for secular work entirely to building. When the church is finished and the Indians comfortably housed, then we hope to find profitable employment for many of the settlers at home. In the meantime, we are making inquiries as to the market, &c., for our productions.

The four Indians on whose account I had to go to Victoria are now at Metlakatlah, by order of the Governor-General of Canada.

As their cases are somewhat interesting, I propose giving you the few following details:—

About five or six years ago an Indian from a tribe living some thirty miles from us came to the Mission-house near midnight, accompanied by one of our Christian Indians. On entering my room he fixed his eyes on the floor, and with great emotion began to tell me the purport of his visit, which was nothing else than to confess himself a murderer, and to give himself up to justice. He, with the chief of his tribe, and by the chief's orders, had assisted in murdering two white men about five years before. The murders took place about sixty miles from Metlakatlah, and the murdered men were on their way up the coast in a canoe, and going to the gold-fields of Stikén. He came, he said, to confess, because he had frequently attended our church, and felt his burden of sin too heavy for him to carry, and so had been advised by his Christian relatives to come and confess his crime and take the consequences.

In those early days of my magisterial work I had to be very careful how I employed my Indian constables in matters outside our village; and as the placing this man in cus-

tody would involve my sending to arrest a notoriously wicked and powerful chief, I resolved to advise the Government of the matter before taking any steps. The reply from the Colonial Office was that the matter had better be passed over, as the crime was not recent, and because a conviction before a jury would be very doubtful, looking at all the circumstances of the case. Hence I took no further steps in the matter.

Last winter, however, a magistrate (Mr. O'Reilly), on his way from the Omineca gold-mines, was detained at Fort Simpson. While there a quarrel between two Indians took place, which ended in one giving information to Mr. O'Reilly of the other being a murderer of three white men about ten years ago. Mr. O'Reilly, having white men at his command, at once arrested the murderer, and sent him to me at Metlakatlah. Mr. O'Reilly promised to follow in a few days, if I desired, and stated the information he had received further implicated an Indian residing at Metlakatlah. This second man we at once arrested, and the settlement was soon all excitement.

I waited for Mr. O'Reilly before examining the prisoners. On his arrival an Indian was emboldened to revive the murder case which had been confided to me five or six years ago, as he was from the same tribe as the murderers. I related the whole affair, and the steps I had taken, to Mr. O'Reilly, but he felt inclined not to heed the Government order which I had received, but have the case brought up. We at once, therefore, sent Indians with white men to arrest the chief, who providentially happened to be at Fort Simpson, away from his tribe, and therefore comparatively helpless, and also the man who had long ago confessed to me his guilt, and who was then with his tribe. The prisoners were brought in, and thus we had now four Indians charged with murder, but we could get no witnesses nor find any person whose deposition was worth taking.

The first prisoner we examined was Simon Johnson, the Indian arrested at Metlakatlah. He stated he had come here years ago to confess his crime, but learnt that the Government did not wish to look into it. He now insisted upon making a full confession and taking the consequences. He gave every detail of the tragedy. Neesh-kah, his colleague in the crime, who had been arrested at Fort Simpson, feeling assured that Simon had confessed all, insisted upon a full confession too. The other case was opened up too by first having in for examination Thrah-

ket (the man who had come to my house years before and confessed). He again insisted upon a full confession, and the chief, Sebassah, who came last, was the only one who gave a false account, but afterwards corrected it.

Thus we had four men, all committed on their own evidence, and the first opportunity we sent them prisoners to Victoria to await their trial.

As these cases were felt to be of very great importance to the whole of the Indian population, I was summoned to Victoria to assist at the trial. Both the judges took great interest in the matter, which you will partly gather from the charge given by the Chief Justice, a copy of which (written by the Chief Justice himself) I send you.*

The Indians were allowed to reply in the Court, and their speeches were very affecting. The result of the trial was that sentence of death be recorded against all the prisoners, but, by the judges' recommendation to the Governor-General of Canada, this sentence was commuted to five years' imprisonment (not confinement) at Metlakatlah. So they are now with us, and all behaving very well. The proud chief has become very docile and happy, and he and all declare it their intention to remain at Metlakatlah till death. My people take a special interest in them, and several of the foremost Christians make it their duty occasionally to visit them in their respective houses to instruct and encourage them. Thus can God bring good out of evil.

Before I left Victoria on the occasion of the trials, news arrived to the Governor that a serious trouble had arisen between the whites and Indians of the Skeena River, on account of the burning of an Indian village through the carelessness of a party of white men passing up the river to the gold-mines. In consequence of this trouble all traffic was suspended up the river.

The Governor (J. W. Trutch, Esq.) in Council sent for me, and asked my advice as to the steps best to be taken to bring about peace. It was soon settled that the Governor should come up in a ship-of-war to Metlakatlah, and that I should send Metlakatlah Indians with the white constable to induce the injured Indians to come down and lay their complaint before his Excellency.

It was feared that the Indians would refuse to come, and hence the river would have to be opened by an armed force.

On my arrival at Metlakatlah I at once

despatched a canoe, as agreed upon, and two or three days after the departure the Governor came with two ships-of-war—Her Majesty's ships "Scout" and "Boxer." As it would be impossible for any Indians to make their trip in less than ten days, the Governor wished me to join him on a visit to Queen Charlotte Island in the meantime, in order to punish a tribe for an attack upon a party of Coast Indians while over there trading, and also to inspect other tribes on our way. This took us over a week, and we accomplished the work without bloodshed, having demanded and obtained a large quantity of property (blankets, guns, &c.), wherewith to compensate the injured tribe for their losses. The property was deposited at Metlakatlah, whither the two tribes were to meet for a peace-making.

On our return to Metlakatlah from Queen Charlotte Island, we found about twenty of the principal men of the tribe we had sent for awaiting us. The next day they were invited on board Her Majesty's ship "Scout," to discuss their grievance. Everything was done to make the occasion as solemn and imposing as possible. All the officers were in full uniform, and whether it was the sight of their dresses, or the sight of the ship in general, I cannot tell; but the strange Indians seemed to lose themselves entirely, and half forgot what they intended to say. I interpreted, and advised the Governor. The Governor made an excellent speech to them, and finally concluded to grant them \$800 in part compensation for their losses, with promise of more should they behave themselves. They all appeared greatly delighted, both with their reception and its result. This over, his Excellency kindly consented to lay the *foundation-stone of our new church*. This was on Tuesday, the 6th of August. He was accompanied by the Attorney-General, Captain Cator, the chaplain and officers of the "Scout," and it was a very solemn and pleasing ceremony. All my people stood round the spot, dressed very neatly. The chaplain read the prayers, and after the stone was laid the Governor made a long and very able speech to those assembled. He seemed to enter very warmly and heartily into the service, and if he had said less about me I should have preserved his speech to have sent you.

Both the Governor and Captain Cator were very kind to us, and really anxious to help us and encourage the people. They gave us a large fishing seine, and great quantity of

* See Appendix I.

stout ropes and blocks, to help us in erecting our new church—gifts worth 30*l.* to 40*l.* in this country. It was the sight of the massive beams and pillars, which are on the ground, to be used for the church, which excited them to give us the ropes and blocks, and even with these appliances they still feel doubtful whether we shall be able to put up the building we propose.

After the ships-of-war left, the principal men and chiefs of the Hydah tribe, from whom we had taken the blankets and guns, arrived at Metlakatlah. I at once sent for the tribe they had injured, and a very arduous but happy day at peace-making ensued.

In my last annual letter, not without mis-giving, I begged for a brother Missionary to be sent to help me. Finding that no one was sent, I again resolved to try and do with native help, and the result of my effort is to convince me that the time has not yet come. The natives are good as occasional teachers, yet they lack the endurance and stability to make permanent teachers. Their energies flag if kept long at one thing. They are so used to roving about, and changing their place and work, that there is not one yet (that is, of the adults) whom I could hope to continue a steady colleague. In the meantime, many are doing a good work in their own way, and in God's good time, no doubt, one or more will be raised up and prepared for continuous Mission work.

Again, therefore, I beg that you will send us help from home.* For want of help I have been obliged to give up the preparandi class, which I began last March with twelve young men and boys, as I found it simply impossible to do my duty to the class and carry on my other work efficiently.

I hope and pray that God may raise up the right man. My advice is, that he should come out unordained, and be willing to help in school work while learning the language,

* It will be a satisfaction to the readers of this letter to know that the Committee have, by the good providence of God, met with one who, they trust, will prove in all respects "the right man." Mr. Collison, late superintendent of an Industrial School at Cork, has been appointed to assist Mr. Duncan at Metlakatlah. He will, God willing, leave this country with his newly married wife, whose heart also is wholly in her Saviour's service, at the end of next month. They must not be forgotten in the prayers of those who desire to see God's kingdom extending among the Indians upon this distant shore.

—say two or three years; and when he can preach in the native tongue, and is found otherwise efficient, he should be ordained and take full charge of the church here. By that time, no doubt, there will be a native able to take up the school work, and hence I should be free to start a new *Mission on Queen Charlotte Island*, should it please God to spare my life and open up my way. I could still occasionally visit Metlakatlah, till they learnt to do without me. If you approve of this step, I will set on to learn the language, and thus be ready to go by the time I get Metlakatlah ready to hand over to a brother Missionary. I paid my first visit to Queen Charlotte Island last spring, in the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer. We were there only a day. I collected a number together, and preached to them the Gospel of Jesus; but only a few could understand me, as I preached in Tsimshean. They are a fine and noble race physically, but soon destined to disappear, unless the Gospel comes to the rescue.

Since I wrote you in November last, I have learnt an Indian Agent has been appointed, and he has written to ask my advice about the government of the Indians. I am writing him by this mail.

In regard to school matters, I have to say the assistant I had for some time was married last summer, and left us for Fort Simpson. I enclose you the letter she wrote me on the eve of her marriage.* The Governor read it, and was so deeply interested in it I have thought good to send it to you. I have had other help this winter, but that has now failed me. I have my eyes upon a young man who may turn out a useful teacher. I intend to try him as soon as he becomes a married man, but I do not think it prudent to put him over a mixed school before.

As we have not been visited last year by a clergyman from Victoria, I have only to report the baptisms of twenty-six infants, and eight adults baptized by Mr. Tomlinson. Several adults are waiting and asking for baptism, and should we be visited this year by Dean Cridge, as I hope we may, they will no doubt be admitted into the Church.

We have registered twenty-five souls who have joined our settlement from heathen tribes this year. I look for much greater accessions yearly, when our new village is built. . . .

With regard to the work of God, I am still

* See Appendix II.

able and thankful to say it is cheerfully progressive. The Sunday services are well attended. Sunday school—both teachers and scholars continue in right earnest. A few truly pious men have during the past year been called away from this world of sin and sorrow, all dying full of hope, and relying simply on the merits of Jesus. I will copy you some of the dying words of one, written at his bedside while I was at Victoria. He says: "I feel now that I am at the point of death, so that I have nothing more to say about this world's affairs. I am not lost—I am not in trouble to see death, for I feel my heart is fixed firmly on the Lord Jesus. Let all my brethren's hearts be strong, and let them persevere in the way they are going. I have had many trials and temptations in the world, and sometimes I feel afraid to meet God. It is my sins; but what strengthens my heart is, Jesus is my Saviour."

I can perceive, too, that the general tone of religious feeling is rising higher. I have only space for one fact to show it. On New Year's Eve we had to choose a new councillor to fill a vacancy. I left the choosing to the other councillors, and they chose a man who had nothing to recommend him but his Christian character, and overlooked those of rank who had expected the dignity.

W. DUNCAN.

APPENDIX.

I.

Copy of Charge of Chief Justice.

REGINA v. SEBASSA AND THRACKET.

REGINA v. NEESKA AND SIMON JOHNSON.

Many years ago there were some poor white men on the sea. Men on the sea are always in danger from the winds and the waves; but these men trusted in God who rules the winds and waves, and they were not afraid. Neither were they afraid of the men whom they might meet, for they did not intend to hurt anybody, and they were ready to do good. And, indeed, if the white men intended to do harm to the Indians, the whites could destroy them off the face of the earth. The whites could send up one man-of-war, which could easily, and without landing a man, destroy all their houses and canoes and property, and drive them naked and helpless into the woods to starve. No canoe could venture to go fishing. In one year the white men could destroy all the Indians on the coast without losing a man. One of our cannon could swallow up all the muskets of your tribe.

Now these poor white men on the sea met with some Indians. The Indians said they were hungry, and the white men gave them bread. Was that the act of a friend, or an enemy? Then, when the Indians saw that the white men were good and confiding, and saw a little bread and a saw and some tools, and a musket and a pistol, the devil came to them and said, "Kill these white men; do not stop because they gave you bread when you were hungry: kill them, and take the saw and the musket and the bread." These things the devil put on his hook with which he was fishing for the souls of the Indians, as men put a small fish on a hook to catch salmon and halibut. And the Indians listened to the voice of the devil, and slew these men, who were not fighting, nor had either they or the Indians declared war or anger at all. They slew these men while the bread of charity was still in their mouths. This is treachery and murder. All people hate murder. All people seek to have revenge for murder. This is the law among Indians also. If a white man kill an Indian, the Indians desire that white man to be put to death. Now my people come to me and ask for satisfaction. The law among the whites is that they cannot have revenge unless I permit it. Now my people come and ask me for revenge. But many snows have fallen upon this blood, and they hide it from my sight. Many snows have fallen also on my head: my head is very white, and I have seen many things. When the head is white, the heart ought to be prudent and moderate. I will not therefore take the lives of these Indians now before me, though they are all in my hand, and if I close it, it will strangle them all. My head is white but my hand is strong, and my heart is not weak. If I punish them less than by killing them, it is not because I am weak, nor because I am afraid. But I want to do good to these Indians. What good would their lives do me? Their lives are of no use to me to take at present. But I wish to preserve their lives, and to change their lives. I wish to change their hearts, and to let them see that our laws are good and our hearts are good, and that we do not kill, even when we have a right to kill, and when we have the power to kill. There is a rock at Metlakatlah, and a rock at Victoria, upon which their old canoe has split. Now I offer them a new canoe. When men are sailing in an old broken canoe, and have with difficulty got to shore, and made a small camp, if anybody

offer them a fine new canoe with which to continue the voyage of life, they should accept the offer gladly. Now there is a much better canoe, as they may see, at Metlakatlah. I wish them to sail in such a canoe for the future, and to adopt a better rule of life, and a better law of religion. They must at present go back to prison, until I speak with the other great chiefs of my people, and see what is best for them to be done. I shall try and persuade the other chiefs to send them away to Metlakatlah, to do what Mr. Duncan shall tell them, and to live as they shall direct. And so long as they live well and quietly, and learn and labour truly to get their own living, I shall not remember the blood which they have spilt.

The prisoners themselves may see that our law is a better law than theirs. For two whole days I have been sitting here listening to the voice of my people, complaining of murders and of violence, and of robbery and oppression. Whoever has suffered, he comes freely and complains to me. Now the prisoners have been in court all this time, and they have seen Indians accused, and Chinamen, but they have seen no white man accused.

Yet there are some bad white men, who would perhaps steal or commit violence, if they were not afraid. They are afraid of our law, which fills me and gives me strength, so that if I fall on a man I break him in pieces. But even bad white men through fear are restrained. Now, therefore, I think that it will much more restrain Indians who are inclined to do evil, and support and guide those who are inclined to do well.

If the other chiefs listen to my voice, and the prisoners behave well at Metlakatlah, it shall be well. But if they do that which is wrong, my anger will burn up again very fiercely, and it will melt the snows which cover the blood of the men whom they have killed, and I shall see the blood and be very angry, and will burn them all up in my anger.

Let them cease to believe in sorcerers, who have now no strength since Christianity is established. Let them become Christians,

and so their hearts will be made really and permanently good.

II.

*Letter of School Girl.**Metlakatlah Bie.**July 30th, 1872.*

MY DEAR MR. DUNCAN,—As I am about to leave the place where I have been brought up (differently from the others) under your great and fatherly care, I feel duly bound to write you a short letter, to tell you how very thankful I feel towards you. Often have I thought to myself, and thank God Almighty for sending you here to teach us of *Him*. If it was not for your great patience in teaching me, I don't know what would have happened of me now. My heart is warmed with deepest feelings of gratitude and regards towards you. I hope you will never imagine that either time or absence, or anything else, will ever cause it to diminish. And what a blessing that the anchor of my regards for you is firmly fixed beneath the Cross of Christ, for such a friendship is sure and lasting, not merely held by the "*silver-cord*" of life, which may be snapped in a moment, but imbedded in the cleft of the *Rock* for ever. Never had I thought before that I would leave the dear home of my childhood. My only and greatest delight and pleasure was to help the people here as far as I know; I never thought I would give it up. "But such is the world." I am now going to the one I trust, but who may deceive me. Who can tell what is before me? God alone knows it. I have always prayed that He would guide me. Although I am really very sorry to leave Metlakatlah, I have put my whole trust and confidence in God. "It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth Him good." I must now conclude by asking you earnestly, that you will never forget me before the Throne of Grace. Now, good-bye. God bless you, best and truest of my earthly friends.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) ODEILE QUINTALL.

LETTER FROM REV. ROBERT BRUCE.

IN connexion with the visit of the Shah of Persia to this country, the following extracts from a recent letter of our Missionary, the Rev. R. Bruce, will be read with peculiar interest. Mr. Bruce is residing at Julfa, the Armenian town, a few miles from Ispahan. His devoted labours in relieving the famine-stricken people during the late distress will be fresh in the recollection of our readers. He is now chiefly engaged in a

new translation of the Scriptures into Persian. A small band of converts has been drawn out, who resort to the Missionary for instruction and for Christian worship. But as the law of Islam, by which any Mohammedan forsaking his religion is liable to death, is still unrepealed in Persia, the work is carried on under great difficulties, and at much risk of persecution, should the present laxity in enforcing the sanguinary precepts of Mohammedanism be at any time exchanged for a popular outburst of fanaticism.

April 4, 1873.—My work is also one that furnishes very little matter for letter-writing or report, as having two Moonshis employed at my studies and translation, I am quite hindered from itineration, and my work day after day and month after month is one and the same.

First, as to my Translation and Bible History, I wrote to you thinking it would be completed in the spring of 1874, but I do not now see any likelihood of its being finished then. I have completed the Old Testament part of my *Zahur i Nur Haqiqi* or Bible History, in five books, and have nearly finished the sixth Book, containing our Lord's Life, and have one Book more to do, to contain the Acts of the Apostles. I have written it all out twice myself, and had it twice copied, and am now getting the fifth copy done, revising and abridging it carefully for print. In the Translation I have come to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but am now revising parts of the four Gospels.

Secondly. You will be anxious to know whether any of those who made a profession of Christianity before or during the famine, stand firm. The greater part of them, as far as I can see, do. A few, apparently, have not gone back to Mohammedanism, but for some months past have shown none of the zeal which they did while the distribution of alms lasted. They give as their reasons for coming seldomer to see me, that they are watched, and also that while the distribution of alms lasted, coming here attracted no attention, which is no longer the case. One especially, who seemed for a time to be an active evangelist, has bitterly disappointed me. Another, on the other hand, whom I placed no hopes in, has grown wonderfully in the knowledge of the word, and not only constantly comes to service, but almost every week brings others to hear the word. Even with your experience of Indian Missions, I think you can little realize the difficulty of their position and of my relation to them, scattered as they are at such great distance from me, and also belonging to various Mohammedan sects, no one of which trusts the other. I do not think any one of

them as yet has grace to court martyrdom, or to take up the cross so boldly as not sometimes to prevaricate in order to conceal their confession. Yesterday, Good Friday, besides several Armenians, seven of them were at early morning service. All I can say with certainty of them is, that they afford a field for sowing the seed of the word; that their coming to service is known to a great many, and that they constantly bring new inquirers, and before me and them make a profession of Christianity, and that some of them are regular students of the Word of God. One case, K— B—, is very strange, and remarkable. A number of Armenians were taken captives by the Persians many years ago, from the neighbourhood of Tiflis, and made Mohammedans by force; one of these was the Mualamid Ud Doulat, the Princely Governor of Ispahan, who died about twenty years ago. K— B— was a little boy at the time he was brought away captive, and was brought up in the same school with the present Chief Mujhtehid, High Priest of Ispahan, whose special office it is to decide religious disputes and put heretics to death. He was in the service of the Governor while he lived, and has since been and still is attached to this Mujhtehid. For many months he has come regularly a distance of two or three miles every Sunday morning to prayers here in Persian. And his coming deters some others who fear him, but he constantly sees one or more Persians at prayers. The regular professors come more on weekdays than on Sundays. K. B. is still in some way attached to the Mujhtehid, but he is always serving me in every way—carrying messages backward and forward to the Mullahs, and making appointments for me to visit them or receive visits from them. He is a poor man, but I never gave him a penny during all the distribution. In fact, all I can say about the inquirers and professors, is, that they are worth looking after, and that I am not at all discouraged by the in some way changed aspect of things since the distribution of alms ceased, on the contrary I think it is a more healthy and encouraging state of things.

Thirdly. As to opportunities of making

known the way of life to other Mohammedans. My greatest delight in India was bazaar preaching. But it has its drawbacks; and I always longed either to see it bring forth direct fruit in the conversion of souls, or at least to be means of attracting inquirers to the Mission-house. When it produces neither of these results, I think its benefits are very doubtful. Except temporarily in itinerations in drawing visitors to one's tent, I never found it bring forth this latter benefit, and I have no doubt it often creates a bitter feeling of enmity. I often longed for God's Spirit to draw inquirers to a school of Tyrannus, or to one's own hired house, where one could receive all who came willingly, "*preach with all confidence from morning to evening.*" And I believe the most zealous bazaar preacher would never take his stand in the bazaar if he had visitors enough to occupy his time. I have not visitors enough to keep me engaged from morning to evening, but I have quite enough to take up almost all the time I can well spare from my translation and studies. And almost all my visitors are most intelligent disputants, and listen most attentively to the claims of Christianity. All of them also come from distances of some miles. When Mr. Gordon was in Shiraz, and proposed to get up a distribution of alms to the sufferers from famine there, a European opposed it, saying Mr. Bruce had incurred the hatred of the Mullahs in Ispahan by his distribution there, and as soon as the famine was over they would have his throat cut, or have him turned out of the country. If there was any truth in this, all appearance of it has passed away. I visit almost all the chief priests here, and though the principal ones are *too high* to return my visits in person, they send their senior chief men to do so. There are four high priests in Ispahan.

1. The Imam Juma, who has little to do with directly religious questions, but is really a prince Cardinal, and a governor of the town. I have been always on the most friendly terms with him. He never speaks of religion: one of his men often comes to inquire after my health, according to Persian custom, and breakfasted with me lately.

2. Sheikh Md. Bakir, the Mujtihad mentioned above: he is *the* decider of religious questions, and alone has power to put heretics to death, a power he was not slow to exercise in the case of the Babis. I go to see him occasionally, and a few days ago was shut into his room alone with him for two hours, when for the first time in his life,

I should think, he found himself boldly contradicted.

3. Haji Syad Usad Ullah, the Hajjat Ul Islam; he is of the same rank as the last. I have never met him, but have had many letters from his brother, who is his chief manager, praising Christians for their charity, and mourning over the want of it in his own people.

4. The Sheikh Ul Islam, the Judge of the Divorce Court, and I think equal in rank to the other. I had a visit from his son to-day. There are a multiplicity of other Mujtheids, so that it is almost impossible to know who is the magistrate to be applied to in any particular case. It is since the famine ceased that I have made the acquaintance of most of those whom I know; some return my visits and some do not, but all are most friendly and hospitable, and anxious apparently to receive visits, and almost invariably spend the whole time of our visits arguing about religion. Very often, three and four days every week, I am wearied by the long visits I receive, and the earnest talks we have on the subject; so that if I had had the same in India I do not think I would ever have gone to the bazaar to preach, and certainly feel no inclination to do so here. Still it is hard ground, and though a door is opened for the Word, I cannot say it is great or *effectual*. Pray that it may become so.

Fourthly; the relation of our work to the Armenian Church, archbishops and priests, here. I think you are aware that there is an Armenian archbishop, two monks (who rank much higher than ordinary priests, though in many cases the monks are only so in name and dress), and fifteen priests, in this small town of 2000 Christian inhabitants, besides one Roman Catholic priest, and sometimes two. There are three Armenian schools supported by the charity of Armenians in India and Batavia. Before the arrival of the archbishop, who is an intelligent *young* man, educated in Constantinople, I was requested to take charge of one of these schools, and a house adjoining the Mission-house was taken for it. One of the other schools has since been joined to it, and from a *nominal* attendance in both schools of about forty boys, it has risen to a regular attendance of over 150 boys. The third school has also been stirred up to do something. The masters were formerly chosen merely because they were relations of the people who had charge of the funds, and did hardly anything in the schools. I have driven out most of the drones by

making them work. I can only give an hour daily myself, or at the most one and a half hours to it; but as it opens into my house, I can look into it several times in the day without loss of time. It would be unnatural to expect that eighteen Armenian ecclesiastics would feel no jealousy at this, but it is quite wonderful how little they show it. The archbishop continues on the best terms with us, though he never darkens the door of the school, and only entered it once when I went to ask him to preside at the Christmas distribution of prizes, yet he never says a word against it. I cannot speak to him except through an interpreter, as he only knows Armenian and Turkish. His friends tell me that he really is glad that I have the school; but that, as there is a strong party here who say I am going to make all the boys Protestants, he keeps aloof in order not to offend them.

Of the 150 boys in the school fifty are orphans, whom I still support out of the remnant of the Famine Fund, and do not see how I am to turn them off. These two works—the school and orphanage—were put upon me quite unsought for, and do not at all interfere with the work for the Mohammedans, and my great hope is that by God's blessing they may be made instrumental in two ways to furthering that work. One by stirring up the Persians by the example of the Armenians to seek education for their boys, and perhaps to send boys to the school. I have made a small beginning in this way already, and by employing my good Persian teacher to teach in the school, I hope gradually to break down the wall of bigotry and hatred which existed between the Armenians and Persians; and the other by raising up helpers for evangelical work. I should like to do two things to forward this end. One to purchase the school-house, so as to keep it in the Church Missionary Society's hands—80*l.*, I think; the other to keep on the orphanage; as I always think the Gospel should be

preached by acts as well as words of love. I may say that I have not taken up the orphans in any way which binds me to continue their support longer than my funds may last. With four or five exceptions of boys taken out of the street, who have no relations to look after them, they are all living as before with their poor widowed mothers, or other poor relatives, and I only give each boy the small sum of five francs a month, which is sufficient to pay for their bread and a suit of clothes once or twice a year, so as to enable them to attend school and receive a Christian education. The cost of each boy is about 3*l.* a year. I have money enough left to continue their support till the end of this year. I also employ one teacher for them specially at a cost of 20*l.* a year. The whole expense of the orphanage, with fifty boys, would be thus about 175*l.* I can be answerable for 25*l.* of this, if I could raise 150*l.* for next year. I do not propose to add any to their number, but as each orphan drops off, or is provided for, to let the charity gradually pass away, hoping that before it does so it may be made a medium for a school for Mohammedans, or by God's blessing be made in other ways, as may seem fit to Him, a help towards working for them.

I cannot see why Christendom, if not the English Church and the Church Missionary Society, should not do something for Persia. Hitherto the Lord has helped us, and certainly encouraged us to look to Him for more.

The visit of the Shah to Christian Europe, the present preparations for a railroad through Persia, the great increased interest in the Christian Scriptures in Ispahan, *the general desire and expectation felt here by so very many for religious liberty*, the help sent to us during the famine, and the door already opened for sowing the seed of the Word here, all encourage us to hope and trust that God's time for Persia is at last near at hand.

THE ASIATIC IN ENGLAND.

THE ASIATIC IN ENGLAND. By JOSEPH SALTER, with Preface by the late HENRY VENN, B.D., &c., and an Introduction by Lieut.-Col. R. MARSH HUGHES. London: Seeleys, 1873.

THE commandment which was given of God to the children of Israel was—"If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." Not without

much reason for our belief, we Christians maintain that, by virtue of that faith which we profess to have, we are the children of Abraham, and are blessed with faithful Abraham. If we are Christ's, we claim to be Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. To the glorious inheritance which was the monopoly of the Jews, for a season at any rate, we have succeeded. The branches being broken off, we, being a wild olive tree, were grafted in amongst them, and with them partake of the root and fatness of the olive-tree. A goodly heritage is thus our portion. But, like all other heritages to which men succeed, it has not only its privileges, but also its duties and responsibilities. We have no right to indulge in the one unless we are prepared to undertake the other. The moral commandments of the Levitical law, which are transcripts of the eternal mind of God, are therefore binding on us, and are neither to be evaded nor to be rejected by those who profess themselves to be "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that we should show forth the praises of Him who hath called us out of darkness into His marvellous light." Where there is a distinct recognition of that blessed truth, that we who once were far off, "without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and *strangers* from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world, now in Christ Jesus are made nigh by the blood of Christ," there there will—or shall we say there ought to—be a lively sense that the command given in old time—to love the stranger as ourselves, and not to vex him—is as fresh and as binding in the nineteenth century after Christ as when it was first delivered by the Lord to Moses out of the tabernacle of the congregation.

We have prefaced our remarks on the interesting volume under review with these solemn thoughts, because we would wish to recall to Christians an obligation which seems to have been most imperfectly apprehended by many who from the purest motives, and with the most self-denying zeal, have interested themselves actively in Missionary effort to the heathen in their own lands. By the grace of God their hearts have been enlarged, and they have overstepped the narrow boundaries of their own families, their own parishes, their own country; it has been their aim and their endeavour that Christ should be a light for the Gentiles, and should be for salvation unto the ends of the earth; but when the swarthy stranger, the child of the sun, has wandered into English cities or English villages, what effort has been made on his behalf to rescue him from want, or to win him to the truth as it is in Jesus? Some, probably, in the mischievous exercise of indiscriminate charity, may have bestowed some alms to be spent in drink, and so quieted their consciences; but there the work of Christian philanthropy to the stranger has begun and ended. And yet it is hard how any who are interested in such matters could be blind to the fact that there are multitudes of poor heathen in our midst, "having no hope, and without God in the world." Efforts have been made persistently to bring the question under their notice; but how few of those who have been hearty and generous subscribers to Missionary Societies have contributed the smallest pittance to the Strangers' Home for Asiatics, or attended one of its anniversaries, or attempted any other systematic effort of beneficence on behalf of the stranger!

As for those who feel no moral obligation resting upon them to fulfil the commandments of God, and who spurn all attempts at the reclamation of the heathen from their darkness and ignorance, they can at least claim the merit of consistency. They care nothing for the spiritual state of the heathen abroad, nor indeed much for their material welfare, except in so far as it may concern the political and commercial interests of England; there is therefore no adequate reason why they should interest themselves in their welfare when they visit our shores. If the poor creatures can contribute to the

amusement of a holiday by feats of legerdemain, by the exhibition of any kind of barbaric extravagance, or increase our wealth by the navigation of our vessels, well and good; it may suffice to gaze, and to pass by on the other side. And yet if the opponents of Missions had awaked to the consciousness of it, what a tempting field there would have been for sarcastic depreciation of Missionary exertion! With what unction and pathos might the neglect of the heathen in England have been descanted upon by those who would have scorned to lift a little finger themselves to rescue them from misery and degradation! We will not say that the blot has never been hit during the many years that it was palpably exposed; but we have no recollection, in the course of pretty extensive reading and acquaintance with such topics, of its ever having been made capital of. It is true that there might have been an awkward rejoinder; that there might have been a suggestion that, on their own admission, there was here a field which might be cultivated, and work for Christ which might be done by the objectors, and that it would be well for them to fall to work at once; so perhaps it was better—at any rate easier—to let the Lascar perish in the streets, and to hand the Chinaman over to the tender mercies of “Emma.”

The circumstances under which “the Strangers’ Home” was originated, and this reproach rolled away from our English Christianity, are clearly described in the preface written by Mr. Venn, which it is truly said came to us with “additional weight and interest, as being probably the last he ever penned for the press.” Mr. Venn mentions that

The plan of a Strangers’ Home was for many years discussed by benevolent persons, especially by those interested in Missions to the heathen, and was at last carried into effect by a series of providential circumstances. At length, at a monthly conference held by the secretaries of the various Missionary Societies in London, it was a matter of discussion whether, while we are sending Missionaries at a great cost into foreign lands, something ought not to be done by Christians for the inhabitants of those lands when they occasionally visit this country. The question was once put by a prophet of the Lord to King Hezekiah, after heathen ambassadors had visited Jerusalem, “What have these men seen in thy house?” The sight of Hindus, Chinamen, Negroes, and other heathens in the streets of London, suggested this question to the consciences of more than one member of that conference, and it was determined to ascertain by inquiry what the effect of a visit to this Christian country had upon these heathen visitors. With this end in view, a few were spoken to in the streets, and the answers were most appalling; for the treatment they had received had evidently produced upon their minds the very reverse of a favourable impression of the Christian religion. The great majority of these strangers on emerging from the Docks, under the guidance of headmen, who contracted for their maintenance while on shore, were herded

like cattle—six or eight in a single room or cellar, without bedding, or chairs, or tables, and were found, when visited, sitting on the floor with their backs against the bare walls; some sleeping, some smoking, and others taking their food. Those who fell ill among them, and became incapacitated for the labour on shipboard, were sent to hospitals or to workhouses, where they were found to have been lying for weeks in a most desolate condition, without being able to communicate their wants to any around them. Some upon escaping from ships became street-sweepers, and were generally found in a more independent condition, but associating only with those of their own religion and caste, and never coming in contact with Christians. A few isolated cases were found of a very different kind, but still more affecting, as showing the great need of some measures for their relief; for instance, a Chinaman, who could not be admitted into the Sailors’ Home, was lodged for a time at the house of one of its benevolent managers, who put into his hands a copy of the Chinese Scriptures, which so interested the Chinaman that he began to make a copy of them, spending in this act every waking hour; but until thus discovered he had had no opportunity of seeing any one who could speak with him in his own language. Another instance was that of a Native Christian, who had been bandmaster of a regiment, and conceived the wish of visiting

Christian England, and came unhappily without introductions. After having secured a lodging in Ratcliff Highway, on the first day of his attempt to explore this Christian metropolis, he was so beset by vicious persons of both sexes that he fled back to his lodgings for refuge, and never left them again till he returned to the ship which took him back to

India. A third instance was found in a New Zealander lying in a hospital without the ability of communicating with those around him, whom a Missionary from New Zealand afterwards visited, and found him a sincere Christian connected with a Mission station in New Zealand.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the consciousness of the need existed, and that the erection of a Strangers' Home in the neighbourhood of the Docks had become an object of earnest desire to the Secretaries of the various Missionary Societies. Why, then, was the project not carried out at once? Those who may thoughtlessly ask such a question can form but little idea of the labour which has to be undertaken, the liberality which has to be elicited, the difficulties which have to be overcome before such a project can become a fact in the midst of the many pressing claims which are perpetually being urged upon public attention. Above all, there are "times and seasons" which are in the hands of the Almighty, which are more especially propitious, when He opens doors, and removes barriers, and makes a way for His servants to do His will. The more immediate commencement of the undertaking may best be narrated in the language of Colonel Hughes, upon whom, as Mr. Venn observed, "the chief burden of all the anxious and successful labours connected with the undertaking have rested as its Honorary Secretary."

In the spring of the year 1854, when talking over matters connected with the Missions to the heathen in Western India with that highly-esteemed prelate, the late Bishop Carr, "You take an interest," said his lordship, "in the Missions to the heathen in India; why not take the same interest and advocate the cause of the poor helpless natives of India we see in such numbers about the streets; cannot you do something for them?" This appeal made a deep impression on my mind, so much so that I felt it impossible to strive against the leadings of Divine Providence, and ere long was convinced it was the path of duty, unmistakably pointed out to me from above, to put my shoulder to the wheel in behalf of the helpless ones who came to our shores, amongst whom I had spent a quarter of a century without doing anything for their eternal welfare.

Never can I forget the cordial response of every one to whom the subject was mentioned; yet the prospect of carrying out the wishes of many who felt the great need of such an institution, and expressed themselves willing to co-operate, was slight and distant until it was taken up by the Rev. Henry Venn, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, through whose powerful influence and exertions the Society was formed, and to whom the Asiatic, the African, the Polynesian, and England itself, owes a debt of gratitude for giving the weight of his name and in-

fluence, together with invaluable assistance, in every step taken for the establishment of this noble Institution, which has proved not only a comfort and blessing to thousands of strangers who have visited our shores, but has also been the means of ameliorating the condition of the helpless Oriental, and of distributing the Bread of Life to the natives of far distant lands, thereby strengthening the hands of the Missionary in foreign countries, and removing the reproach that no one in England cared for these benighted strangers, besides upholding the character of Great Britain as a Christian nation.

Within a few weeks after the appeal had been made to me by Bishop Carr, the Rev. Henry Venn received a note from the late Sir John Login, intimating that his Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh was willing to place at his disposal the sum of 500*l.*, if an asylum could be provided for the many helpless natives of India who were then to be seen in a most pitiable state of destitution in every part of the metropolis. This noble and unexpected offer at once decided the point that something must be done, and that without delay. A proposal for the establishment of a home was drawn up by the Rev. Henry Venn and widely circulated; this having met with a cordial response, a preliminary meeting was held on 22nd November, 1854, when a Provisional Committee was formed to make inquiries, by which a report was submitted to

a large and influential meeting, convened in March, 1855, under the presidency of the late lamented Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart., when a Board of Directors was elected, regulations were drawn up, and the institution was established as the "STRANGERS' HOME for ASIATICS, AFRICANS, and SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS."

Thus was the work commenced with the aid of the leading members of various sections of

the Church of Christ, unitedly desiring to remove the reproach that no one in the British Isles cared for the body or the soul of the poor Lascar. One of the secretaries of each of the great Missionary Societies was appointed a Director on the Board of Management, with the promised co-operation of their respective Committees, and with a promise of contributions for a Scripture Reader.*

In due season the first stone of the Home was laid by his Royal Highness the late deeply lamented Prince Consort, on the 31st May, 1856. In acknowledging the address of thanks, presented by his Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the Chairman of the East India Company, Prince Albert said,—

It has, as you justly suppose, given me great pleasure to co-operate with you in the good work, the foundation of which has this day been laid. It appears to me to be our duty to assist and protect, as far as lies in our power, from the dangers and temptations

to which their helplessness and ignorance expose them, the natives of remote regions who are brought to our shores, assisting in our commerce, and contributing by their labour to the riches of this country.

In the following December, munificent donations were forwarded from the "Empress of India," and his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, with the following gracious marks of approval transmitted through Colonel the Hon. C. B. Phipps:—

I am commanded to inform you that her Majesty and his Royal Highness, fully appreciating the protection and benefits which this Institution is likely to afford to the poor

natives of her Majesty's distant possessions, will grant donations of two hundred pounds from her Majesty, and one hundred pounds from his Royal Highness, towards its funds.

While upon such topics it would be unbecoming not to record with thankfulness how unfailing and how generous has been the support which has been bestowed upon the Strangers' Home by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, to whom the "Asiatic in England" is most appropriately dedicated. With a heart overflowing with love to his countrymen he has befriended it through all its early difficulties with most substantial help and personal interest, and can now rejoice in the success with which God has blessed it.

On the 3rd of June, 1857, the Home was opened. On this occasion the Directors expressed their intentions as to the manner in which the Missionary department of the Institution was to be conducted.

It is not the intention or wish of the Directors to interfere with the prejudices of the natives of the East; but they feel it their duty as Christians to set the Gospel plainly before those who are willing to listen, and to give some portion of the Holy Scriptures to

those who can read, and desire to have a copy in their own language, and with this object in view a Scripture Reader, conversant with their language, habits, and customs, has been engaged.

The Home was thus opened to all Asiatics, Africans, and Polynesians indiscriminately, whatever might be their creed and whatever might be their condition in life. Their prejudices were not to be interfered with nor were compliances to be exacted from them contrariant to their superstitions, however foolish and absurd they might be deemed. It was open to all either to hear or to forbear, to receive instruction or to refuse it at their own discretion and on their own responsibility. But the project was excogitated by

* From 1857 the Church Missionary Society has contributed 100*l.*, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 25*l.* annually for this purpose; two donations of 50*l.* each were received from the London Missionary Society in 1857 and 1862, and ten guineas each from the Baptist and Moravian Missionary Societies in 1857.

Christian men ; it was carried on by their untiring exertions ; the funds were the produce of their liberality ; and as they deemed that the objects of their charity had not only bodily sufferings to be relieved, but spiritual ailments to be removed, they took care that "all who were willing to listen" should have the Gospel plainly set before them. A very remarkable correspondence is annexed to the narrative by Colonel Hughes between himself and the Parsee firm of Messrs. Cama and Co., who, some years after the establishment of the Home, undertook to pay off the debt (4000*l.*) upon it, "provided the fundamental rule providing for Christian instruction" were rescinded. In this trying emergency God gave His servants grace to continue faithful to their Master. The princely offer was refused, and scarcely had the correspondence closed when, from various sources, chiefly, however, from Native princes, merchants, and gentlemen in India, the mortgage debt was paid off, and the Institution was free to pursue its career of usefulness unembarrassed and with the blessing of God resting upon it.

It might at first have appeared among the chief difficulties of the undertaking, that with men gathered as it were "out of every nation under Heaven" it would be almost impossible, without a more numerous and expensive staff of interpreters than could be maintained, to minister effectually to the temporal and spiritual necessities of the inmates of the Home. But here, too, through the good providence of God, what was required was provided. The Committee of the London City Mission placed at the disposal of the Directors

A man of earnest piety, full of love, and yearning to win souls to Christ, whether white or black, conversant with French and Italian, and gifted with an extraordinary aptitude in attaining foreign languages. Very soon after his appointment he was able to read and speak Oordn or Hindustanee fluently, and readily acquired sufficient knowledge of other Oriental languages to read and set

forth the truths of the Gospel to all he met. Many natives of India have often told him they could scarcely believe he had never been in India ; but he could say, and feel from an overflowing heart, "*The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary.*"

For sixteen years Mr. Salter has laboured with the most untiring energy and with the most self-denying zeal in his laborious office, and it is his modest and unpretending narrative which forms the staple of the "Asiatic in England." It is most truly stated in the conclusion appended by Colonel Hughes that Mr. Salter has most carefully "abstained from obtruding his own personal merits upon the reader," but no one who attentively peruses the book, and with intelligent interest sought the arduous nature of the undertaking, can fail to be conscious of them.

It would be a very easy thing out of the pages of the "Asiatic in England" to fill our pages this month with matter more than ordinarily interesting, because, although the persons are strangers, the scenes in which they are placed are familiar to us ; but we deliberately abstain from doing so. Our most earnest and anxious desire is that our readers should purchase the book for themselves and become acquainted with the whole narrative of this work of mercy and love. We feel convinced that we shall, if we can induce them to do so, stir them up to increased zeal and liberality in the work of the conversion of the heathen. When people are told that the work of Missions is nought, it is not easy for them to go to Tinnevely, or to Travancore, or to New Zealand, and to ascertain for themselves the value or the worthlessness of objections urged ; but it is not difficult to go down by the Blackwall Railway to Limehouse to inspect the records of the Strangers' Home, to witness the condition of the inmates, and to test the statements of the Missionary. In a certain sense it is like visiting the Indian Court in the International Exhibition. It may not be possible from that to realize adequately the vastness of our Indian empire, or to obtain a satisfactory solution of all the problems

connected with the management of it, but some ideas can be obtained from which intelligent men can form many useful conclusions. So it may be seen, from a visit to the Strangers' Home, that the action of Christian Missions is beneficent, that it is possible to win the confidence and to enlist the affections of the heathen while faithfully proclaiming the Gospel of Christ, and, above all, that it is as true now as it was ages ago when the prophet uttered it, that "the Word that goeth forth out of God's mouth does not return to Him void, but that it accomplishes that which He pleases, and prospers in the thing unto which He sends it."

While, however, we abstain from placing the thrilling narratives which Mr. Salter has produced from the records of his experience before our readers, it is only right to mention some chief results corroborating the eulogium we have passed upon the work. In the winter of 1857 eight inquests were held upon Asiatics who had perished from cold and hunger in the streets of London, and during the few previous years the same coroner had held more than forty inquests upon sons of India. They were "found dead;" they had "died of cold and starvation." No one cared about the life of a Lascar; and as for his soul, who gave a moment's thought about that? Our prisons and our police-offices were familiar with them. One had no less than seventy-two convictions against him. He had lived more in prison than out of it. The Pundit Nehemiah Goreh, who had found salvation in India, when he came to London left it on record that some of his countrymen whom he visited had heard of Jesus Christ in Calcutta, but had never heard of Him in London. With most powerful but apparently quite unconscious sarcasm Mr. Salter describes the "comfort" which English philanthropy had provided for Asiatics, and, so far as we know, the only "comfort" within their reach.

But, hark! what is that uproarious shout of discordant Asiatic and European voices mingled?—the sound of excited men and women together. It comes from the tap-room, and now the sound of a fiddle accompanying the voices escapes through the broken panes of the illuminated window. How can we discover what they are doing? Suppose we enter; but here is the landlord, who puts on a polite and agreeable air on seeing his unexpected visitors enter, though he would rather they were at Jericho than here. "What is the matter, landlord? are they quarrelling? is it a marriage, a wake, or what?" "Nothing of the kind, gentlemen; it's only a jollification and a spree these Lascars have with the ladies of the neighbourhood when they come on shore. They are all well-known here, and, poor fellows, they like to have some fun when they do come, and you well know they have nowhere else to go;" and, assuming the tone of a philanthropist, he continues, "We haven't the heart to turn them out; it's all the bit of

comfort they know." This is just the man we want, and, having assured him we are neither detectives nor newspaper-correspondents, he feels more at liberty to inform us, and we glean that the sprees are of frequent occurrence, and that they often end in a drunken fight and a few weeks in prison. But our host is about to pass into the uproar, and he will kindly leave the door open that we may see for ourselves. It is like a glimpse into a pandemonium, and the fumes of smoke which envelope the passing figures as they whirl round the room, come into collision, and tumble over each other, remind us of the declaration of the Sacred Book, "*And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night.*" Exhausted and giddy with the vigorous whirl, or desirous of gaining some respite from bruises received, all resume their seats, and the maddening drink pours freely in. We wonder, as we leave this sickening scene, if this is all that Asiatics know of England's Christianity.

Let us now reverse the picture.

When the lamentable condition of the Lascar and other Asiatics in England in 1822, 1842, and 1854, is contrasted with their present state in 1872, during which year

upwards of fourteen hundred Lascars and natives of the East arrived and resided several weeks in the port of London, without a complaint against any man being brought

before a metropolitan police-court, without one desertion from any ship, without one man being found in a workhouse, with very little sickness, only one death, and not a single inquest, the reader of these "Sketches of Sixteen Years' Work among Asiatics in England" will feel that there is good reason to exclaim, "WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT?" But how much more so that the cause of the evil in past years, the opium-smoking rooms and dens of vice, have been rooted out, and those who kept them dispersed; and, above all, that the truths of the Gospel have been set before all who have come to our shores without let or hindrance. In 1872, 650 portions of Scripture and 2000 tracts in various Eastern languages were presented to applicants and others, who received them thankfully, and many were grateful for instruction in the Divine Word. The natives of far-distant lands cannot now say, on their return home from England, that they have heard

nothing of Christianity whilst residing on our shores; for its doctrines have been set before high and low, and the bread of life has been liberally distributed in faith and with prayer, that a blessing might rest on these efforts for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom.

During the last sixteen years, SIX THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED Orientals have been lodged and provided with all they needed; THIRTEEN HUNDRED destitute individuals have not only been sheltered and fed gratuitously, but most of them clothed, and all sent to their homes; TEN THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING in cash, besides SIX THOUSAND POUNDS worth of jewellery, have been taken care of and restored to the depositors on their leaving England; independent of advice given and assistance rendered by the indefatigable and energetic Superintendent—the Lascar shipping-agent and steward—and other officers of the Home, who have each and severally, with the Missionary, contributed to the blessed result.

We hope that the result of a perusal of the "Asiatic in England" will bring the reader to the conclusion that, although it may be a hard thing to do good, it is not impossible, and that quite sufficient help is given to His servants from the Lord which made heaven and earth, if only they will lift up their eyes and their hearts to Him.

EAST-AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

IN a recent review of Captain Colomb's work on "Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean," we felt it to be a duty to call attention to the complicity which he charges on Bombay in this most nefarious traffic. According to him, there have been from time to time, even down to quite recent years, accusations that the great commercial centre participated in the guilt and profits of the trade. He then, as we have already said, proceeds to quote instances proving the case against her. It would seem that the relation of Bombay towards East African slavery, must have been much what that of Bristol and Liverpool were in former days towards that of West Africa. It is therefore with no small satisfaction that we note and preserve in our pages the admirable address of Sir Bartle Frere, which he recently delivered in Bombay. Our report is taken from the *Times* of May 19th, and will well repay the most careful perusal. It directs public attention to that which is in reality the main source of the evil, and assures the public on the testimony of one so thoroughly competent as the distinguished diplomatist who has in so admirable a spirit devoted himself to this task of humanity, that the cruelties charged on the East African slave-trade have not been exaggerated. Sir Bartle Frere's statements are directly in the teeth of those of Captain Colomb. We will charitably conclude that the latter gallant officer has been completely misinformed, and that under the influence of some of the many "prejudices" under which he apparently labours, he has no doubt most unconsciously put forth erroneous statements, which when made clear to him by what Sir Bartle Frere will in due season lay before her Majesty's Government, and eventually publish, he will most gladly retract. It is satisfactory to be able to add to this statement, that Sir Bartle Frere has concluded successful treaties with the Sultan of Muscat and the Sheikh of Makulla to the east of Aden. After

some reluctant delay, these have been followed up by another with the Sultan of Zanzibar himself, not, however, until most significant orders had been communicated to our Admiral commanding in the Indian seas, while all bondsmen who may hereafter arrive in Oman are to be declared free. The slave-market in Zanzibar has been closed. It would be too sanguine to conclude that the slave-trade on the East Coast is at an end, but we trust a fatal blow has been dealt to it. It is satisfactory also to know that it is Sir Bartle Frere's conviction, that though the slave-trade in Zanzibar is abolished, no general or commercial interest will permanently suffer there. Premising these remarks, we now subjoin Sir Bartle Frere's most deeply-interesting address :—

Sir Bartle Frere addressed a large assembly of native gentlemen—chiefly Bhattias and Khojas interested in the Zanzibar trade—at the bungalow of the Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy. The firms represented having agencies at Zanzibar were those of Jeyram Sewjee, Ebjee Sewjee, Narronjee Damodhur, Gopal Mowjee, Raywagur Posiga, Anundjee Visram, Jeyram Damodhur, Govindjee Veerjee, Tarrian Topan, Jeyrazbhoy Peerrbhoy, and Curmally Soorjee. Among those present were Colonel Pelly, Major Evan Smith, the Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy, the Hon. Mr. Forbes, the Hon. Mr. Justice Gibbs, the Hon. Mr. Justice Bayley, the Hon. Mr. Justice Kemball, the Hon. Mr. Justice Melvill, the Hon. Mr. Justice West, Bhao Singjee of Drangdra, Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee, Mr. Cursondass Nensey, Mr. Lukhmidass Khimjee, Mr. Dwarkadass Vussonjee, Mr. Khutoo Mukund, Mr. Mathooradass Khetsey, Mr. Mooljee Thakersey, &c. The meeting was held in the large drawing-room, which was completely filled by the audience.

Sir Bartle Frere addressed the meeting as follows :—

“ Sir Jamsetjee, Mr. Munguldass, and Gentlemen—Our host has asked me to say a few words to you, especially to those gentlemen who are most interested in the East-African trade, regarding the Mission on which it was the pleasure of her Majesty's Government that I should be sent, mainly, I believe, because I had been for a great many years connected with Bombay. In telling you anything about what we have been doing during the last few months, of course you will not expect me to enter into what were the instructions of the Envoy, or what are the negotiations which we carried out. All that in due time will, I have no doubt, be known, and I trust it will be satisfactory to our countrymen. I should like to tell you a few things which struck me on that coast as connected with the interests of this part of India. In the first place, I must tell

you that I was not in the least prepared to find the whole coast of Africa almost entirely occupied, as far as trade is concerned, by Indian merchants. I believe, if you wish to see the best picture that is extant in any published book of the present state of commercial affairs on the eastern coast of Africa, you could not do better than read some of the accounts of what the old Portuguese found when they went there. They tell us, if you recollect, that they found the whole of the trade and the greater part of the administration of the country in the hands of Indians—Moors, as they called them—but they appear to have been, from the description given of their dress, their modes of living, and the way in which they managed their own commercial affairs and the affairs of the States into which the country was divided, precisely what you and I know as the great Mohammedan trading-class of this country. It may be as much news to you as it was to me to find that of all the trading-classes that we have here in Bombay, the principal part of the trade was in the hands of only three or four of those castes which I see around me. There were, first of all, perhaps, in influence, if not in numbers, a large community of Bhattias with a few Banians and Mohammedans, and this represented the Indian trading-classes of this great city. There were some classes rather conspicuous by their absence. There were no Brahmins, none of the Kshetria classes; there were no Bengalee Baboos, none of the Shettias of Madras, and none of the active Marwarees. The Hindoos were chiefly represented by Bhattias. There were the three great Mohammedan divisions, Khojas, Borahs, and Memons—the Khojas being, perhaps, the most numerous. But it was a surprise to me—and I do not know how many of you gentlemen here present are aware of the fact—that almost from the coast opposite Socotra down nearly to the frontiers of Cape Colony the whole of the trade on the African coast, and also on the coast of Madagascar, seems within the last

forty or fifty years to have passed into the hands of your Indian countrymen. You will recollect that the Portuguese almost entirely extinguished the Indian trade on that coast, and, as far as I could learn, the Indians had almost ceased going there, with the exception of a few ships yearly from Surat, Mandvie, and one or two of the Kattywar ports. But during the last forty or fifty years your countrymen have absolutely monopolized the trade of East Africa. I do not believe it would be possible at this present moment either to collect or to distribute a cargo at any great port on the African coast except through the agency of some of your countrymen. And this was so much the case that I found wherever I went, not only in the large ports, but in quite small villages where there were only one or two shops, the shopkeeper was certain to be an Indian. He was perhaps a Khoja or a Borah, but there he was exactly as you see him in one of your outlying villages in Guzerat among the Bheels; there he was, with exactly the same sort of wares he sells to them, keeping the same sort of shop and the same sort of accounts, and all in Guzerathi. In communicating with the commercial classes of East Africa I never needed any interpreter. Any one who can talk Hindoostanee can get on perfectly well in any trading port on the coast. That was the first thing that struck me. To me it was almost a novelty. I knew there was a large and increasing commerce, but the extent to which India had monopolized the African traffic was to me quite a novelty. I found also that concurrently with this growth of Indian interests on the African coast had grown up the slave-trade (which was the immediate object of my mission) during the same forty or fifty years, a trade which had previously been a small and almost a smuggling trade. A few slaves here and there had become a trade carried on in large cargoes, and to the number of—as you may have heard, and as I believe heard with no exaggeration—30,000 or more human beings annually exported from East Africa. We were told that it was a thing that had always existed, and no doubt a small smuggling trade always did exist; but in its vast dimensions it is quite a thing of modern growth, and I can easily explain to you why it could not exist before. Before the Indian merchants went back to that coast and resumed the trade they had lost for the last 200 years—probably ever since the Mogul Empire began to decay—a great piratical

fleet had grown up, and the seas used to be swept by pirates, some of them I am afraid of European descent, but chiefly Arabs. They were sufficient to prevent the slave-trade being carried on in the way it is carried on at present, because, as you may easily imagine, no ship filled with slaves could make any resistance against a well-armed pirate; and if the slave-ship were seized the pirate had got a very rich prize, which he could turn into money at any port he carried the prize into. So it happens that two things have occurred during the last fifty years—there has been a general resumption of the old trade by Indian merchants and there has been a general growth of the slave-trade. Now, I do not wish you to suppose that these two things were connected in the way of cause and effect, because I must do the Indian merchants this justice, that in the way of direct connexion with the slave-trade I find very little reason for what has been said to their prejudice. I found that generally—I may say universally—all the great merchants were free from any direct connexion with the slave-trade. Some of the smaller ones at a distance no doubt did participate rather freely in the direct profits of the trade, but the connexion generally was an indirect one. The Indian merchants find the capital and the goods, and after a certain process of trade that capital and those goods are exchanged for human beings, chiefly by Arabs and half-caste Arabs born in the country. This was the state of things we found. And on the subject of the slave-trade I need not say more than that. You all know what has been written in England and India about this slave-trade generally—that it is a thing which one way or another must be stopped, and I have no doubt it will be stopped very speedily. We find a considerable change in the countries which we reckoned the most civilized in the world, especially in those in Europe and America which used to be customers for their slaves. They have given up the traffic altogether, and in another three years a legal end will be put by Government to the slave-trade in the Portuguese colonies, where it used to be so general. The Government of Madagascar—which struck me as being one of the most vigorous and promising things we see there, it is a Government entirely composed of natives—have set their faces against it and declared it should not exist. At one of the ports we touched at we found an Arab nacoda of a boat who had been nearly a year in prison for carrying a cargo of slaves. The

King of Johanna, who himself is an Arab, agreed with us that he would not allow his island to be made a place for harbouring slaves, and that all slaves who came to Johanna should be free. And, again, I found on the Arab coast there was the same disposition on the part of all those chiefs who have been and are at the present moment under the political rule of my friend Colonel Pelly; they were all convinced that they must do their best to help us in the matter. So I have no doubt that the slave-trade will shortly cease to exist. At the same time, there will remain, no doubt for many years to come, a desire to make money by the traffic in human flesh of which you have heard so much, and that some slight trade will be carried on in spite of all we can do to prevent it. And it is here that I think you, gentlemen, who are assembled in this room, and who are connected either as caste-fellows or as countrymen with the merchants of East Africa—those who hold the purse-strings—may do a good work for the civilization of that great continent. I believe that if you inform your minds on this subject, and read what is now on record regarding the slave-trade, and if you set yourselves to work to deal with it as you do with any other great evil that comes in your way as an impediment to civilization, you will be able to act directly upon your countrymen out there, and ultimately get up an amount of public opinion against the practice of the slave-trade which will be of the greatest possible aid to the efforts of the English Government in putting a stop to slavery. I believe that within a few years you can make it a thing that will be a disgrace to any one calling himself a Hindu or Mohammedan merchant to be suspected of having anything to do with this trade. It is those who have leisure to inform themselves on the subject, and who make it their business to lead the opinion of their countrymen, who especially could do a great service to that civilization which England is bent upon promoting in Africa. I can assure you that the work will not be without its material as well as its moral rewards. The country is really a magnificent country. Its coast is as fine naturally as your own Malabar coast, and contains all the facilities for trade beyond anything I have seen. Hitherto the trade on that coast has been a very quiet sort of monopoly. It has been kept to themselves by a few classes of natives, who, I dare say, said as little as possible even to their relations and friends in this country about

the very good business they were doing. In their way they are extremely fine fellows. They are more intelligent, have knocked more about the world, rubbed off more prejudices, and are upon the whole even more active men than their fellows in this city—and I need not tell you that that is saying a great deal for any merchants; but they seem to have had their eyes a good deal opened by moving about in various countries, and I can assure you that in this respect you have not the slightest reason to be ashamed of them. But there are some classes, as I told you, who are not yet seen there. I wish they were to be seen, because one of the great causes of the prosperity and general advancement of Bombay has been the mixture of races here. Among others, I did not see a single Parsee from one end of Africa to the other until we got to Mozambique. I hope it will not be long before we see there, at any rate, a few of your active countrymen, the Parsees, and I am quite sure it will be greatly to the benefit of Africa when they go there and do what they have done during many centuries past in this country. But, above all, I should like you to act upon those who, perhaps, monopolize more than any others the political power out there, and they are chiefly the Khojas. They are men who have not participated so freely as their fellows in this country in the benefits of modern civilization. They are active and knowing men, and in every way well qualified to lead in commerce; but they would be all the better if you could make them learn a little more of what you know is a great source of your prosperity in this country, and that is a little of the learning of the West. I think that if in this way some of you who have the leisure and the means could devote yourselves to the diffusion of information among your countrymen, you might do a great deal of good. All are so absorbed in trade there that they have very little time for reading and writing. They can all read Guzerathi, and I think if some of our Guzerathi friends—some of those who have made such good use of all the learning that came in their way in this country—if they would write in their own language for the information of their friends and countrymen out there, an immense deal of good could be done to the cause we have all so much at heart. There is now direct communication by steamer from Aden, and I hope there will soon be from Bombay and from Arabia. When that takes place, the country will no longer be difficult of access.

People will then be no longer compelled to do what we found in many places they were doing—putting up with the inconvenience of news from Europe seven months old. They will have letters every month, and I foresee a time when there will be very frequent communication between this coast and Africa, and I look upon it as a certainty that you will be able in one way or another, directly or indirectly, whether purposely or almost unconsciously, to take a great part in making Africa as free from the curse of slavery as India now is. Let me assure you of this fact, in conclusion, that what you have heard of the horrors of the slave-trade is in no way exaggerated. We ourselves saw and heard so much of the horrors passing under the eyes of the people around us, that we can have no sort of doubt that what you read in books, and which are so often said to be exaggerations, are exaggerations in no respect. The evil is much greater than anything we can conceive in districts difficult of access, where there is nothing like security against fathers and mothers being put to death in order that the children may be stolen. I believe the calculation is that for every slave carried away from Africa at least ten persons perish, and that calculation is, if anything, under the mark. Now, gentlemen, all these things it will be my duty to lay before her Majesty's Government, and I have no doubt they will in due time be published; but I could not resist the opportunity given me by my friend Mr. Munguldass, of telling you what I think very much concerns you—first of all that

your countrymen have—if not in general directly, they have indirectly—a great deal to do with the maintenance of the present slave-trade, that it is in their power and in your power to assist Government most materially in putting a stop to it, and that the object is one most worthy of the co-operation of all civilized people. I believe that of the nations which are represented at Zanzibar, all the Governments are resolved to unite in putting a stop to the present state of things. I hope to hear that my old friends in Bombay have done their part, and I feel quite sure that if it is once placed before them as a thing they ought to do, they will be found in the front. I thank you, gentlemen, very much for your patience in hearing me. I only wish that time permitted, and that I had the power of telling you these things in Guzerathi for the information of those gentlemen who do not happen to understand English fluently. I only hope that gentlemen who do understand English will translate it for the benefit of their friends who do not."

The Hon. Munguldass Nathoobhoy then said:—

"I hope you will all agree with me that our warmest thanks are due to his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere for the very interesting and important information which he has so kindly given us. I have no doubt that all my countrymen who have anything to do, directly or indirectly, with Zanzibar and Muscat, will follow his very valuable advice."

The meeting then separated.

THE NEGRO.

THE NEGRO, FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE. Vol. II., 1873.

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GOVERNOR POPE HENNESSY, C.M.G. *London*, 1873.

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AFRICA FOR THE CHINESE. *Times*, June 5, 1873.

OF all the Missions which have at various periods engaged the interest of the Church Missionary Society, none can take precedence of the Missions to the West Coast of Africa. They were the first Missions of the Society. Upon them unexampled care has been lavished; gold and silver and lives of holy men and women, more precious than the gold of Ophir or the topaz of Ethiopia, have been freely offered up for the redemption of her sons, whose lives were made bitter with hard bondage, not only through the cruelty of man, but far more also through the malice of Satan and his hosts. We feel, therefore, that no apology is due to our readers for engaging their attention at some length upon a topic so momentous, and we are not without hope that the thoughts which we would offer may meet with consideration in Africa, whose welfare we have so much at heart.

A brief glance at the past history of Africa may be permitted to us, in order to make more intelligible what we have to urge.

To a superficial observer it might seem as though Africa had had some share in the history of the world. But if we distinguish that which is perhaps somewhat affectedly yet intelligibly termed Nigritia from the fringe of civilization which has perpetually clung to her borders, it will be patent that the part which Africa has played in history has been the part played by those who have been the oppressors of her sons. The history of Africa is not the history of the negro, but the history of the oppressor of the negro. Peering through the dim vista of ages, and contemplating the first vestiges of civilized man upon the shores of Africa, we find outspread before us the marvels of Egypt, which even to this day testify in a wonderful manner to the might, the wealth, the learning, the wisdom of those who called them into existence. But were they the product of negro handicraft, or is the learning which they preserve from the most remote antiquity the record of negro intellect? Upon the vexed question whether the Egyptians were of Semitic origin, or, as some suppose, Aryan invaders who beached their ships upon the shores of Africa, as Rollo and his followers did on those of Normandy, it would be out of place for us to enter. One thing is clear, that the Egyptians were foreigners of Asiatic origin, and the earliest oppressors of the negro tribes whom we are able to discover. With the Israelite the negro shared the affliction and evil treatment experienced at the hands of the Egyptians. Less fortunate than the children of Jacob, they were not brought forth with a mighty hand from the fury of the oppressor. As Egypt was filled with and ruled by the foreign invader, so also were the shores of the Mediterranean. The maritime country along the Mediterranean consists principally, although not exclusively, of very fruitful land, and consequently in ancient times was very thickly inhabited. But by whom? By negroes? Most assuredly not. Amongst the earliest proselytes to Christianity were strangers from "the parts of Libya about Cyrene." Were they negroes? They were Jews from the Roman province of Cyrenaica. Six hundred years before the Christian era the Euphemide Battus at the head of a Theraean colony founded the important Hellenic settlement of Cyrene. It was filled with settlers from Crete, the islands, and the Peloponnesus; it became the starting-point of a group of settlements, the centre of a small Greece, which covered a large division of African land with Hellenic culture. In

Cyrene Greek was the spoken language until A.D. 616, when it was finally overthrown by the Mohammedan invaders. The colony was distinguished for the intellectual character of its inhabitants. Aristippus, Carneades the founder of the new Academy, Eratosthenes the geographer, Callimachus the poet, were among the distinguished men, ornaments of Greek literature and philosophy, whom Cyrene produced. The city grew rich, not only with the export of the sap of silphium, a royal monopoly, but "with horses and camels, with *black slaves*, with apes, parrots, and other wonderful animals, with dates and rare fruits," which the Libyan tribes brought into its mart. In Cyrene the negro was a slave. Precisely similar would be found to be the history of the whole northern coast of Africa. Vast and extensive colonization by the Phœnicians, with an admixture of Carians and Ionians, introduced into Libya, even in prehistoric ages, foreign religious worship, such as that of Poscidon and Athene, and wrested from the native inhabitants all power and supremacy. To the Greek and the Phœnician succeeded the Roman; after him, in turn, the Vandal and the Saracen asserted their dominion over not only preceding conquerors, but still more fully over the subject races in the regions beyond. In Carthage, as in Cyrene, the negro was a slave. Along the shores of the Mediterranean he had many masters, but he stood in the same relation to them all. Whatever, then, were the glories of Africa within the precincts of those regions, they were the glories of the foreigner. Whatever civilization was introduced there was exotic. The language of literature, the inventions of science, the religions which were professed, the gods to whom temples were built, and into which worshippers thronged, were all alike foreign. The mighty generals, the wise philosophers, the wealthy merchants, the holy fathers and bishops, who have made Africa renowned, and have vindicated their claim by successful enterprise, by profound researches, by daring adventure, by sanctity, learning and orthodoxy, to the respect of posterity, all alike were in their origin and extraction strangers to her soil; they spoke languages, they professed faiths, which were not indigenous to her, and which were not "racy of her soil." In the process of centuries African blood no doubt mixed with that of her conquerors and oppressors, but it is still the Phœnician, the Greek, the Roman, the Vandal, the Mohammedan, who is conspicuous, retaining all his native characteristics amidst the imperfect modifications which climate and country confer, and such association with the tribes around as dominant races see fit to indulge in. The African shores of the Mediterranean have been the scenes of mighty events in the history of the world, although with the curious fact which has hitherto attached to Africa they are now the scene of comparative feebleness and desolation, but they have ever been the arena of the foreigner, and are still in their fallen state subject to his dominion. African conquests, African learning, African enterprise, African churches, have all and alike been foreign, and have never either sprung from or affected materially, if at all, the negro race.* What applies to the history of this foreign occupation and foreign civilization, as

* "It has been made a reproach against the negroes that they did not profit by the culture of Egypt and Carthage, the Greeks and the Romans; but they were not acquainted with those people. The chiefs who dwelt on the Nile near Khartoum were pillaged now and then by Egyptian slave-hunters; but as for the people of the Niger, they saw the famous purple cloth, the blue bugles, and the speckled beads of the Tyrian colonists at Carthage, but these were brought to them by the wandering Tuaricks, and sold for gold-dust and slaves: the Tyrians themselves they never saw. It was when these Berbers or Tuaricks were converted to Islam, when camel fleets navigated the Sahara, when Arab merchants settled on the banks of the Niger, and roamed from kingdom to kingdom, that for the first time the negroes were brought into contact with a civilized race, and how they have profited by that contact, their walled towns, and mosques, and schools, and altered habits of life sufficiently show. This subject I have fully treated in my work, and have only to repeat that a vast region of Soudan is no longer African but Asiatic, and has been correctly termed by Barth a second-hand East."—*Winwood Reade's African Sketch Book, Appendix.*

we exhume it from the records of the past, is still more clearly manifest when we pass on to the Portuguese, the Spaniard, the Dutchman, the Englishman, the Frenchman, the American, the Hindoo, who within the last three hundred years have encircled the shores of Africa with their colonies, and with varying success have established themselves on her soil. They were clearly foreigners; they have for the most part been little else but her oppressors; whatever imperfect civilization they have introduced has been a feeble compensation for the cruel wrongs they have inflicted on her. The glory, and we must add too the shame, connected with the colonization of Africa has not been that of the negro race. In them too, as in Egypt, as in Cyrene, as in Carthage of old, with the exception of Sierra Leone, the negro has been a slave.

But when we pass beyond the confines in which the stranger has dwelt and tyrannized and plundered, and cast our thoughts into the regions beyond, which may in contradistinction to the settlements upon the coasts be termed Nigritia, what meets us there? From time immemorial the vast extent of the continent of Africa has been inhabited by a race or races differing in many important respects from the Asiatic or the European, yet possessed of inherent qualities testifying to identity of nature, and endowed with capacities vindicating their claim to full admission into the brotherhood of their fellow-men. Of those among the Africans who may happen to be low in the scale of intelligence, as of the refined and polished Athenian, it may with safety be asserted that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitations." But when we look into the history of the negro races, considered apart from their persecutors and oppressors, all that meets us is—a blank. So far as we are aware, throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, there is not a monument raised by negro hands to testify to the material greatness of their tribes, nor are there anywhere to be found, as in the jungles of India, or in the pathless forests of America, ruins telling of ancient civilization existing among races which have perished with them. Not even along the fertile valley of the Niger are there any traces of the past which have yet been brought to light and submitted to the intelligent scrutiny of the present generation. No written character or engraving of any sort has preserved to posterity by faithful record the vicissitudes which have befallen the nations of Africa and borne witness to the times of old. The utmost, we believe, that her sons claim is that by oral tradition, sententious proverbs embodying wisdom, and rude verses lingering in the recollection of aged men, telling of great warriors and successful forays, may yet be met with. A few only of these, preserved in missionary records by the intelligence of foreigners, have hitherto been made known to the literary world. So far as our acquaintance goes with the few specimens we have met with, they might fairly be classed with similar utterances among the Maories of New Zealand. It would, however, be a patriotic act on the part of some intelligent negro to gather together these traditions of the past, whatever they may be, and to submit them to the world. They would be "racy of the soil," and, if recorded with fidelity and ability, might prove more than curious. We speak, however, of that which is to us, and we believe to the large majority of mankind, including even many Africans, a matter quite unknown. The name of no negro sage or legislator similar to Confucius or to Sakya Muni, prescribing laws and religion, has ever reached us, nor are there traces of such systems discoverable. A recollection of two or three centuries would probably exhaust the traditions of the past, except so far as they might be of a most vague and general import. In the absence of all such monuments and records which constitute in some shape or other the glory of nations, and which, even when they have perished, preserve a memorial of them to future generations, it is painful to make the declaration, but there seems no possibility of

escaping it, that the *Africa of the negro has no past*. To what, then, are we to ascribe this remarkable peculiarity to which, except in the cases of broken and scattered tribes which have been driven to dwell in isolation amid secluded islands or inaccessible forests or mountain ranges, there could hardly be found a parallel? We cannot fairly charge it upon the climate or the soil of Africa. It is true that many portions of the continent are sterile, many are swampy, and the climate torrid; but still there are extensive tracts remarkable for fertility, and readily producing all that is requisite for the wants of man. There is also much mineral wealth, which might have stimulated commercial intercourse with other nations, and no doubt has, in a certain but it is to be feared unfavourable sense, actually had this result. Nor can it reasonably be laid to the door of the foreign invader, at any rate until the Mohammedan became the scourge of the land. Even from the brief retrospect we have offered of the colonization of Africa at different periods, it is manifest that little beyond the seaboard, if we except the valley of the Nile, was affected by foreign immigration. The great heart of the country was untouched and was unknown. The most curious traveller of ancient times had but the most dim and faint consciousness of what existed in the regions beyond which his compatriots dwelt. Still less can it be laid to any want of intelligence or capacity in the negro race; for if, after centuries of oppression and wrong, they can furnish substantial evidence that in the power of acquiring and using knowledge they are, when enjoying equal advantages, not behind their compeers of other nations, what might they have been "from the womb of the morning when they had the dew of their youth upon them," before their necks were under persecution? Upon the purposes of God concerning Africa it would be beyond human power to speculate. He divideth to every man and to every nation also severally as He will. Such matters are too high and too deep. We must therefore, perforce, in the absence of such knowledge and with a consciousness of the insufficiency of such conjectures as we have ventured to put forward, form as well as we can some theory concerning the past of Africa from its condition in the present. Where there are no indications of past political or social greatness discoverable, and the present is undistinguishable from the past, it is not unreasonable to imagine that with certain modifications the past was what the present is.

What, then, is the present condition of the interior of Africa? The testimony of a most intelligent member of the African race is that it is a state of chronic warfare and feuds. Throughout the length and breadth of the country there is and has been hitherto no such thing as public opinion. There is no man who rises up among the tribes in the interior with large and comprehensive aims for the welfare of the negro race, or with either the power or the ambition to weld them into one harmonious whole. The aggrandizement of a particular tribe apart from the rest, and often in open antagonism to all around, is the highest object which presents itself to the mind of any influential man. Still less is there anywhere to be found any one who would take any active interest or promote any effectual measures to confer the boon of freedom upon the people. It would be a very favourable computation which would assume that only one half of the population of the interior of Africa are slaves. Domestic slavery is an institution of the country. Among the many evils which debase the African race there is probably none to compare with this in the extensive demoralization which it promotes, and in the mischievous relation in which man is placed relatively to his fellow-man. Slavery in Africa, as in every part of the world where it has existed, is wholly inconsistent with the moral regeneration of the slave; it stunts his intellect; even where there may be comparative kindness of treatment, and there may be little cruelty to be complained of, it humiliates and depresses. Where there is harsh treatment and cruelty superadded, the relation

between master and slave is fear. Such a statement is more than corroborated by the testimony of intelligent travellers who have had opportunity of judging of the internal condition of the country. Surely it is no unreasonable assumption that a condition of things which is clearly not of yesterday, and for which no origin can be assigned, which, moreover, fully explains all the mournful phenomena of the country, may have been its normal condition in the past as it is unquestionably in the present. A land which in the present day has no written language, no acknowledged system of laws, no standard of right and wrong to which all may habitually appeal, no system of public worship unless the most debasing superstitions which have ever degraded fallen man can aspire to such a title, no manufactures even except such as are of the most primitive and inartistic nature, clearly can from its present state make it evident that the past has been a condition of rude barbarism. If there had been throughout the length and breadth of the land, from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, from Sierra Leone to Mombas, a relic anywhere of ancient negro civilization, there would have been room for speculation. As it is, we can only again repeat that for Africa there is no past to which her sons can look back, and from which they can pretend to gather inspiration. If, then, we turn from the past to the present, how mournful is the spectacle which displays itself before us! We dismiss for the moment Sierra Leone and all similar centres of intelligence and civilization. We would penetrate, as it were, into the interior. What, then, is the religious aspect of the country? By a species of degradation below even that which St. Paul declared to be the condition of the heathen, not only has Africa "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into images made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things," but her sons cower down in abject terror before the most worthless and loathsome objects which the most drivelling superstition can suggest. Africa is a land of fetishes—not, however, that she has a monopoly of them. Even after eighteen centuries of professed Christianity, Europe under the auspices of Rome abounds with them. But if all the rags and bones and sticks which Rome has ever presented for the veneration of the faithful were accumulated in one spot, they would be but as a hillock before a mountain compared with what Africa could produce. In the midst, too, of her most abject superstitions, Rome has doctrines to teach which, however corrupted, still retain some savour of their divine original. Not so Africa. So completely has all consciousness of "the Eternal Power and God-head" suffered eclipse in that land, that it seems hard to say that "they are without excuse." We will not do more than advert to the sanguinary customs which prevail on special occasions, and testify to the horrible nature of the religions which are professed. Again, we do not mean to say that these are peculiar to Africa, for instances of them are discoverable among many other nations also; but while in other parts of the world they have yielded to progressive enlightenment, and been put away, or have been restrained by superior force until the votaries themselves are gradually departing from them, in Africa they exist in full vigour and are "racy of the soil." Much of all this evil results from the fall of man, and has throughout the world debased and polluted the whole human race. No one section of mankind can stand apart and say with scorn, "How abject is the condition of Africa!" for such also has been the condition of Europe, of Asia, of America. The peculiarity of Africa is that it has somehow gone further in departing from God; its superstitions, therefore, are more astonishing as practised by rational beings; moreover, they still exist unchecked in fullest force and vigour. We dwell emphatically upon this point, for the relation of man to God, and his conceptions of His nature, are in our judgment the source of his weakness or his strength. If in this remark there be even a modicum of truth, how feeble must be the state of Africa! and, unless some leaven can be introduced into her midst, how hopeless the prospect of

her religious, and we may add too of her moral, regeneration enabling her to take her fair place among the nations of the earth! There being no true consciousness of God, and no knowledge of Him exercising any check or influence upon public opinion, no sense of responsibility is felt, and no concern is manifested for man made in the image of God. The relation of the tribes to each other may best be described in the lines of the poet,

" The good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That they may take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

In this, again, there is nothing peculiar to Africa ; it is a state of things which has existed in every quarter of the world, and has been the source of unutterable woes to mankind. Ever and anon it displays itself in all its baleful vigour, even among the most civilized nations of the earth. But from many causes, partly through the consolidation of empires, the influence of public opinion, the process of enlightenment even where Christianity can hardly be reckoned as an effective force, there are intervals of comparative quiet and repose, when nations gather power and make progress in civilization. Under the influence of law and order there is security for property, and men see a reasonable prospect of enjoying the fruit of their labours. Not so in Africa. It is too frequently there as with Israel, " in the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways are unoccupied, and the travellers walk through byways ; the inhabitants of the villages cease ; there is a noise of archers in the place of drawing waters." In such a condition of things it would be hopeless to expect that there can exist any mutual confidence among the tribes, such as would enable them to league together for any great or noble purpose for the welfare of the African race, or that capital, which is so timorous that it proverbially makes to itself wings, and flies away from scenes of turmoil and disorder, would embark in schemes for educing the resources of the country. There may be wealth in abundance, both above and below the soil, but who will care to search for it, when, before he has gathered in his produce, it may be swept away from him by the plunderer, and he himself perhaps be reduced not only to beggary but to slavery? Nor is there anywhere in the interior of Africa any power either equal to or disposed to establish order among the prevalent confusion. When we add to these calamities domestic slavery, upon which we have already dwelt, and the most complete and profound ignorance of all literature, of all arts and sciences which have no existence as indigenous productions, and have not yet been imported from abroad, it is as though there were a thick funeral pall over the land.

It has, however, been asserted that the ignorance is not such as we have described it. Mr. Pope Hennessy, who has recently been Governor of Sierra Leone, in an address which he delivered before the Society of Arts, and which embodies much useful statistical information concerning the British possessions on the West Coast of Africa, would lead those who peruse his statements to a somewhat opposite conclusion. He would seem to imply that there is in the interior of Africa, with which we are at present concerned, a thirst for learning, and considerable progress in it. When, however, his statements are scrutinized, they simply resolve themselves into this, that among the Mohammedan population in the interior there is some education, and that some of the Mohammedan priesthood can make some pretensions to Arabic learning. The young man at Sierra Leone, of whom he speaks as possessing a number of expensive books relating to Arabic literature, is, we believe, the Arabic translator to Government ; he is a very intelligent Mohammedan, and was formerly what would be termed in India Munshi to some of our Missionaries. We shall have occasion to revert to this subject hereafter, but we fail to perceive how the existence of learning, even if it were greater

than we believe it to be, among the Mohammedans who have from time immemorial been the oppressors of the negro, and who, when converted from among the negroes, have certainly done little "to strengthen their brethren," can be adduced as any evidence of learning or desire for learning among the negroes proper. As regards the vast mass of the genuine native population of "Nigritia," uninfluenced by the foreigner, and innocent of Asiatic creeds and Asiatic learning, our statement, we believe, holds good. Arabic is no more indigenous to Africa, and is no more "racy of the soil," than is English, although negroes may have more acquaintance with the one than with the other. It would carry us far beyond the limits of an article to detail at length the woes of Africa, arising from Mohammedan oppression, or to quote instances of the turbulent and unsettled state of the country, especially those portions of it still affected by foreign slave-trade carried on by the Arab.* We may feel thankful in believ-

* Since the foregoing was in type we have found, in Mr. Winwood Reade's "African Sketch Book," much confirming the views we have advanced. We need not, we trust, add that we differ from his opinions. He affirms that the slave-trade "has indirectly been the means of making us wealthier, happier and better men." (Vol. I. p. 225.) We dispute the proposition. But even he does not assert that it has made the *negro* wealthier, happier and better. It is, however, to his chapter on what he terms "Moslem Africa" that we would wish to direct attention. As Mr. Galton would hand over Africa to the Chinese, so Mr. Reade longs for the day when the Turks shall be driven out of Constantinople, and the Sultan establish his throne in Cairo, and Africa become a Mohammedan country. The Turks he looks on as our pioneers. In the course of his wanderings in Senegambia, he learnt a lesson on the history of Islam.

"I found that religion spreading in all directions, and producing an extraordinary revolution in the minds and manners of the blacks. I found mosques and schools, and the languages of the country written in Arabic characters, as English and French are written in Roman characters; and negroes reading the Koran, the 'Traditions of Mohammed,' the Psalms of David, and various Arabic works on law, grammar, history, and logic. When afterwards I pursued the subject in Caillié, Denham and Clapperton, Lander, Barth, and Mahammed el Tounsy, I found that Islam prevailed over an area of Negroland equal in extent to Europe, and was yearly, daily, hourly increasing; and that this extraordinary movement, though due in part to religious wars, had everywhere commenced in pure Missionary preaching, and may yet be observed under that aspect in many regions of the coast and the interior.

"When the Arabs invaded Africa, they did not merely settle on the coast. This people, accustomed to deserts, conquered the whole country; but they also added persuasion to force, recognized the Berbers as their kinsmen, declared them to be Arabs in their origin, and allured them to accept the Mission of the Prophet. The two races mingled, and thus the nation of the Moors was formed.

"Negro nations were speedily converted; crusades were waged against the Pagans; and negro Moslems, in turban and tobe, converted Pagan kingdoms, as the Arabs had converted Timbuctoo. Thus the work was continued from century to century, and thus it is still going on. In Cairo and Constantinople Islam may appear to be decaying; but in the heart of Africa it is young, vigorous, victorious, as in the early days.

"The negroes, under the influence of this religion, and its accompanying code of laws, appear to be an altered people. Restrictions are placed on polygamy and slavery; the position of the wife is elevated; drunkenness and gambling are abolished;* clusters of wretched huts have given place to walled towns, with municipal governments; and immense regions have been opened up to travel and to trade. A large part of the Soudan has, in fact, ceased to be African, and has become Asiatic. The inhabitants are black, but their laws, manners, and religion are no longer those of the negroes, but of the Arabs. Their minstrels are men who go about chanting verses of the Koran through the nose; their fetishmen are saintly adventurers, who travel from chief to chief, and from city to city, writing phylacteries and charms. Thousands of pious negroes make every year the pilgrimage to Mecca. Many perish on the road, and many return from the Holy City in a very unholy frame of mind."

We add an interesting account of Danfodio, who created the Fouta nation:—

"The other pilgrim created a nation. His name was Danfodio: he was a Fouta from Soudan. The Foutas are a people of Berber origin, and were driven by war across the Sahara into the country of the blacks. In some parts of the Soudan they are light-coloured, and their hair is long; in other parts they

* If Mr. W. Reade's statements are to be received implicitly, what must be the condition of the negro who has not been made an Asiatic?—[ED. C. M. I.]

ing that on the West Coast, since that most fearful of all evils has been put down, there has been some comparative restoration of peace and prosperity, and that towns and villages have sprung up in regions previously devastated by the demands of the slave dealer; but there must still be a large amount of insecurity to life and property while slavery flourishes in the interior, and slaves are an object of cupidity. In order to enable English readers to appreciate the formidable nature of this evil, which, like an internal ulcer, is devouring the heart of the country, we quote the following striking paragraphs from Governor Hennessy's address:—

It can now be truly said that one of the great objects for which the British Settlements were maintained has been accomplished—the oceanic slave trade is entirely gone. But though the slave trade across the Atlantic is extinct, African slavery, as a home trade, exists; and it must be admitted that to slave labour we owe our flourishing commerce with Africa. The whole of the produce shipped from Lagos is the result of slave labour. The same must be said of the Gold Coast and of the Gambia. With the exception of a little free labour employed in curing hides in Freetown, and one or two other trifling pursuits, the labour of domestic slaves produces all the exports of Sierra Leone.

Of the produce, valued at 1,050,237*l.*, shipped from the British Settlements in Africa in 1871, not more, perhaps, than one thousand pounds' worth is the result of exclusively free labour. Of the 17,882 ounces of gold-dust sent to England, probably not one ounce was obtained by free labour.

The European produce is carried from the coast into the interior by slaves. In 1871 the value of the produce so conveyed into Africa by slave labour must have exceeded 1,250,000*l.*

It is not unlikely that for some time to come the growth of our commerce with Africa will strengthen domestic slavery, instead of diminishing it, just as the material progress of Russia under Peter the Great

intensified the serfdom of Eastern Europe in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In one of his dispatches to Lord Clarendon, written in 1866, Dr. Livingstone says:—

"There is a sort of charm in the prospect of gradual amelioration of the state of slavery by the steady advance of trade and civilization; yet all experience proves the prospect to be delusive. It is in the patriarchal state alone that slavery is endurable. So long as that state continues there is little disparity between master and man. Each enjoys the general indolence; but, let society advance, artificial wants increase, and luxuries become necessities, the distance between owner and slave becomes proportionably widened. In fact, just as the love of gain is developed in the master, the lot of the slave becomes compulsory, and for the sole profit of the master; the interests of owner and slave diverge, and this divergence increases with every advance in trade, civilization, and luxury."

In the British Settlements domestic slaves, of course, are free; but in the neighbouring protectorates they are to be found in every house. Thousands of domestic slaves are to be seen every day in Lagos, coming and going on their owners' business. It very rarely happens that any of them sent to Lagos with produce elect to remain there against their masters' wishes.

resemble negroes, through repeated intermarriages with the females of the land. But however black they may appear, they call themselves white men, and look upon the natives with disdain.

"A hundred years ago they were, for the most part, a miserable people, herdsmen by occupation, occupying pastures by the favour of the native rulers, migrating from chiefdom to chiefdom, defenceless, and frequently ill-treated by the negroes. In this condition they may yet be seen in the upper regions of the Gambia, and are called by the English the gipsies of the country.

"Danfodio preached tenets similar to those of Abd-el-Wahab. He forbade the worship of saints, the practice of masses for the dead, and the undue veneration of the Prophet; but especially inveighed against the besetting sins of the Soudan—the unveiled faces of the women; the immodest dances and the music of the drum; the use of palm wine and millet beer; the writing of amulets and charms; the wearing of silk, scarlet, and gold; and the substitution of customary law for the Koran code. He sent letters to the kings of Timbuctoo, Haussa, and Bornou, commanding them to reform their lives and those of their subjects, or he would chastise them in the name of God. They received these letters from an unknown man, as the Persian king received the instructions of Mohammed, and their fate was the same. Danfodio united the scattered Fouta clans into an army, conquered the negroes far and wide, and established a mighty empire, the capital of which is Sockatoo. This empire is decaying, but the Foulahs or Felatals are rapidly extending their power in the Delta of the Niger."

When we also bear in mind that the chief return which England makes for the produce which she imports from Africa is gunpowder, fire-arms and spirits, which are the articles most eagerly sought for by the natives in the interior, we cannot wonder that Governor Hennessy, after reciting a long list of duties abolished by the new tariff which he has established, is able to congratulate the Society of Arts with the cheering intelligence that—

On the other hand, the increase of the duties on spirits (from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* a gallon), tobacco (from 1½*d.* to 4*d.* a lb.), and gunpowder (from 9*d.* to 2*s.* per barrel), has not apparently diminished the import or consumption of these articles. The consequence

is that, after meeting the large remissions of direct taxation, and providing for the reforms made in the other parts of the tariff, the additional increase from the duties on spirits, tobacco, and gunpowder has left a considerable surplus.

He adds that—

The new fiscal system in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast has shifted the incidence of taxation from the settlements to the consumers in the interior. Nearly all the revenue now collected in Sierra Leone is paid by tribes remote from the settlements, who consume the spirits and tobacco imported into Freetown,

and which are exchanged for native produce. The increased price of spirits and tobacco from the new duty is hardly felt by the great mass of the consumers, owing to the fact that the price increases beyond all proportion to the original cost of the articles as they are carried into the interior of the country.

With the oceanic slave trade English philanthropy was able to cope, and, with the blessing of God, finally to suppress it; but who shall remedy such a gigantic evil as this? For the present we can only note its existence, and must pass on; but, if any special proof were needed of the internal condition of Africa, the fact that spirits and gunpowder are nearly all that Africa cares to receive from us in return for her gold, ivory, cotton, palm oil, palm kernels, ground nuts, beni seed, shea butter, pepper, ginger, gum, tells its own most fearful tale. It is "to the genuine specimens of the negro race beyond the settlement" that these baleful imports go, and it is by them that they are consumed, and they consume one another to their own ruin.

We have thus come to the conclusion, not only that Africa has no past, but that the present internal condition of the country is, generally speaking, most deplorable. And yet its resources are great, and under favourable circumstances would be capable of almost indefinite extension. Our commerce with the Western Coast forms but a portion of our dealings with the continent. It has been conducted with that part of the country which only within a very recent period is recovering, and that slowly, from the desolation which for the space of three hundred years has been extended throughout the coast. A process of incessant depletion has been going on there, which has drained the country of its life-blood, and brought it to the brink of ruin. And yet, what is the testimony of the late Governor of Sierra Leone?—

I have made a summary of the trade returns of 1871, the last year for which they have been completed. It shows at a glance

the value of the commerce of the British Settlements.

	Imports.	Exports.	Vessels Entered.	Vessels Cleared	Tonnage Entered.	Tonnage Cleared.
	£	£				
Sierra Leone	305,849	467,755	411	409	110,646	110,919
Gold Coast	250,671	295,207	343	315	131,553	119,494
Gambia	102,064	153,100	229	211	51,853	47,997
Lagos	391,653	589,802	278	275	125,776	125,168
Totals	1,050,237	1,506,864	1,261	1,210	419,828	403,578

RECAPITULATION.

Imports . . .	£1,050,237
Exports . . .	1,505,864

Total commercial movement. £2,556,101

Thus, over 1200 vessels cleared and entered with cargoes exceeding two millions and a half in value.

These are the actual results of the year 1871. Since then two changes have been made, the effects of which are becoming already manifest—namely, the addition of the Dutch possessions in Guinea to the British Settlements, and the general revision of the tariffs, with a view of encouraging trade and shipping. Owing to these changes, I believe that the exports from her Majesty's West African Settlements will exceed £2,000,000 in 1873, and that the imports will reach £1,500,000, which would give a total commercial movement of £3,500,000.

The growth of the trade is seen by looking at the preceding table; for instance, in 1861, the total value of imports and exports was £1,258,280, just half what it became ten years later—that is, £2,556,101 in 1871.

We hear a good deal of the rapid improvement in Jamaica, yet there the total imports and exports in 1861 amounted to £2,304,096, and in the subsequent ten years they had only increased to £2,527,716.

And as the material resources of the country are great, so do we also believe that the natural capacity of the negro is great. If there had not been in him very considerable force of character, he would long since have been brutalized under the multitude of oppressions and wrongs which he has endured. But, so far from this being the case, he comes forward in Europe and in America, and displays a power of acquiring knowledge and exercising influence, furnishing significant evidence that God has not withheld from him the powers with which He has gifted the Asiatic and the European. It is from no inherent natural defect that he has not played a more important part in the history of the world. From the circumstances in which he has been placed, he has been deprived of all adventitious advantages, and is the last comer in the civilized world. It may be convenient, then, to review what have at various periods been the extraneous influences which have been brought to bear upon him, and from which he might have, and has, in some measure, gathered ideas and information concerning the world beyond his shores.

At the head of these must be placed Mohammedanism. In popular fancy the influence of Mohammedanism upon Africa is of recent date. This, however, is a serious error. For a thousand years, at least, the Mohammedan conqueror has at the point of the sword inculcated his belief, and introduced his manners and customs throughout the continent of Africa. In other lands he met with serious opposition, and even where he prevailed it was not without a struggle. But in Africa there was no organized system of belief which could proffer effectual resistance. When, moreover, we consider that domestic slavery and polygamy are institutions most agreeable to the Koran, there was no antagonism to surmount in the prejudices of the people. Nor did any equal or superior creed from without urge conflicting claims. As compared with the superstitions of Africa, the religion

To put it in another form—whilst the total commercial movements of Jamaica were, ten years ago, double that of the West African Settlements, and they have both gone on increasing since then, the commerce of the latter has grown so rapidly that it now exceeds the commerce of Jamaica. At this rate, many years will not pass before it outstrips the commerce of the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon. But between the commerce of West Africa and that of such colonies there is an important distinction. Jamaica and the other settlements I have mentioned are *producing* colonies, whereas the settlements on the West Coast of Africa are merely our *entrepôts* of trade with the interior. They collect commerce, but produce nothing themselves; they hold, with respect to Africa, the same relation that the early settlements of the East India Company at Calcutta and Madras held, many years ago, to the then but little known interior of Hindostan.

Can we push the comparison further? Can we hope to see an African empire as rich and prosperous, and contributing as largely to the commercial wealth of England, as her Majesty's empire in the East? From what I have seen of the negro race, I believe such a result is possible; but to accomplish it, great changes must be made in our system of dealing with the native chiefs and people.

of the Koran is exalted and ennobling. That it should have extended itself widely is therefore not a marvel; on the contrary, it might at first sight seem marvellous that, under such conditions, it should not have become well-nigh the universal religion of the land, in which it alone had a creed, a code, a literature, and science. And yet there has been hostility to the creed of Mohammed which has undeniably been manifested among many of the tribes of Africa so as effectually to resist its introduction among them. This, no doubt, has sprung from the fact that it has allied itself with the system of slavery which, even though universally practised within the country, and is therefore so far congenial with African feeling, yet revolts against foreign slavery. We know not to what other cause to assign opposition to it, for Mohammedanism in Africa at any rate lends itself readily to a compromise with native superstition. Women even go about the streets unveiled. The Jalof, the Mandingo, the Fulah, professes Mohammedanism, but abandons none of the rites of Paganism; his belief in witchcraft and in Mumbo-Jumbo is as lively as that of his heathen neighbour. It might be a fair question to ask what, during a thousand years, Mohammedanism has done for the enlightenment or the civilization or the moral regeneration of Africa. Which of the abuses prevalent in it has it put down? What demoralizing custom has it checked? We feel assured that it would be impossible to point to any. So far from this being the case, it has infused fresh life and vigour into the worst evils which are the bane of her people. There can be no true well-wisher to Africa who would not heartily re-echo the wish expressed by Canning concerning Turkey that the Mohammedan nuisance ought to be abated, and no one could inflict a more serious injury upon the land than he who would do aught to stimulate its progress. No true African patriot should hold terms with a system which has intensified the woes under which his country labours, and has perpetuated and extended them to her ruin.

When we bear in mind what is the teaching of the Koran, and the means by which it has been unceasingly imposed upon mankind, we confess no small astonishment to find any person holding the position which Mr. Pope Hennessy did in Sierra Leone, lending under any pretext, and with any conceivable motive, sanction to such doctrines, and placing a sword in the hands of those who profess them. We live in times when such astonishing things happen that perhaps nothing ought to startle any one who even reads a newspaper. But when we peruse the account of Mr. Pope Hennessy, her Majesty's representative in Western Africa, presenting a sword to a Mohammedan chief, our amazement cannot be concealed. The following is an extract from the *Negro* of March 19, giving an account of this significant transaction:—

On the 7th instant, Lieut. Stoker and Assistant Commissary Blissett were despatched by his Excellency Major Bravo to Kambia, for the purpose of presenting a beautiful sword and belt, which, on his departure from this settlement, his Excellency Governor Pope Hennessy requested might be forwarded to Alimami Al-Hay, King of Rowoolah.

On an illuminated scroll bearing the crest and motto (Knight of Malta) of Governor Hennessy are inscribed the following words:

"His Excellency, the officer commanding her Majesty's troops on the West Coast of Africa, and the administrator of Sierra Leone, was requested by his Excellency Governor Pope Hennessy to forward by the

hands of two trusty officers to his friend Alimami Al-Hay, King of Rowoolah, a sword and belt, which the Governor wishes the king to accept as a parting gift and lasting remembrance of his visit to the king's and other Mohammedan countries in the vicinity of Sierra Leone.

"In presenting this sword the Governor stated that he was confident the King of Rowoolah would only draw it in a just cause—never against any of her Majesty's subjects.

"ALEX. BRAVO.

"Government House,

"Sierra Leone, March 6, 1873."

We have no doubt that this handsome present, together with the manner in which it has been sent to the distinguished Moham-

medan chief, will be taken by the Mohammedan people as a tangible proof of the sincerity of the Governor's friendship to them.

We are glad to find that Lient. Stoker and Assistant Commissary Blissett were selected

to carry out this interesting mission—both officers being so well qualified to perform a graceful office. They will be remembered as having recently so largely contributed by their accomplishments to entertain and enliven the inhabitants of our dull city.

Our readers will observe with regret, as we did, that the *Negro* has no word of condemnation for such an act. The paragraph which precedes it tells of the march of the Ashantees; of the slaughter of unoffending men, women and children. "They know," it says, "no pleasure till they are able to cover their paths with blood." Curiously enough, Mr. Pope Hennessy had himself revised the prayer heretofore in use in the churches of the settlements, and had expunged from it the following paragraph: "And grant that he may use the *sword* which our Sovereign Lady the Queen hath committed to his hand for the punishment of evil doers," &c. The Editor of the *Negro* explains "the fortunate accident," as some would call it, by which the sword was sheathed. Why he should have transferred to a Mohammedan chief the sword which he felt reluctant to wield himself is one of those inconsistencies in human nature which confound us at every turn. But something more astonishing remains behind. In lieu of it he had substituted the following: "And grant that he may discharge the *sacred trust* which our Sovereign Lady the Queen hath committed to his care with judgment and justice, for the *advancement of the negro race in Thy religion, in learning and industry.*" As a comment upon this we are further informed of the presentation of—a Bible? or even of a crucifix? to a Mohammedan chief. No; of a Koran! We must confess to some indignation at the prostitution of the majesty and authority of our gracious Queen in the act of her representative conferring such gifts while clothed for a brief season in her authority. Such fantastic tricks deserve the most severe reprobation from every Christian man, and in this case peculiarly from every well-wisher to Africa, upon which the hoof of the Mohammedan oppressor has for so many centuries relentlessly trampled.

Is it a conceivable hypothesis that Mr. Pope Hennessy, who is, we believe, a pervert to Romanism, imagines that the religion of Mohammed is the religion of God? In such a matter the new teachers whom he has selected could have set him to rights, or ought to do so.

With such strange fancies, we shrink from calling them sympathies, it is no wonder that Mr. Hennessy should have "written to the Queen's Government suggesting a scheme of education where Mohammedans and others not Christians could be educated," and that throughout his address to the Society of Arts Mohammedan learning, Mohammedan "simplicity and faith," Mohammedan culture, and the Mohammedan clergy should be the theme of his panegyric. If homœopathic treatment is to be the remedy for the Mohammedan disease in Africa, we can only trust that the doses administered shall be infinitesimally small. No amount of teaching of the Koran, no increased acquaintance with Arabic literature and science, so far as there is any, will heal her wounds. If the intellect of Africa were a sheet of virgin paper, covering it with Arabian scrolls would only serve to mar and to disfigure it. Foolish superstitions, false creeds, and oppositions of science, falsely so called, can at best be but a substitution, hardly an improvement, upon what now obtains in the negro mind.

The next extraneous influence which has sought to make impression upon Africa has been Romanism. The efforts made by the Church of Rome at various times for the conversion of Africa have been most conspicuous. It would be impossible here even to allude to them all. But there is one common destiny which has overtaken them all alike. They have all been portentous failures. The most important attempt was the

mission to the kingdom of Kongo, where for two hundred years the Church of Rome laboured with the most unceasing devotion, backed up by the most hearty support of the Portuguese authorities, for the conversion of the negroes. St. James himself was distinctly seen fighting for the Christians in the ranks of their armies, for Rome has a sword as well as Mohammed. "In the course of fifteen or twenty years the entire population of Kongo was gathered into the pale of the Roman Catholic Church." The crown worn by the kings of Kongo was bestowed upon them by the Pope as a testimony of their loyalty. Before, however, the close of the eighteenth century, not only all former civilization, but almost every trace of Christianity had disappeared from the land, and the whole country had fallen into the deepest ignorance and heathenism, and into greater weakness and poverty than had ever been experienced even before its discovery.

"Captain Tuckey, who was sent by the English Government in 1816 to explore the Kongo River, states that three years previously some Missionaries had been murdered in Sogno, and that a Portuguese pinnace had been cut off by the natives at the same time. Who these Missionaries were, or how many there were, we do not know, but they were no doubt agents of the *de Propaganda Fide*. During his sojourn in the country he found no traces of Catholicism except a few crucifixes and relics strangely mixed up with the charms and fetishes of the country, which were no doubt distributed by Portuguese slave-traders, who still frequented the river. One man introduced himself on board as a priest, and said he had a diploma from the College of Capuchins at Angola, but was without education and so ignorant of the usages of the Church which he represented, that he unblushingly acknowledged that he had a wife and five concubines. At the present time not even these fragments of Romanism can be found, except it be the crucifixes and pictures which the Portuguese and Spanish slave-holders still continue to distribute; and so far as civilization, order, and industry are concerned, we scarcely know another community on the whole coast of Africa that will not compare to advantage with the poor miserable and degraded inhabitants to be found along the banks of the Kongo." *

The picture given by the author from whom we have quoted, which he has derived from the Romish historians and the narratives of their Missionaries, is most remarkable. Paganism was interdicted by law. Probably at certain periods there was not an adult who had not in infancy or at a later period been baptized. Father Merolla mentions at least one hundred Missionaries, among whom were Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Augustinians, Bernardines, Carmelites, and almost every other order. There were probably one hundred consecrated churches. To such abject submission had the chiefs been reduced, that the most powerful of them all, "the Count of Sogno, had been made to do penance in the midst of his courtiers, prostrated at the church door clothed in sackcloth, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a rope about his neck." † Some of the most learned and able men Rome ever sent forth to the Pagan world were employed on this Mission. The sword of Portugal and the treasures of Portugal were employed without stint or scruple. To what, then, is the extinction of Romanism to be ascribed? Mr. Wilson, after passing in review the decline of Portuguese power and the insalubrity of the climate, unhesitatingly declares his conviction that it was mainly "to the countenance which was always extended to the foreign slave trade" that it was mainly due. As he justly observes, where this exists "there can be no order, no morality, and no sound religion whatever." He notes, too, the superficial character of the conversions made:—

"Father Carli states that during his residence in Bamba he seldom baptized less than eight or ten children a day, and not unfrequently fifteen or twenty. During a residence of two years he baptized 2700. One Missionary in Chiova-chianza is reported to have bap-

* Wilson's "Africa," p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 329.

tized 5000 children in a few days. Another Missionary baptized 12,000 persons in Sogmo in less than a year. Father Merolla states that he had baptized as many as 272 in one day, and in less than five years he had baptized more than 18,000. He mentions the case of a brother Missionary who had baptized 58,000, and of another who, during a residence of twenty years, had baptized more than 100,000.*

He also points out how superstition was supplanted by superstition, and how pretended miracles were wrought. "At the approach of the Missionaries devils fled; trees withered away at their rebuke; the rain descended or held back; sorcerers fell down dead at their feet in consequence of taking a false oath upon the mass-book," and so on. Upon this he justly observes:—

"The negro feels that in energy of character, in scope of understanding, in the exercise of mechanical skill, he is hopelessly distanced by the white man. Any suggestions of rivalry here never fail to provoke his unbounded mirth. But whenever you enter the precincts of the unknown and the mysterious, the realms where the imagination alone can travel, there is no place where he feels more at home, and the endless variety of fantastic images which he brings forth from these mysterious regions shows that here he has no rival. The Missionaries, therefore, when they addressed themselves to the task of working miracles, little knew how egregiously they were to be outstripped, and perhaps they could not possibly have adopted any course which would more certainly bring themselves and their religion into contempt."†

We have already noticed the humiliating penance to which the Count of Sogno was exposed. "The slightest deviation from the prescribed rules of the Church was punished by public flogging, and it was not uncommon for females, and even mothers, to be stripped and whipped in public." A Father Superior got into serious trouble with a chief for boxing his ears because he had expressed doubts about the efficacy of baptismal regeneration. When Portugal could no longer uphold the Mission as of old, the retribution for these acts of wanton tyranny was stern and awful.

"In the province of Bamba, once one of the strongest holds of Christianity, six Capuchin Missionaries were poisoned at one time, and an unsuccessful attempt of the same kind was made upon the life of another Missionary who was sent there to get the effects of the deceased brethren. Philip de Salesia, another of the Missionary brotherhood, fell into the hands of banditti in the character of sorcerers, and by them was killed and devoured. Father Joseph Maria de Sestu was poisoned, and Merolla himself was brought to the verge of the grave in the same way. Indeed, the apprehensions of the Missionaries became so excited in this way, that they seldom travelled without having an antidote for poison."‡

With little variation the history of Romish Missions throughout Africa is identical. Except in spots which are the seats of French or Portuguese Governments no trace of their religion worth consideration can be found. No impression, then, has been produced by Rome on Africa, either in the way of Christianity or of civilization.

The third attempt to influence Africa has been through the intervention of Protestant Missions. While Mohammedanism has been for a thousand years without intermission in the field, and Romanism has during three hundred years exerted itself with various degrees of energy, seventy years have barely elapsed since the first Protestant Missionary landed in West Africa. Sixty years, however, may be reckoned as the real period of Protestant Missionary labour there. We have no intention of recalling the history of efforts which have so far been crowned with success that there has been formed the nucleus of a self-supporting independent Native Church, which has already proved itself a fruitful bough, whose branches run over the wall. Men not counting their lives dear

* Wilson's "Africa," p. 337.

† Ibid. p. 343.

‡ Ibid. p. 345.

unto themselves have yielded them up freely for the sake of Africa. They spared neither pains nor cost to Christianize and to civilize the victims of most cruel oppression who were committed to their charge. When slaver after slaver was reluctantly compelled to discharge her freight on the shores of Sierra Leone, had the question been asked, "Can these bones live?" the only answer which man could have given would have been, "O Lord God, Thou knowest." But a message had come into the ears and into the hearts of those who stood among them, "Prophecy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord!" In obedience to the command they did so, and have persevered in doing so till the breath has come into them, and they live and stand upon their feet in what was once as the valley of the shadow of death. All men in Sierra Leone, as elsewhere, have not faith; as in other parts of the world there are many in the Church there of whom it might be said as St. Paul said of the Philippians, that their pastors would tell of them with weeping, "that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things;" but, on the other hand, there are among them devout and exemplary Christians who adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things, to whom "our Gospel came not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance." In holy living, in intelligent apprehension of the truths of the Bible, they have manifested that the grace of God has been as effectual in them as in the European. As a result of the awakening in them of a spiritual and moral consciousness, there has also been a remarkable development of usefulness; and able men in the various walks of life have proved the fact that the negro has powers of mind which place him on a level, so far as inherent capacity is concerned, with the European or the Asiatic. Whatever may have been the past of Africa or the present of Africa, when we look to what, under many most unfavourable circumstances, has been the progress of her sons, there seems no reason for questioning the possibility, or rather the extreme probability, that Africa has a future.

It is to the consideration of that future that we will now turn our attention. What, then, are the various panaceas propounded? One of the last suggestions may fairly claim precedence. It has been propounded by Captain Francis Galton, of whom the *Times* says that he "is an accomplished writer and an experienced traveller. He knows Africa as few men know it, and he is qualified to take an accurate measure of the black man and his capacities." We would wish our African friends to take careful note of what scientific men would propose for their future. However able a writer Captain Galton may be, and however accomplished a traveller, we have never heard of his identification with Protestant Missions, or indeed with any effort for the amelioration or exaltation of the negro. He fairly represents, backed as he is by the authority of the *Times*, the views which men, imbued by secularity as contrasted with religion, entertain concerning the African race. It must be for the negro to consider how far such patronage is reliable, and likely to advance his prosperity. We extract from Captain Galton's letter sufficient to explain his views without reproducing what he says upon the qualifications of the Chinese—this being foreign to our purpose.

My proposal is to make the encouragement of Chinese settlements at one or more suitable places on the East Coast of Africa a part of our national policy, in the belief that the Chinese immigrants would not only maintain their position, but that they would multiply, and their descendants supplant the inferior negro race. I should expect that a large part of the African seaboard, now sparsely occupied by lazy, palavering savages,

living under the nominal sovereignty of Zanzibar, or Portugal, might in a few years be tenanted by industrious, order-loving Chinese, living either as a semi-detached dependency of China, or else in perfect freedom under their own laws. In the latter case their position would be similar to that of the inhabitants of Liberia, in West Africa, the territory of which was purchased fifty years ago, and set apart as an independent

state for the reception of freed negroes from America.

The opinion of the public upon the real worth of the negro race has halted between the extreme views which have been long and loudly proclaimed. It refuses to follow those of the early abolitionists, that all the barbarities in Africa are to be traced to the effects of a foreign slave trade, because travellers continually speak of similar barbarities existing in regions to which the trade has not penetrated. Captain Colomb has written a well-argued chapter on this matter, in his recent volume. On the other hand, the opinion of the present day repudiates the belief that the negro is an extremely inferior being, because there are notorious instances of negroes possessing high intelligence and culture, some of whom acquire large fortunes in commerce, and others become considerable men in other walks of life. The truth appears to be that individuals of the mental calibre I have just described are much more exceptional in the negro than in the Anglo-Saxon race, and that average negroes possess too little intellect, self-reliance, and self-control to make it possible for them to sustain the burden of any respectable form of civilization without a large measure of external guidance and support.

Of all known varieties of mankind there is none so appropriate as the Chinaman to become the future occupant of the enormous regions which lie between the tropics, whose extent is far more vast than it appears, from the cramped manner in which those latitudes are pictured in the ordinary maps of the world. But take a globe and examine it, and consider the huge but poorly-peopled bulk of Africa, by whose side the areas of India and of China look insignificant, and think what a

field lies there for the development of a suitable race. The Hindu cannot fulfil the required conditions nearly so well as the Chinaman, for he is inferior to him in strength, industry, aptitude for saving, business habits, and prolific power. The Arab is little more than an eater up of other men's produce; he is a destroyer rather than a creator, and he is unprolific.

The history of the world tells a tale of the continual displacement of populations, each by a worthier successor, and humanity gains thereby. We ourselves are no descendants of the aborigines of Britain, and our colonists were invaders of the regions they now occupy as their lawful home. But the countries into which the Anglo-Saxon race can be transfused are restricted to those where the climate is temperate. The tropics are not for us, to inhabit permanently; the greater part of Africa is the heritage of people differently constituted to ourselves. On that continent, as elsewhere, one population continually drives out another. Consider its history as it extends over successive centuries. We note how Arab, Tuarick, Fellatah, negroes of uncounted varieties, Caffre, and Hottentot surge and reel to and fro in the struggle for existence. It is into this free fight among all present that I wish to see a new competitor introduced—namely, the Chinaman. The gain would be immense to the whole civilized world if we were to outbreed and finally displace the negro, as completely as the latter has displaced the aborigines of the West Indies. The magnitude of the gain may be partly estimated by making the converse supposition—namely, the loss that would ensue if China were somehow to be depopulated and restocked by negroes.

Upon this the *Times** remarks that "very wisely has our correspondent this morning selected them for the future owners of Africa." Our great contemporary further observes that "there would be an advantage in getting a Continent full of industrious, ingenious, independent, and self-supporting inhabitants, instead of a territory thinly stocked with fierce barbarians, inveterate man-stealers, or 'lazy, palavering savages.'" Upon the general question he moralizes as follows:—

Of course this process would not be long confined to the East Coast of the Continent. Once settled on the soil, the hardy and prolific Chinese would people tract after tract of what is now vacant or half-inhabited territory, and in the end "the gain would be immense to the whole civilized world if we were to outbreed and finally displace the negro as completely as the latter has dis-

placed the aborigines of the West Indies." There! The reader, if his breath is not taken away, may now say what he thinks of this transformation of a whole quarter of the globe.

Some steps of the argument may undoubtedly be conceded. China can spare the people. It could part with 100,000,000 of its inhabitants and never miss them, or miss

* June 5, 1873.

them only to the advantage and satisfaction of the rest. In a country not half the size of Brazil—we speak of China proper—there are now packed at least 350 millions of human creatures; nor could anything, indeed, short of the marvellous thrift and patience of the Chinaman resist the pressure of such a population on the soil. On the other side, Africa can find room for the invaders. Enough, at any rate, is known of its interior to convince us that it is half, or more than half, empty, and that “enormous regions”—more enormous, as our correspondent suggests, than we imagine—are available for immigration and settlement. We must admit, too, that if the Chinaman is to be contrasted with the negro, he shows to incontestable advantage. He is, we believe, all that he is here described as being, and there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that his development would be stimulated and facilitated by removal to a free and open settlement. It is true, also, that the world's history is full of the “displacement of populations,” and that race after race has been almost everywhere supplanted by something fitter and better than itself. In India the discoveries of this kind are marvellous. We can hardly find such a thing as an aboriginal or earthborn people. In the rudest hill tribes or forest clans there are remnants of a population still ruder and older, whose position and occupation indicate

a conquered class. So we can well understand how wave after wave of population may have swept over Africa, and go on to persuade ourselves that the process may be repeated once more without violence to the order of nature.

Having arrived, however, at this stage of the question, we are disposed to think the difficulties of the prospect more considerable than they appear to our sanguine correspondent. Certainly, there is no reason why any “national jealousy” should be excited by our proceedings, but we are not prepared to say that such sentiments would be altogether wanting. Then, on whose land are we to place these colonists? It is acknowledged that a “political effort” might be necessary to secure a “free right of occupancy and settlement,” and, considering that the occupancy and settlement are designed to lead to the appropriation of the entire soil, we should think the effort must be rather a strong one. No doubt all outsiders “commercially interested in those parts” might be benefited by the results, but how about the present occupants themselves? There are certain old friends of ours associated for “aborigines’ protection” purposes who would, we should fancy, have a word to say to this scheme for extirpating outright the entire breed of their most favoured clients.

In plain English this means that although scientific travellers, secular educationists, political economists, philosophical *doctrinaires* might be perfectly ready to displace the negro by the Chinese without the slightest consideration or pity for the extinction of the possessors of the soil, Christian philanthropists might yet strenuously resist such an attempt at augmenting the “free fight” already going on in Africa by adding to the number of the combatants, and extinguishing the negro so that his place should know him no more. Truly the tender mercies of science and political economy are cruel. We do not wonder that Christian England and her noble Missionary Societies might have “a word to say” before such a scheme were brought to pass. At any rate, it is something for the negro to know what “the world” has in store for Africa. Formerly it drained her life-blood by the cruelties of the slave trade; now it would extinguish her people in the interests of commerce, and for the gain of the civilized world.

Of a different school, apparently, is the propounder of another remedial measure for the woes of Africa. Mr. Pope Hennessy is a warm enthusiast for the negro. In direct antagonism with Captain Galton, he asserts—

The many millions of negroes in the interior constitute a race which, as Dr. Livingstone truly says, is indestructible. He describes their many good qualities. From my own experience of the negroes in the interior, I can testify that they possess natural ability, a love of knowledge, a capacity for culture, a

taste for music and poetry, a generous and hospitable disposition, patience and even cheerfulness under long-suffering, gratitude, truthfulness, honesty in their dealings, and a strong domestic love. In two respects they differ from some of the leading people in Europe—they are very ignorant of the art of

war, and they have a child-like capacity for religious faith. These are simple qualities, but who will say they do not contain some elements of future greatness—elements that may yet be developed into a vast, peaceful, prosperous, and independent African Empire?

The remedy he propounds, so far as we can gather it from various incidental statements in the columns of the *Negro*, is the establishment of an university in Sierra Leone, conducted by earnest and well-educated negro instructors. Such an experiment, unless the university were to be like the University of London—a mere examining university to confer degrees without instructing, and undertaking the moral training of the students—in the present condition of Africa an absurdity—would be a very costly experiment. Assuming that really able negro professors of science and literature could be introduced from America and the West Indies—a point yet to be ascertained—probably at least 5000*l.* per annum would have to be appropriated from the resources of the colony for such an institution, even upon the most economical scale. In Sierra Leone an intelligent clerk or writer in a mercantile house or a Government office, who can write a fair hand, is skilled in ordinary arithmetic and book-keeping, and has character and respectability to boot, can earn 200*l.* or 250*l.* per annum. It seems absurd, then, to suppose that really learned men could be transplanted from America unless double the amount at least were offered as salary. If Europeans, possessing the requisite qualifications, were to be sought, the cost of the university would be nearly doubled. But, even if it were to be established, what would be the character of it? Mr. Pope Hennessy is himself a devout Romanist, and might therefore be supposed to be thoroughly hostile to any institution which had not religion for its “*primum mobile* ;” but his undisguised admiration for Mohammedanism is such, and his interest in Mohammedans apparently so great, that although he would hardly, we imagine, be prepared to go the length of erecting a Madrisa in Sierra Leone, yet the only other alternative is a secular institution, from which, we suppose, in the interest of his favourite clients, not only theology, but law, modern history and moral philosophy would have, of necessity, to be eliminated, as suggested by Mr. Gladstone in Ireland. What views, for instance, would have to be inculcated in such an institution on Mohammedan students upon such delicate topics as slavery and polygamy? Those of the Koran, or those of the New Testament? Would King Docemo, or Bey Mauro, or Bey Inca (“*Journal of the Society of Arts*,” p. 444), like to have their sons sent home to them with new lights which would probably lead them “to assist in rooting out the heathen [or Mohammedan—Ed. C.M.I.] customs of their fathers”?

The truth is, that such an institution would be in the last degree visionary and impracticable, unless we assume Mohammedanism to be beneficial to Africa, and therefore to be upheld and promoted, instead of being the corroding ulcer which is gnawing out her very vitals. An university, constituted on a distinct Christian basis, which would raise up and send forth intelligent students, well skilled in controversial theology, and able to expose the spurious theology, the false morality, the cruel law, the deadly errors of the Koran, would be, if practicable, a very different affair. Such an institution might, if called into existence, and officered by really capable men, filled with the Spirit of Christ, and therefore true patriots, be a real boon to Africa. But this can hardly be what Governor Hennessy means. Meanwhile, an university without chairs on theology or law, or modern history, or moral philosophy, or obligations on students to attend such lectures, so as to preserve religious neutrality, would seem to be little better than a mockery, and would certainly be a misnomer.

We grant that it would be quite possible to set on foot a respectable educational establishment in the colony of a humbler character, in which many useful branches of knowledge might be taught; and this again might in its way be a boon. It could be

constituted so as to avoid much of the expense and most of the absurd complications we have suggested; but this would hardly satisfy the more ambitious propositions of Mr. Pope Hennessy. And yet we question how far, for many years to come, the sons of native chiefs outside Sierra Leone, with here and there a most rare exception, would be prepared to derive real benefit even from the humbler alternative. They would require much preliminary training which they have not yet had. For them, as distinguished from those who have been trained in Sierra Leone, substantial elementary schools would preferably be needed for some time to come.

There yet remains for consideration the third panacea for the ills of Africa; we mean the wide extension and earnest promotion of Protestant Christianity through the medium of an open Bible, the truths of which shall be faithfully and fully proclaimed to all the negro race. There are multitudes of Christians in England, and we trust also in Africa, who have no doubt or misgiving whatsoever that herein is the true remedy for all the calamities of the land. They would accept this as an incontrovertible fact, and it would be waste of time to urge arguments enforcing a truth of which they are already convinced: but all do not admit this. Are, however, heathenism and superstition ills under which Africa is labouring, paralyzing her energies, and distracting her children with false terrors? The plain specific for them is the truth as it is in Jesus. Is domestic slavery an evil, inconsistent with moral regeneration, stunting the intellect, keeping masses in a state of barbarism, little superior to the state of the beasts which perish? Such a system, so inveterate in the land, can only be eradicated with much pains and after a long time; but until it is eradicated the negro will be inferior to his fellow-men. What other remedy is there for this than Christianity, which would have all men free, not only in body, but in soul also? Has Mohammedanism been for more than a thousand years the bane of Africa, fostering all her evil institutions, and decimating her children by furnishing the great slave dealers of the country? Christianity alone has effectually confronted the teaching of Islam; and the more pure the form of Christianity, the more effectual it is to confute and withstand this potent delusion. Are wars and chronic feuds to be suppressed? Is public opinion to be crushed? Is the decrease of the population to be arrested? Is ignorance to be dispelled? Is mutual confidence to be established among the tribes? Is self-respect to be inculcated and encouraged? To all these questions we deem there can be but one answer. While we sorrowfully admit how little comparatively, while lusts war in men's members, still exist, wars and fightings have been put an end to, the mitigation of such evils still has been Christianity. It is the freedom and enlightenment of Protestant Christianity which in Europe has created public opinion, which has upheld chastity, which has dispelled ignorance, and has created mutual confidence, since it has held truth in honour. What has been effectual in Europe will not lose its virtue, we believe, in Africa.

But, it may be urged, such has not been the result in Sierra Leone, nor have these effects been produced throughout Western Africa. We can afford to admit that there is some truth in this. Neither the religious, nor the moral, nor the intellectual progress has been all that the friends of Africa could desire. There are still many evils existing in Sierra Leone. There are tares and weeds in that which is the seed-plot of Christianity for Africa. Friends and enemies have noted these—some in a kindly, some in a hostile, spirit. We prefer quoting the plain-spoken animadversions of friends. In his primary charge the Bishop of Sierra Leone notes that "whilst the number of registered births in the city was 430, as many as 283—being 65 per cent. of the whole—were illegitimate." Governor Hennessy comments on the "indisposition of the young men to take to agriculture or any sort of manufactures for earning their bread," which has also been noticed by Sir Arthur Kennedy. The want of a Missionary spirit is also noticed by Governor

Hennessy. Intelligent and accomplished natives, who have the welfare of their fellow-countrymen at heart, with whom we have conversed, deplore the lack of independent spirit which would lead the negro to value himself because he is a negro, and which tempts him often into a foolish and extravagant imitation of European customs and manners and dress to the deterioration of self-respect and to the contempt of what is native because it is native. The comments of enemies of the negro race have been far more caustic and severe, but the bitter and hostile spirit in which they are conceived, and the contempt for the negro as an inferior being which they display, induce us to pass them over unnoticed. The result of the evils which we have enumerated, combined with other causes which we shall advert to, have, it is said, rendered the Sierra Leone man inferior in some respects to the African of the interior, both in point of physical constitution and also in individuality and self-respect. It is argued, moreover, that, "in the work of elevating the African, his native instincts have not been respected; the effort has been made to Europeanize him; in the process of his education he has received a serious injury; his race instincts have been impaired, and his mind has been twisted and turned from its proper channel." * It is of importance that we should offer some comments upon a condition of things, where, on the testimony of friends to the negro race, amelioration is needed. It may be convenient in doing so to give precedence to that which we have just quoted, which would imply that there have been mistakes made on the part of governments and Missionary Societies in dealing with the liberated Africans who form the bulk of the native population of Sierra Leone. Now it is highly possible that, in the execution of so difficult a task as was before them, the early Missionaries and administrators may have made mistakes; they neither possessed nor preferred claims to infallibility. But what were they to do? It was not the prime of the African race which was handed over to their charge. The testimony of Mr. R. Clark, assistant-surgeon at Sierra Leone, might be quoted on this point. It will be found at p. xxxiv. of Walker's "Church Mission in Sierra Leone," but it is too revolting and distressing to find a place here. We can venture only on a sentence or two:—"The expression of the countenance indicates suffering, moral and physical, of the most profound and agonizing nature. Occasionally among the newly-arrived group, all sense of suffering is found to be merged in melancholic or raving madness." The whole extract reads as if from the "Inferno" of Dante. That from such masses of human wretchedness an intelligent population, comprising amongst its members men of character, ability, and enterprise, has been created is no small testimony of successful labour. But, it may be asked, Why Europeanize them? The answer might be, What else could even be done? We have already shown that Africa has no past. How, then, were race instincts to be respected which either had no existence or which were fatal and soul-destroying to the negro? Few have spoken in higher terms of the natural talents and mental capacities of the negro, or of the "features of great beauty and strong attractiveness" discoverable in the negro countenance, than Dr. Koelle, who studied their languages, appreciated the wit of their proverbs, and listened with interest to their tales and romances. But what is his testimony?

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that Africa is an uncivilized country, and that consequently many innate talents of its inhabitants have remained for a long time dormant, and can be only gradually aroused by the agency of the Christian religion and a Christian civilization. But

even with regard to civilization, or rather the want of it, some difference must be made. The empire of Bornu, and some Phula states have a kind of semi-civilization, below which there are many shades to the very lowest, viz., to that state of savageness which, in some countries, allows only one sex, and in

* Governor Pope Hennessy, *Negro*, Jan. 1, 1873.

others both, to be entirely naked, and even down to cannibalism. The religion of such people can easily be imagined: it is a cruel, a soul-destroying religion. Some men in Sierra Leone may tell you that they have often, on one occasion, seen scores of human beings sacrificed to their sanguinary deities; others may say that in their homes the alligator, the leopard, the hyena, or different kinds of serpents, are fed as gods by the hand

of priests; and others, again, may assert, "In our home we have neither priest nor worship, neither idol nor greegree, neither altar nor sacrifice: we eat, and drink, and sleep, and fight, and beyond this we know nothing."

These are the materials of which the population of Sierra Leone is composed: such they have been, and such still are their countrymen in the interior.

If the negro was to be exalted in the scale of nations, was all this to be respected, or was it at all cost to be got rid of? Again he remarks, "In most parts of Africa clothes are far too sparingly used for the sake of propriety. In some countries the women cover themselves only with leaves or a handful of twigs, and in others both sexes live in a state of absolute nudity." Without embarking in the speculations of Mr. Carlyle in his "Sartor Resartus," it would not have been easy for the Missionaries to have respected native instincts in this particular. Clothing was necessary for persons landed from slave-ships in a state of absolute nudity, for even the small strip of cloth, the slave's last property, was thrown overboard when he put foot on the slave-ship. There being no prevalent system of clothing in the country, it was natural that the Missionaries should clothe the liberated Africans as themselves. Probably an Asiatic costume might have been preferable in such a climate to an European, but neither of the two was indigeneous to Africa. So, again, where there was an absence of all written language, all native literature, and "a truly Babylonian confusion of tongues," how were men and women to be taught, and what were they to be taught? To teach English was a necessity, if in any shape or way, science, literature, moral or religious truth were to be communicated to those who had nothing but proverbs, tales, and romances, in all sorts of confusing dialects, as the sole pabulum of their intellects. But, it may be said, Why were they not taught Aristotle and Plato? It would be fair to reply that Aristotle and Plato have as little to do with native instincts as Bacon and Cudworth; that "*Les Séances de Hariri*" are as strange to them, except where foreign influences are paramount, as any work of English literature. The real answer for the proceedings of the Missionaries and Government officials is, that where there was no past they had to create a future. If in any of the particulars which we have noted there was a past, and it can be produced, it ought to be, that its claims to consideration might be considered. Vague references to generalities cannot be dealt with; it is needful, as the Scotch would say, to condescend to particulars in such cases. It would have been worse than infatuation for any well-wisher to the African race to have riveted yet more firmly the yoke of Mohammedan bondage on the neck of the negro by way of respecting his native instincts! If Arabic had been the medium of civilization instead of English, such would have been the result, and the portals of true knowledge—scientific, intellectual, moral, religious—would have been more hopelessly closed against the negro. For such weighty reasons, originating in the disastrous position of the country, the Missionaries of all societies departed from their custom in other lands and strove to make the African not only fellow-heirs of their hopes of eternity, but also of the arts and accomplishments by which civilized countries had exalted themselves in the scale of nations. For other matters to which we have adverted other replies are needed. It is highly probable that the population of Sierra Leone does not increase in the ratio that it ought. We believe, however, that under the influence of polygamy, intimately connected as it is with domestic slavery, this is true of other portions of Africa. This ought not to affect the Christians of Sierra Leone; but it is not easy within the space of fifty years thoroughly to eradicate habits which may most truly

be termed "race instincts," and to twist and to turn them into other channels, however desirable it may be, and consentaneous with the first principles, not only of Christianity, but also of morality and genuine civilization. Bishop Cheetham expressly attributes much of this evil to "obedience to the customs of the country, to the custom of presents at the betrothal, the custom of feasting in excess, of keeping open house at the time of marriage, so that rather than incur the expense, which is simply sinful, a downward course of sin is entered upon." It is lamentable to think that "native instincts" should yet retain such power, but those conversant with Missionary work know how tenacious such feelings are. What in Rajpootana leads to infanticide, in Africa, even among Christians, fosters habits of sin; as for the matter of that, it too often does in Christian England. In such matters sumptuary laws are of little avail; trust must be placed in the gradual spread and deepening of Christian feeling, and the gradual dying out of native instincts upon such points. It was not all at once that England has reached rational conclusions upon such matters, nor, as we have said, has it yet completely attained to them. With regard to the indisposition of Sierra Leone young men to devote themselves to agriculture, it would be no easy matter, in a land where the cultivation of the ground has been for centuries the work of slaves and women, and has thus been connected with opprobrium, to induce youths petulant and high-minded to devote themselves to it; moreover, the mountainous and stony peninsula presents only a limited area for agriculture: nature itself points to trade. Governor Hennessy contrasts with this indisposition the hard-working population which he witnessed at Kambia. He omits to mention, or is unconscious, that those whom he saw there were slaves! Sierra Leone is in reality a commercial *entrepôt* through which produce is distributed. Such a spot invites the establishment of commercial houses, and multiplies a host of writers and clerks, who not unnaturally prefer light to hard labour—the pen to the spade. Such a mode of life is not the most honourable nor the most conducive to self-respect; it does not foster feelings of independence, but often tempts to ambition and discontent; but it is easy and accessible. We have witnessed the counterpart of it in India, and have often regretted its existence; but it is one of those evils which it is more easy to regret than to remedy. So, again, it is very probable that, in the presence of the European, the negro should be wanting in self-respect; this is deplorable, and much to be regretted, but can only be remedied by superior consciousness of what a man really is. Much may be effected to remedy this by imbibing a spirit of genuine Christianity, and by cultivating intelligence. We have never found Bishop Crowther, nor many other intelligent negroes whom we have rejoiced to associate with, wanting in self-respect. They have respected themselves and been proportionately respected by all Europeans whose respect was worth having. As for the deterioration in physique, this too is not improbable. We have already adverted to the deplorable condition to which multitudes, from whom the present generation have sprung, had been previously reduced. Enfeebled parents may have given birth to an enfeebled offspring. Moreover, from many causes, the most adventurous and able of the population have been carried beyond the settlement. When set free, multitudes of those most capable of exertion naturally made their way back to the homes from whence they had been torn; numbers of the stoutest and strongest were enlisted in our West Indian regiments. Moreover, under any circumstances, it is never likely that a town-bred population, engaging in sedentary pursuits, would, in animal qualifications, equal those who were spending their days in toils calculated to strengthen the frame and develop the constitution. As for the lack of Missionary spirit, with a Native Bishop and Native Clergy carrying Christianity into the heart of Africa, up the Niger, it seems needless to discuss the question, though a yet fuller manifestation of such a spirit might well be desirable. In such ways many of the shortcomings charge-

able on Sierra Leone may fairly be accounted for, but they do not the less need a remedy. What, then, is that remedy?

We may fairly say, then, that, if Sierra Leone is to fulfil the intention of its founders, and is to become a centre of light and civilization for Africa, now that both in Church and State it has passed the period of infancy, it should put away childish things. Whatever may be race instincts or native instincts, it should get free from the trammels of a silly and superstitious past, from the idle and extravagant customs which are at the root of so much evil. As it has accepted Christian doctrine, it should labour to increase in Christian morality. We know that the Church in Sierra Leone is blessed with faithful pastors who boldly reprove, rebuke, exhort with much long-suffering; it should listen to them. Morality is inseparable from honourable self-respect or from procuring the respect of others. If there were no spots or blemishes in the African Church, if it "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things," not only would His blessing rest more abundantly upon it, but not even the most ungodly European who ever put foot in Sierra Leone would fail to respect it. When it shares in or copies his vices and his follies, it exposes itself to his contempt. Again, Sierra Leone should not shrink from eagerly appropriating European science and European learning, and making all that is valuable in them the property of the African race. As in their tribal feuds they have the sense to perceive that muskets and gunpowder are weapons superior to bows and arrows, and clubs and spears, so, if they would deliver themselves from the yoke of the Mohammedan oppressor, or stem the incursion of the Chinese, they must seek to do so by wielding effectually the superior intelligence which has been brought to them, instead of recurring to the feeble past which has never stood them in stead against the fury of the oppressor. If the Africa of the future is to be, as we trust it is to be, mighty and prosperous, it can only be by making full use of the wealth of science and intelligence to which their English training has opened up to them access. We rejoice in believing that this may, in manifest instances, be effected by competent Native agency. It is pleasant to think, that not only in the African Church there is a Native Pastorate, but also a Native Bishop and Native Missionaries, carrying on, after their own fashion, Missionary operations, but that also in the state many important positions are ably filled by competent representatives of the negro race. We trust that each year will see an increase in the number of such appointments, and that well-qualified candidates will be found for them. We fully believe in, and have had clear demonstration of, the intellectual capacity of the negro race. We wish that Africa should be for the Africans and not for the Mohammedans, not for the Chinese. But we trust that there will be sufficient good sense among the more intelligent of the negro community in Sierra Leone which shall induce them to refuse to give ear to idle loafers and professional agitators, and that they will discern clearly those who have been from the first, and those who wish to be to the end, their true and hearty friends. An independent self-supporting Native Church, filled with a Missionary spirit, and glorious in its holiness, is the dream of English Christians who have toiled and laboured and spent money, and prayed unceasingly amidst much obloquy for such a consummation. Every step which prudence could dictate has been, and is being, taken to effect such a glorious result. What has been already done should be a satisfactory assurance for the future. In the columns of the *Negro* newspaper, from which we have already quoted, we have watched with interest these struggles after independence, and sympathize with them largely. The paper is ably written, and is highly creditable to the negro race. Still, like every youthful effort, there are traces in it of immaturity, and, we may add, of petulance. We notice, for instance, with regret, the adoption of a motto which was that of the rebel newspaper, the *Nation*, when most hostile to England. If this was intentional, we

think it was a mistake, and calculated to alienate. We have read, too, in it, with astonishment, articles upholding domestic slavery, and asserting that "this system is essential to the welfare of the country, and is in accordance with the great primæval laws of nature." The explanation given to us by an intelligent friend of the newspaper was that probably this had been written by an European slave-dealer. It might well be coin from such a mint, but how came it to be in the pages of the *Negro*? So, too, throughout there seems a perpetual palliation, almost an approval, of Mohammedanism, as though it were something "racy of the soil." The Spaniard might as well have bragged of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, and the arts and civilization which unquestionably the Moor introduced into Spain during the period of his occupation of the land. Such mistakes, however, are incidental to young journalism: if they were persevered in, the negro might well exclaim, "Protect me from the *Negro*." The result of such teaching might be in the Sierra Leone Church and people a relapse into the worst evils from which English Christians have striven to deliver them, and bitter and hostile feelings might be fostered in the place of love and mutual confidence. It would be hard if there were from such causes an overthrow of the hopes which cluster around Sierra Leone, to resist the cry which has already found a place in the columns of the *Times*. We place much confidence, under God, in the hearty and earnest sympathy of Christians in England to avert so dire a calamity, and also in the good sense and good feeling of the more intelligent and dispassionate negroes. Their responsibility is great in the present crisis of their history; power and influence have, most righteously, most properly been placed in their hands. We trust their wise use of them in directing their countrymen aright will justify the hopes formed of them, and that they will, both in the pulpit and through the medium of the press, advocate such measures as shall be for the spiritual welfare, and also for the intellectual enlightenment, of their fellows. In this survey we have purposely abstained from the discussion of purely political grievances, real or alleged, the more especially as many of them seem in a fair way of being remedied, while some of the demands preferred would be inconsistent with any further connexion with England. Still we hold that every effort should be used here to strengthen the hands of respectable Africans by listening to their just demands, and especially by placing within their reach such thorough Christian education for the young of both sexes as shall thoroughly satisfy the thirst for knowledge which exists, and stimulate to further progress. We venture to observe, that the attention of our friends of the Church Missionary Society should be especially directed to this important subject. Much has already been done, and well done; but more ought to be done, and we trust will be done. Whatever may be the condition of the tribes outside the British settlements, there must be within them many anxious to avail themselves of superior education without the risk and expense of coming to England. Such education should be, and we trust will be, within their reach in their own land. Among other speculations which we see mooted in the columns of the *Negro* is the constitution of the Church of the future, with great yearnings after some comprehensive scheme which shall swallow up all sectarianism, and unite all Protestant Christians in one body, having "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." We shall watch with interest how far our African friends will be able to solve a problem which has hitherto defied all the wit of Europe: it may be a mere ebullition of generous enthusiasm, but we can only wish them God-speed in such an arduous endeavour. As to the constitution of the Church of the future, the topic is full of interest, but the discussion of it would seem to be somewhat premature. It took Solomon twenty years to build the house of the Lord, even with all the preparation which David his father had made. We trust our friends in Africa will bear in mind that mature deliberation, and much waiting upon the clear

leadings of God's Providence, are needed in so solemn and arduous an undertaking as the constitution of a distinct Church. It was not in a day or in many years that the Church of England, from which the nascent Church of Africa has sprung, reached its fair and full proportions. Fifteen years have barely elapsed since the Native Pastorate has been established; it is now on its trial before the world. Time should be afforded for it to approve itself a success, by its power over the hearts and consciences of the people, before fresh steps are taken in advance. Such would seem to be the wise and prudent course, which we trust will commend itself to those who have at heart the most important interests of the Africa of the future. No harm can be done by ventilating the topic in outspoken but temperate discussion such as may well find place in the columns of the *Negro*. It will thus be seen how far there may be a generous disposition to maintain connexion between the mother and daughter Churches, and how far it will be possible for Christians in England to uphold and forward with sympathy and support the Church of Africa. We can only express a fervent prayer that wise and prudent counsels may prevail, and that whatever conclusions may be come to may be the result, not only of much deliberation, but of much and fervent intercession at the Throne of Grace.

NOTE.

In order not to disturb the tenour of our article, we reserve for a note some curious statements of Mr. Pope Hennessy, which he placed before the Society of Arts. He asserts, for instance, that—

The liberated Africans, on arriving at Sierra Leone, have invariably been handed over to the clergy of one of the societies. They are ready-made converts, as it were, by the action of the Government, and their children are not only baptized, but placed under the special guardianship of the clergy. Even at the present moment the Governor signs warrants every month for paying money to the Bishop for the education of such children.

The present population of Sierra Leone is 38,936. In his Primary Charge (1871) the Bishop claims 14,528. This is, however, said to be excessive, and in the "Church Missionary Proceedings" for 1869 the total number

of "Native Christians" was only given at 1741; but, according to the returns of the Liberated African Department, now before me, dated 24th December, 1872, the liberated Africans and their descendants number 35,864 out of the 38,936 persons constituting the population of Sierra Leone. Many liberated Africans emigrated again. The total number registered up to this date is 95,261.

From these figures it is clear that the Mohammedan, or other agency, has actually changed the religion of the majority of the Christians within the settlement, who had been placed for years past by the State in the custody of European clergy.*

As Mr. Pope Hennessy is a Romanist, it is not to be expected that he should have much familiarity with the Reports of Protestant Societies. Had he understood them he would have been aware that both Bishop Cheetham's statement and the Church Missionary Report, however widely different, are yet both perfectly consistent with truth. The one represents the number of the members of the Church of Sierra Leone, which is now separated from the Society; the other describes those who are still connected with it. A similar confusion pervades all Mr. Hennessy's statements on such topics; but it would take much space to disentangle them, and expose the real state of the case. We have no doubt he has written in ignorance, and with no intention to mislead, but he curiously exemplifies the old saying, that there is nothing more fallacious than facts, except figures.

Mr. Pope Hennessy further insists, at great length, upon the superiority of natives to Europeans as Missionaries to their fellow-countrymen, and this, too, he argues and

* The Church Missionary Society educated these "Liberated Africans," or "Captives," and rendered a great service to the Colony. Many of the slaves, however, were Moslems, who established a mosque and also proselytized among the newly-arrived. (Winwood Reade's "African Sketch Book," vol. ii. p. 324.)

proves as though it were some notable discovery which he had just made. Long before he reached Sierra Leone, the Church Missionary Society had been conscious of the importance of Native agency; the Niger Mission and the Native Pastorate, which had been steadily contemplated and prepared for, are the result before his eyes.

We might also, if it were of sufficient importance, remark on the unfair manner in which he has selected such portions of an analysis of a paper by the Rev. James Johnson as suited his purpose, although they are far from representing what Mr. Johnson was urging, and convey a most erroneous impression of his meaning, as he himself has assured us. As to Mohammedan proselytism, Mr. Hennessy may not be aware that many of the liberated Africans were Mohammedans when they landed, having been sold into slavery as Mohammedans. We deny the fact, or rather the statement, that Mohammedan or other agency has actually changed the religion of the majority of Christians within the settlement. The population of Sierra Leone is 43,000; of whom 36,500 are Christians of different denominations, 5000 are Mohammedans, and 1500 are Heathens.

We cannot quarrel with a zealous Romanist producing and insisting upon every damaging statement he can meet with calculated to injure Protestant Missions; but it is but reasonable to protest against the curious manipulation of facts and figures by which his results are arrived at. Indeed, some of his statements are so obscure that, after much careful consideration and with some knowledge of the subject, we fail to understand them.

NAZARETH.—LETTER OF REV. J. ZELLER.

Nazareth, April 7th, 1873.—I lately had the opportunity of visiting Beyrout, and seeing the extensive Missionary work carried on there, and now take the liberty of communicating to you some impressions made on my mind.

As Bishop Gobat, after his tour in Egypt, had to pay a visit to Beyrout, I joined him on board the Austrian steamer at Caiffa on the 23rd of March, and next day we landed in Beyrout and were hospitably received in Mr. Mott's house.

The progress made in Beyrout in every respect is indeed wonderful. The town is increasing from year to year, and the desire for education has become general, and is pervading all classes of the population to such an extent that even Mohammedans cast off prejudices and send their children to Mrs. Mott's and Miss Taylor's Moslem girls' school. The different denominations vie with each other in exertions to procure a superior education for their children by establishing large boarding-schools, which contain altogether probably more than a thousand pupils. The American college, when you approach Beyrout from the sea, is one of the most striking features in this beautiful Eastern town. It contains space for instructing and boarding many hundred students, and will probably be finished before the close of the

year. The number of students amounts already to ninety, under eight professors, not counting the Native teachers. The great outlay by the American Mission upon education, the superior men and superior arrangements, which would do honour even to England or America, all this shows that the conviction of our American brethren is that the progress and rapid changes in Syria demand the highest means of education, in order to secure to the Word of God that post of honour which will make it the leading power for civilizing the East. It is highly satisfactory to see that the English have taken a share in this noble work by the establishment of the excellent British Syrian schools in Beyrout, Mount Lebanon, and Damascus.

The Greek Bishop Germanus, a native of Beyrout, who many years ago resigned his office and entered into correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view of becoming a Protestant in connexion with the Church of England, again sent to Bishop Gobat to inquire what assistance he might obtain from him in case he had a larger number of Greeks, who, in consequence of the prevailing schism of Kyrillos and the Bulgarian Church, are dissatisfied, and would become Protestants. It is extremely difficult to direct such a movement, as no clergyman of the Church of England who knows Arabic

resides in Beyrout, and as the American Missionaries (naturally) do not wish to encourage the same. Dr. Parry and Mr. and Mrs. Mott, with whom I had much conversation, are decidedly of opinion that, with all consideration for our American brethren, the appointment of a duly-qualified clergyman should no longer be delayed. Many natives would gladly join the Church of England, as our Liturgy and Church government seems to them preferable to the free and less settled form of the Presbyterian worship, and one of the American Missionaries told me he was convinced that many natives would finally join the Church of England. Perhaps the delicate point of not offending our American brethren might be best overcome if the old plan of establishing a chaplaincy in connexion with the British Consulate could be revived, under the condition that the clergyman had to know Arabic.

Dr. Parry has not been successful with the establishment of schools in the Hauran. Last autumn he opened three schools in the principal Dense villages—in Cara, Sueida, and Shohba—and sent teachers from Mr. Saliba's preparandi school at Sook el Gharb, near Beyrout. But these young men, not accustomed to manage far from their home, and without the support of a European Missionary, soon took fright at mere rumours that were spread, and left their station. This shows that it would be impossible to do anything permanent in the Hauran unless a European Missionary be stationed there. Dr. Parry would have no objection to live in the Hauran with his family, if some Society would pay the expenses of such a settlement, which he reckons at about 500*l.* per annum during the first two years.

Whilst I was in Beyrout, the Turkish Government sequestered the lately published edition of a 1000 copies of an excellent tract about truthfulness, written by Seraphim Bontaji, and printed at the American press at the expense of the British Tract Society. The pretext was, that it contained allusions to the corruption of Native town councils and Government officials. This tract is a prize essay, and is pronounced by the American Missionaries by far the best which has been written about this subject. It is, in fact, the best pamphlet which has of late been issued by the American press, and ought to be in the hands of every native, for it touches the principal evils in very forcible language.

I paid a visit with the Bishop to Keamil Paasha, and spoke to him about the state of

Galilee, the prevalence of the old custom of blood revenge, unchecked by Government, the many murders committed upon females, the great neglect with regard to order and cleanliness in the streets of Nazareth, the difficulty of obtaining justice for our Protestant communities, and the opposition to the erection of a school at Shefamer. He seemed to take much interest in what I said, and assured me that, as the Protestant community wished to build a school, no hindrance whatever existed in doing so, if only the ground was undisputed property. With regard to Seraphim's tracts; however, he seemed unrelenting, even after it had been proposed that one passage should be expunged.

Next day I received through Mr. Eldridge a firman from the Grand Vizier, permitting the erection of a school in Shefamer.

On the 28th of March we returned to Caiffa by steamer, and arrived in Nazareth on Saturday, the 29th. A great number of people of the congregation, and some others, came to meet us, and expressed great joy at the Bishop's coming to visit them.

As the Bishop's time was short, he was obliged to have the confirmation on the next day; he therefore examined the young people in the evening, and was much pleased with their answers and their thorough knowledge of the Catechism. Next morning I was so ill that I could not go to church, and the Rev. M. Kawar had the service. The confirmation was very solemn; there were fifteen boys and five girls, among whom a blind one, and they evidently felt the importance and the solemnity of the vow they were taking upon themselves. The church was quite full, for our people from the villages had come also, and the Bishop was much gratified to see how attentive they were, and how properly they behaved. They were much interested in the confirmation service, which they had never witnessed before. Afterwards the whole congregation came into our house to greet the Bishop, who spoke to them and admonished them. In the evening we had an English service in our house, and on the following days the Bishop spent most of his time in visiting the schools, with the progress of which he was well pleased, and in receiving and paying visits to the Governor, Cadi, &c. I was very poorly the whole time, and could not even accompany him when he left us again on the 3rd inst. The visit of the Bishop is always a great encouragement to us and to our congregations, and it often helps to strengthen the position of Protestants in

regard to their difficulties with the other Churches.

We have had a great many travellers this season, and have several times had English service in the church. Mr. and Mrs. Maude, of Chirk, Ruabon, have kindly provided us with a sufficient number of English Prayer and Hymn Books. Yesterday Cook's party was here, and three clergymen took part in the service. I have just heard that these clergymen (Messrs. J——, B——, and J——) begged leave of the Greek Bishop to officiate at mass in the Greek Church, but they received the answer from the Bishop that he could not allow it without special license from the Patriarch. Such a step on the part of English clergymen is much to be regretted, as the report of this spreads among the natives, who at once make it an argument against Protestants.

We hope that soon a wider door may be opened for the spread of the light as it is in Jesus, and I trust that also our Society may be encouraged to more extensive operations in Palestine, especially if they compare our still very limited means for education with the great work which the Americans deem it indispensable to carry on in Beyrout. A printing-press is very necessary for us, else we always remain dependent on the Americans.

As I have still 200 Napoleons in hand from the Duke of Mecklenburg, I wish immediately after Easter to begin the building of the school at Shefamer, and of the bell-tower at Nazareth. The accounts will be quite separate from each other, and from those of the Church Missionary Society.

(Signed) JOHN ZELLER.

CAPTAIN COLOMB'S "SLAVE CATCHING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN."

THE article in our June number on "Slave Catching and Dhow Chasing" has provoked an earnest, or rather angry, remonstrance from the author of "Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean." We are very sorry that our censure vexes Captain Colomb. Nothing could be further from our wish or intention than to cause him, or any one else, annoyance; but it is not always easy so to criticize as to please the party criticized. In this instance we confess that we have signally failed. Captain Colomb charges us with having "attacked his trustworthiness as a witness to what passed under his observation; with having, moreover, credited him with sentiments which are repudiated in the book itself; with having directly misrepresented his opinions, and with having even misquoted his words." These are serious charges, and we proceed to justify and rebut them as best we can.

Captain Colomb, then, charges us with having "attacked his trustworthiness as a witness to what passed under his observation." We reply that we ("Church Missionary Intelligencer," June, p. 178) prefaced "our remarks by observing that we have not the slightest doubt that the writers of both books are honourable gentlemen, who have honestly recorded, to the best of their judgment and ability, the impressions made upon them by what they have witnessed, and that they have fully intended to communicate the truth to their readers." We reiterate that this is our most assured belief. But he asserts that "our proof against him is Captain Sullivan's book." He goes on to say: "How will he be surprised when I tell him that I possess a letter from Captain Sullivan, and that he possesses one from me, each noticing the concurrent testimony of the other to all our personal observations of fact? Your reviewer says the discrepancies between us are 'many' and 'serious;' neither author, however, can discover them." We presume from this that Captain Colomb would have us to understand that there is singular, we will not say perfect, harmony between himself and Captain Sullivan. Unfortunately, other reviewers besides ourselves have been unable to detect it. One such is our able contemporary, the *Athenæum* for May 17, 1878. He remarks:

"Captain Colomb's book is on the same subject as that by Captain Sullivan, noticed in our columns a fortnight ago. As is only natural, the two gallant officers employed on the same service appear not to view the same things altogether in the same light. But they are both men of talent and observation; both are actuated by a sense of duty to

the Government and nation they serve, and by feelings of compassion for the poor creatures they are commissioned to rescue from slavery; and both impart conscientiously and fearlessly to the public their experiences and impressions of the past, and their views as to the future. It is for others to judge how far both are, or either of them is, in the right. 'Du choc des opinions jaillit la vérité!'

Another is the *English Churchman* for July 3. We cannot find room for the article, which is long, and it is not easy to quote from it; we can therefore do little more than refer to it. Instead of being struck with any harmony of views, the reviewer says "the difference between the two is this: . . . Captain Colomb does not feel that horror at the very name of slave which is felt by many of us at home. . . . Captain Sullivan, on the other hand, is an uncompromising abolitionist." The reviewer, who speaks in high praise of Captain Sullivan's book, and who notices that "the logic of facts has for the present settled the matter as Captain Sullivan would have it settled," adds, "Our advice is, 'read both books,' and form your own opinion. Both authorities are respectable; but one has certainly had more experience than the other." From the foregoing it will be plain that we are by no means singular in our notion that *difference* is more conspicuous than harmony in the two books.

Captain Colomb, however, proceeds to select an instance to prove that where we find "discrepancy, there is real concurrence." He says: "My description of the slave-market at Zanzibar—*happily* the late slave-market—is held to be untrustworthy, though 'quite refreshing to read,' because it differs from Captain Sullivan's." We beg most distinctly to deny that we have held Captain Colomb's statement to be untrustworthy. We have not said so, and he has no right to prefer such a charge. We believe it to be most trustworthy as a genuine record of his own impressions, but we do maintain that it differs, and differs seriously, from Captain Sullivan's. Our readers shall judge. Captain Colomb says, "Let me put the passages side by side," and proceeds to form a catena after the following fashion. We print them precisely as he has arranged them for us himself:—

CAPT. SULLIVAN.

"The first thing that meets the eye is a number of slaves arranged in a semicircle. . . . Most of them are standing up, but some are sitting on the ground; some of them, in fact, utterly incapable of standing upon their feet, miserable, emaciated skeletons, on whom disease, and perhaps starvation, has placed its fatal mark."

"Near the middle of the square are groups of children—children, young as they are—some not more than five years old, looking old already."

" . . . on one occasion we saw several Arab slave dealers around these poor creatures; they were in treaty for the purchase of three or four women, who had been made to take off the only rag of a garment which they wore. On catching sight of English faces, there was a commotion amongst the Arabs, and the women were hurried off round a corner out of sight."

CAPT. COLOMB.

"There might have been perhaps 250 head on sale, and these were, for the most part, seated in the open . . . some were ranged in long rows, with their legs stretched out before them.⁽¹⁾ . . . Skeletons with a diseased skin drawn tight over them, eyeballs left hideously prominent . . . chests shrunk and bent . . . these are the characteristics which mark too many of the negroes when imported."⁽²⁾

"His 'lot' appeared to be lately imported; they were all young boys and girls, some of them mere babies; and it was amongst them that the terribly painful part of the slave system was to be seen."⁽³⁾

" . . . Some of the officers had described their seeing gross indecencies towards the women practised by intending buyers . . . I had seen no signs of anything of the kind⁽⁴⁾ . . . I did not see in open market that revolting examination of the muscle of women for sale, which we know must go on. Such examinations were nominally private, the women being taken aside for the purpose."⁽⁵⁾

In reply we notice, first, that in his extract from Captain Sullivan's book Captain Colomb has seen fit to omit the following passage, perhaps from its revolting nature; we reproduce it most reluctantly:—"In another portion of the square are a number of women, forming several semi-circles; their bodies are painted, and their figures exposed in proportion to their symmetry, with barely a yard of cloth around their hips, with rows of girls from the age of twelve and upwards, exposed to the examination of throngs of Arabs, and subject to inexpressible indignities by the brutal dealers." Captain Colomb saw benevolent-looking Arab *gentlemen*, with smiling faces. Captain Sullivan saw brutal dealers. We submit that this is a difference. Each Captain no doubt saw what he says he did see. But they saw different people.

Upon the statement which Captain Colomb has drawn up from his own book we remark that No. 1 will be found at p. 391, on the occasion of his first visit. No. 2 at p. 396, on occasion of his second visit. No. 3 is on the same page, but instead of following as above, in the book precedes No. 2. No. 4 occurs at p. 395. No. 5 will be found at p. 401. Upon the foregoing we venture to remark that, while we cordially accept the statement so framed as a true representation of what Captain Colomb really meant to convey, we must add that any book so manipulated might be made to mean anything. By omissions, by inversions, by a fresh collocation of sentences, originally widely detached, by presenting in one view what in the book was witnessed at two visits, most curious results could be arrived at. But it is hard upon reviewers. The sentences of Panini would be child's play to deal with in comparison with the task of educing the true sense from a book which had, without the author's clue through the maze, to be so treated. Passing, however, from this, we note Captain Colomb's statement that he "did not see in open market that revolting examination of the muscle of women for sale, which we know must go on. Such examinations were nominally private, the women being taken aside for the purpose." He saw, too (p. 395), no "violence or rudeness of any kind, neither did he see coarseness or indecency." We do not say that he did. But we say that Captain Sullivan did. Captain Sullivan saw several women in the open market "who had been made to take off the only rag of a garment which they wore" [the yard of cloth round their hips.—Ed. C. M. I.]. Even in Zanzibar to compel women to strip naked in public is coarseness and indecency. We assert that Captain Sullivan saw this. We believe that Captain Colomb did not see it. We maintain, therefore, that what Captain Sullivan saw differed from what Captain Colomb saw; for we cannot for a moment suppose that he would maintain that forcing women to strip themselves naked in public is not "coarseness and indecency." We call this, then, a "serious" discrepancy, not a "real concurrence" between the facts witnessed by the two Captains, and we feel that we were justified in asserting that there is a discrepancy. If, however, this is "real concurrence," what can be difference? Captain Colomb feels hurt that we have said that he saw nothing offensive to his feelings as a Christian gentleman in the slave market. As he "did not see violence or rudeness of any kind, neither did he see coarseness or indecency; as he did not see any preparation made for the employment of force, nor anything approaching to dissent from the proceeding on the part of the blacks," we feel justified in this statement. General Robert Lee, of Virginia, was as chivalrous a gentleman, and Stonewall Jackson as devout a Christian as Captain Colomb. From use, from prejudice, from mistaken views on the subject of slavery, they must often have passed through slave markets, and seen nothing offensive in them. In common with brother reviewers, we did not think, nor, without Captain Colomb's disclaimer, should we even now have thought, that he viewed slavery or slave markets with feelings much different to theirs. But substantially he says he does, and therefore we have no doubt he does. We must appeal for a final settlement of the point from

his curiously-marshalled extract to the general tone and tenour of the chapter from which they have been culled.

Upon another point Captain Colomb feels hurt, under the impression that his veracity is assailed. We beg once more to disclaim the slightest imputation on his truthfulness, of which we are most fully assured. He says, however, that we have made a confusion between the northern and southern voyages, and consequently directly misrepresented his opinions. The northern voyage, he says, is a long one. Curiously enough, the *English Churchman* says, "Our author's clever photographs, as well as his vivid descriptions, show us how much misery may be compressed into the *short* run between Zanzibar and the Red Sea ports." It is true that Captain Sullivan speaks of the enjoyment manifested by liberated slaves on their passage to the Seychelles, on board H. M. S. "Daphne." So, too, we can remember a very pleasant voyage down the Mozambique. But we were not at the time, any more than they, slaves in an Arab dhow. Captain Sullivan adds, too, that "women and children," as no doubt the most valuable goods, are taken the most care of. But what of those less cared for? We assert that the cruise of the "Daphne," reported in Captain Sullivan's chapter 8, was to intercept dhows conveying slaves "the whole way" (pp. 154 and 155) to the Persian Gulf, and that our parallel, or rather contrast, was justified. The horrors related by Captain Sullivan were on dhows attempting the northern route, and intending to go the whole long journey, and not on dhows going by the southern or shorter route, which may be, if possible, worse. Here, however, we do feel that some apology is due to Captain Colomb. At page 185 of the "Intelligencer" we quoted a passage from his book (p. 41), in which we omitted the following words:—"The Englishman would probably succumb to the privations of the journey, but I have often heard it said on the spot, that no one should talk of the cruelty of the Arab to his slaves on the northern voyage," &c. What Captain Colomb quotes as hearsay, but what in the note he describes as "expressing an opinion," which he fortifies by an official statement by the Resident in the Persian Gulf, we did think was the expression of his opinion; still we ought to have quoted the passage fully, and express regret for not having done so. We presume now that he does not agree with what he heard, and that there is cruelty of the Arab to his slaves on the northern voyage; therefore we fail totally to see the force of his remonstrance.

The chief gravamen of our offence, however, is that we have credited him with statements repudiated in his book, by asserting that "one so filled with enthusiasm for the Arab . . . could not have very lively sympathy with Christian Missionary effort." In support of this view we quoted a long passage from his book, which will be found at p. 186 in our June number. Captain Colomb argues that he repudiated them in a foot-note occurring at p. 404—"I would have the reader to note that I am describing a prejudice, not stating facts." We construed this foot-note as applicable to the sentence to which it referred, and we still hold that we were justified in this view. We have no wish, however, to argue the question, but rejoice to find that Captain Colomb holds himself quite "free" from the general prejudice current in naval circles about Missions. When he says "we" he means "they, my brother officers, not I;" he himself is to be wholly dissociated from the monstrous absurdities which seem current in the profession; he is an ardent advocate for Missionary exertion, and his whole book is "in the form of an argument designed to show that for this African disease there is no other medicine but the Missionary." The conclusion of this argument is reached by a process which terminates in what he himself terms "something of an anti-climax." His book, therefore, would seem to be constructed in the form which Aristotle in his Poetics calls "complicated," resulting in a "peripeteia, a change into the reverse of what is expected from

the circumstances of the action." We wish to speak with all respect of Captain Colomb, but it is to be regretted that he had not instead adopted the form which the great critic calls "simple." As we read page after page, chapter after chapter, of his book, we did unquestionably conclude that he had made an onslaught on Missions and Missionary work; and even now, with his distinct disclaimer, we feel puzzled, though reassured. We quote *in extenso* the passage in which the argument reaches its *anti-climax*:—"It may to many readers appear something of an anti-climax to arrive at the conclusion that for this East African disease there is no other medicine but the Missionary. Yet that is what appears on the face of things. He is the only man whom British law will not hamper in these regions; he is the only man with aims high enough, or courage strong enough, to go and live in one spot in Africa for the purpose of civilizing it. If, however, an army of Missionaries could be poured into the continent this year, the vast mass would be either in full retreat, or would be slain upon the field of battle before the autumn. Pioneers in plenty will be wanted to clear the way before anything like a Missionary advance can be made into East Central Africa." This does, we must confess, read to us very much like our old friend—civilization first, and Christianity afterwards; but no doubt we are mistaken, and Captain Colomb does mean to put Missionaries in the van, and trust to "the preaching of the Gospel" as the remedy for the woes of Africa. Having a remedy, he would not withhold it from the patient, although the legitimate inference from his words appears to us to be that he would do so. Pioneers first—Missionaries afterwards. Captain Colomb further takes offence at our quoting his "comments on the Roman Catholic Mission, as though he upheld its proceedings in order to condemn our own Mission, whereas it is plain his purpose is exactly opposite." We can only say that our brother-critic in the *Athenæum* seems to have thought much the same. With all his practised ingenuity, he too clearly failed, as we did, to master Captain Colomb's anti-climax, and imagined that instead he recommended a lay Mission. He says:—"He speaks with praise of the British Central African Mission as remodelled and established at Zanzibar by Bishop Tozer after its miserable failure under Bishop Mackenzie, and also of the French Missionary establishment on the mainland; but in neither of these institutions does he detect the elements of ultimate and permanent success. He looks rather to a lay Mission, under legislative sanction and Government inspection, to be established at Zanzibar or somewhere on the East Coast of Africa, which, besides finding employment for the slaves liberated from the Arab dhows, would absorb the surplus from the Central African Mission, and thus leave the latter free to prosecute its main scheme." In conclusion, we can only repeat that we feel much regret that any of our remarks should have given pain to Captain Colomb. We have no doubt from his assurances to us that he is anxious to promote Missionary effort; but his style of advocacy is so singular that, even after his explanations, we cannot but deem our cautions to have been salutary. Readers of his book must not be startled at constantly meeting with statements which seem to depreciate Missionary exertion and "the preaching of the Gospel," but they must keep his general intention well in mind. They must not attend to the process of his reasoning, but to the result as he explains it. Captain Galton in his letter to the *Times*, showing how to get rid of the negro race, which appears in our present number, claims Captain Colomb as one who has written "a well-argued chapter" in favour of *his* views. His views are not Missionary views. We have, therefore, simply to thank Captain Colomb for the good intention with which he has written his book, but we must be permitted to regret the manner of its execution. He is clearly not a master of what the Stagyrice terms the *μῦθος πεπλεγμένος*.

A DAY OF PRAYER FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

At the beginning of the year we referred with thankfulness to the manner in which God had disposed the hearts of His servants to respond to the invitation to join in supplication for an increase of Missionary labourers, and it is now with deepest interest that we hear of the Archbishop of Canterbury having appointed December 3rd of this year with a similar object.

The Archbishop has expressed his concurrence in the opinion of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that it is unadvisable to set apart for this purpose an annually recurring day, yet, with the cordial response of last year before him—the open doors that are presenting themselves in so many quarters—and, we cannot but add, the deepened sense of obligation to preach the Gospel to every creature that seems to be growing in the Church of Christ, we are not surprised that His Grace should have considered that there was ample justification for repeating the invitation of last year.

We rejoice very greatly to hear that the day has been chosen, after communication with the representatives of several of our great Protestant Missionary Societies, besides those of the Church of England, so that we have good reason to hope that the observance of December 3rd in this year will be yet more general and more hearty than was that of December 20th in last year, and bring down a yet more abundant blessing. We cannot but think that the day has been chosen wisely—it will be found, we believe, in most places, to be a convenient day of the week—being the one generally reserved for the week-day service—it is sufficiently removed from Christmas not to interfere with the engagements that sufficiently occupy that sacred season, while, at the same time, the interval is long enough to allow of the announcement being made in the most distant Missions. Its occurrence also in the first week of Advent is peculiarly appropriate. We are glad to observe, further, that it falls at the period of the full-moon, which, though of secondary importance, will probably materially affect the attendance in very many of our country villages.

We are informed that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society have no intention of publishing any further suggestions as to the mode of its observance. They think it better to leave their friends and supporters free to make their own arrangements according to the circumstances of different localities.

We are disposed, however, to think that many of our readers will be glad to be reminded of the suggestions the Committee were led to issue last year in the form of a circular letter. As that letter has not appeared in our pages we print it below.

We trust that it may please the Great Head of the Church to bestow a rich measure of the Spirit of Prayer upon the Church at large, and that the impetus given to Missionary work may thus receive fresh acceleration. The spirit of praise ought also to be largely present. Marked tokens of the Divine favour have been received by the Society in the present year, in the increase of the funds placed at their disposal, as well as in the number of labourers who have offered themselves for the work. May the voice of thanksgiving be mingled everywhere with the voice of supplication—none forgetting how the Lord Himself has said, “Whoso offereth Me praise, he glorifieth Me.”

Circular Letter to Secretaries of Associations, containing Hints and Suggestions for the Observance of the 20th December, 1872, the Day proposed for Special Prayer for an increased supply of Missionary Labourers in the Church of England.

DEAR SIR,—The indications that have reached the Committee of the deep and wide-

spread interest with which the invitation to special prayer for more labourers has been received, have been welcomed by them with much thankfulness as a marked token for good, and as an encouragement to expect much at the hands of our faithful God.

The Committee would have been quite content to have left the arrangements as to

the manner of observing the day in the hands of local friends, both on account of the widely differing circumstances of different localities, and from their confidence that no plans would be approved by members of the Society which were not in full harmony with its well-known Evangelical principles. Such an earnest desire has, however, been evinced by many that the Parent Committee should give some expression of their views on the subject, that they cannot decline to offer a few hints and suggestions; offered the more readily, as being mainly gleaned from the communications of Associations and friends in different parts of the country. At the same time they desire to have it distinctly understood that they are only *suggestions*, and that they have no wish to control or to fetter the action of their friends, if other methods than those suggested should appear in any particular case better calculated to effect the desired object.

1. They would suggest then, first, that the sermons on the preceding Sunday, the third in Advent, should have special reference to the day of prayer, setting forth such subjects as *the revealed purpose of God in the evangelization of the whole world* (Matt. xxiv. 14; Rom. xvi. 26); *the great need that exists for more labourers* (Romans x. 14); *the complete dependence of the Church upon God the Holy Ghost for fit and able ministers* (Eph. iv. 8—12); and *the obligation laid upon us by the Great Head of the Church Himself to make supplications on this behalf* (Matt. ix. 36—38).

2. That the point to be aimed at in every place should be not so much large gatherings of persons, as the promotion of union of spirit and of desire, at the Throne of Grace, in those who know what access to the Father is in spirit and in truth, and whose hearts are set on the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. With this view such persons should be earnestly exhorted to give the subject the first place that day in their own private prayers and at their family worship. Once at least in the day—the evening is suggested as the time when in most places the larger number would be able to attend—it seems most desirable that a Prayer Meeting should be held in every parish where two or three can be found to claim the Redeemer's promise. In a town or city, as well as in country places where several of the Society's Associations are clustered together, an aggregate Meeting might also be arranged, and in some cases probably, a service in some central church.

In this case it is suggested that the Church Service, which may now, with the Bishop's sanction, be one adapted to the occasion, would in most instances be more conveniently arranged for the morning; the aggregate Prayer Meeting for the afternoon, and the Parochial Prayer Meeting for the evening. In some places it is intended to commence the day with an early administration of the Lord's Supper.

3. That in the conduct of the Prayer Meetings, several prayers by different persons, short and to the point, are usually to be preferred to *one* of greater length. The introduction at intervals of singing, the reading of a few suitable verses of the Word of God, or the delivery of short earnest addresses, seems also most desirable; or one address might be given at the commencement of the Meeting, and the rest of the time occupied in alternate singing and prayer. Only care should be taken to keep everything subordinate and subservient to the great object of the day; nothing should be admitted that might interfere with the impression that the Meeting was a Meeting for Prayer.

4. As regards topics for prayer, suggestions have already been made in the Society's Minute of July 8. The need of well-qualified European Missionaries should occupy a foremost place in our supplications, but they should also embrace the raising up in the various Native Churches of efficient labourers, as evangelists, pastors, and teachers—"men full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." We would further suggest that our sympathies and our intercessions embrace the work of others as well as our own. The need of efficient labourers is deeply felt by most of our Evangelistic Societies. We may well remember that He, at whose Throne of Grace we meet, is the Lord of the whole harvest, ready to own the efforts of all who seek His glory. It need hardly be added that thanksgiving for past mercies and past answers to prayer should accompany all our petitions.

5. That it is not expedient that contributions to the work of Missions be solicited on the day of prayer itself. Several friends have suggested it, but the Committee are disposed to think that it might have the effect of weakening the impression which they would desire to have felt in its full force, that the 20th of December is to be a day of waiting only upon God. They are, however, wholly of one mind with these friends as to the importance of making it clearly understood that an answer to our prayers will

necessitate an increase in personal self-denial, and that if prayer is to be effectual, the great Searcher of hearts must see within us a readiness to make sacrifices. We cannot expect the Lord to hear us if covetousness be regarded in the heart. It is clearly impossible that the number of Missionaries can be increased without a corresponding increase in income. At the present moment, retrenchments are being made in the Mission field, owing to the inadequacy of the present income of the Society to meet the estimated expenditure. Under these circumstances, if on the Sunday following the day of prayer the opportunity for special contributions could be given, advantage would accrue both to the givers and to the work.

6. That the opportunity would be a most favourable one for urging the duty of continuance in supplication for Missionaries and the Mission field. With this view, pains should be taken that the sense of this duty be not allowed to exhaust itself upon the day of prayer, but rather made an occasion for its kindling into fresh life and power. One of our oldest and most faithful friends has suggested the special remembrance of this subject before God on one day in every week. To those of our friends who do not already act in accordance with this suggestion, we most cordially commend it. If there was anything approaching to a general agreement among the people of God thus regularly to give to this subject a prominent place in their secret devotions, in their families, and, where it was found practicable, in little meetings for prayer, what an element of power might such an arrangement prove in the evangelization of the world! Who can estimate the amount of blessing that may be bound up with more loyal obedience to the Divine command, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that He will send forth labourers into His harvest?"

For our encouragement in this matter the conduct of our Moravian Brethren, just 150 years ago, may well be called to mind. One of their first acts on finding a refuge at Herrnhut—"the watch of the Lord"—was to establish a watch of prayer. Every inhabitant of the place, from the age of sixteen to sixty, was in turn called to discharge this duty of intercession, which was accompanied by the singing of appropriate hymns. "We have a watch," wrote one of their chief pastors at

that time, "which the brethren keep in succession. We have made an arrangement among the brethren to have continued prayer offered up by the Church day and night, in order that the fire may be kept perpetually burning upon the altar." The result was a season of most blessed spiritual revival, and the kindling of a flame of zeal and devotedness which has gone on burning to this day.

We cannot conceive any more effectual means of multiplying labourers in the great harvest field, of bringing down showers of blessing upon their work, and thus of hastening onward to its glorious consummation the kingdom of our Redeemer, than the banding together of those at home and those abroad, whose hearts are one in this great enterprise, in such a holy union of prayer. We may mention in regard to this, that the invitation to join in supplication on the proposed day has been sent out to all our Missions throughout the world; and, so far as we have received acknowledgments, is welcomed with the most heartfelt satisfaction.

The Committee have already referred, in their Minute of July 8, to the many wide doors of entrance which the providence of God has opened to His servants at the present time. They cannot refrain from expressing the earnest hope that this impulse to pray may prove His own forerunner of a large increase of men and means wherewith to take possession of the lands of the heathen. May many an eye be enabled to discern the little cloud arising out of the sea! May a strong spirit of expectation take possession of many hearts! And then, as we are made sharers in the joy of the Redeemer over saved multitudes, we shall see how true His word of promise is, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."

That you may, dear Sir, yourself receive at this time a large measure of "the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind" in this particular matter, as in all things, is the prayer of yours faithfully,

CHRISTOPHER C. FENN,	} Secretaries.
HENRY WRIGHT (<i>Hon.</i>),	
EDWARD HUTCHINSON,	
EDWARD LAKE (<i>Hon.</i>),	

Church Missionary House,
Oct. 14, 1872.

VALEDICTORY DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES.

ON the 1st of July last eighteen Missionaries of the Society assembled in St. Michael's School-room, Ebury-square, to receive the Instructions of the Committee, and to be commended in prayer to the care and blessing of Almighty God.

In the unavoidable absence of the President, the Earl of Chichester, the chair was taken by the Treasurer, the Hon. Captain F. Maude, R.N.

The names of the Missionaries were as follows:—

WEST AFRICA—

Rev. L. Nicholson. } Returning to the Mis-
Rev. J. Johnson. } sion.

EAST AFRICA—

Rev. T. H. Sparshott. } Returning to the
Mission.

Rev. W. B. Chancellor. } Proceeding to
the Mission.

PALESTINE—

Rev. F. Bellamy. Proceeding to Salt.

NORTH INDIA—

Rev. F. A. P. Shirreff, B.A. } Proceeding to
Rev. G. T. M. Grime. } the Mission.
Dr. Theodore Maxwell. }
Mr. W. Briggs. Returning to the Mission.

WESTERN INDIA—

Rev. W. F. Dale. } Proceeding to the Mis-
sion.

SOUTH INDIA—

Rev. W. Ellington. } Returning to the
Mission.

Rev. H. Horsley, B.A. } Proceeding to the
Mission.

CEYLON—

Rev. W. E. Rowlands. } Returning to the
Mission.

Rev. G. F. Unwin. Proceeding to the Mission.

CHINA—

Rev. H. Gretton. } Returning to the Mis-
sion.

JAPAN—

Rev. C. F. Warren. } Transferred from
Rev. J. Piper. } China Mission.

NORTH PACIFIC—

Mr. W. H. Collison. } Proceeding to the
Mission.

The meeting was commenced by prayer, offered up by the Rev. C. C. Fenn, the singing of the hymn, "O Spirit of the living God!" and the reading of Isaiah lxi.

The following instructions of the Committee were then read by the Rev. Henry Wright, which were severally acknowledged by the Missionaries.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—The present occasion, the Committee feel, is one that specially calls for thanksgiving and praise.

Prayer has been offered, after a marked manner, to the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest, and to-day there is gathered a larger band ready to go forth than has often been witnessed before.

Prayer too has been offered—definite prayer—that greater facilities for the preaching of the Gospel might be afforded in lands wherein serious hindrances have hitherto been encountered. The suppression of the traffic in slaves on the East Coast of Africa—the removal of the enactment from the statute-book of Japan that made the profession of Christianity a capital offence—the permission to foreigners to reside all the year round in Cashmere—have all been subjects of prayerful desire on the part of this Committee. These desires have now been granted, and, in consequence, two of your number are designated for East Africa, two for Japan and one for Cashmere; in each case to be, the Committee humbly trust, only the first instalment of a larger force to follow. We are reminded that He, under whose banner we are enlisted, is "He that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth." Encouragement may well be taken to pray, and to pray earnestly and definitely too, that the present visit of the Ruler of Persia to this land may result in an open door and effectual being afforded to the heralds of the Gospel in that ancient kingdom. Doubtless there will still be a withstanding on

the part of the Prince of the kingdom of Persia, as in days of old, but the strength of our Michael is still the same, and prayer is a power that none can resist.

But another cause for thankfulness is felt by the Committee to be found among those who are gathered here to-day, and one that comes even nearer home to them.

Not only do they rejoice in the general reinforcement of so many of their Missions, but more particularly in the way in which they cannot but feel that God has answered prayer in supplying the men they needed for certain special posts. For instance, the work at Metlakatlah has been growing on Mr. Duncan's hands, and the Committee for some time past have been anxiously looking out for the right men for the post. The need has been increasingly felt in our Palestine Mission of a labourer of some standing, whose heart had been drawn to that country, and who had had some acquaintance with the East. Each month has been bringing the day nearer when the Committee knew that the devoted Missionary by whom, under God, the College at Lahore had been called into existence, must turn his steps homeward, and they longed to send some one out who appeared to have the requisite qualifications for helping to carry on his work. Since the day that brought the mournful tidings that our medical Missionary in Cashmere had fallen, clinging—alas for us! too faithfully—to his post of duty, our prayers have been ascending that the work begun by him might not languish, but be taken up by another of like spirit with his own. We have longed also for men of some Missionary experience, who might throw themselves at once into the ripening harvest of Japan without having first to learn the use of their sickles.

This day, amid the band before them, the Committee cannot but believe, so far as man can judge, that the Lord has sent them for all these posts the men they need; and therein they could recognize in this the kindness of God. Lately the home ranks have been suffering severely; one leader after another has fallen, and there are those who have been ready to say with sinking hearts, "Alas, Master, what shall we do?" But the Lord Himself has rebuked our unbelief. He has shown us that though one and another, upon whom we had learnt to lean, is taken away, yet His word remains as true as ever, "Lo, I am with you alway."

Beloved friends, your presence here to-day will doubtless prove an encouragement one to another. It will be an encouragement to the friends who are gathered here to join with us in bidding you farewell; be assured also that it is, and will be an encouragement to us to whom is committed the direction of affairs at home; and especially to those of us who have lately put our hands somewhat tremblingly to this plough, it will be a fresh incentive to trust and not be afraid. He who was with our fathers will be with us. He who was pleased to use them for the furtherance of His kingdom will use us also, if, conscious of our weakness, we lean upon His strength.

I proceed now to read the Instructions which the Committee desire prayerfully to submit to you.

On the present occasion they will dispense with those of a more general nature, and proceed at once to those that are spiritual and personal. These, as your number is large, must needs occupy some time; and as the Committee rejoice in having an experienced and honoured soldier of the home field, and an equally experienced and honoured one from the foreign field, who have come prepared to address a few words to you, remarks of a more general character will not be needed from them.

Western Africa.—The Committee recently granted an application from the Rev. J. A. Lamb, their Secretary at Sierra Leone, to return to this country, his health rendering a change necessary; and the important position of Secretary to the West African Mission

having been vacant, the Committee have designated you, Brother NICHOLSON, as his successor. They are aware that your transfer from the Yoruba Mission will be regarded with much sorrow by the brethren at Lagos; but they feel that while in the providence of

God access to the interior is denied, the existing staff of Missionaries at Lagos with Brother Maser as Secretary are equal to the necessities of the work.

The claims, however, of the position at Sierra Leone are so great, and the questions remaining for settlement there so important, that the Committee feel that the post can only be filled by one thoroughly acquainted with the character of the people, inured to the climate, and possessing a lengthened experience of Missionary work. And these qualifications the Committee are thankful to believe you possess in an eminent degree; and they would earnestly hope that in returning to what was the scene of your early labours, you may find the Church there advanced in every respect.

There are many questions with which, as representative of the Society, you will have to deal, and fuller details on various points will be communicated to you by the Committee. They will not therefore at this time say more than that they would wish you to be the link for knitting closer the bonds of affection, respect and confidence, between the Sons of Africa, and those who so long laboured and prayed for them in this country.

The Committee would also hope that Mrs. Nicholson will find, in connexion with the Female Institution, ample opportunities for securing the affection and confidence of the females.

You, Brother JOHNSON, are about to return to Sierra Leone, after a brief visit to this country on the invitation of the Committee.

Though not a member of the Native Pastorate, but still an agent of the Society, the Committee are aware that you possess the confidence, and represent in a great measure

the opinion of your brethren, the Native Pastors of Sierra Leone.

When, therefore, in the judgment of the Committee, the time had arrived for dealing with the questions, which have for some little time occupied the minds of the Church in Sierra Leone, such as a higher system of education for the community, the further development of the Church organisation, both internally for self-support and government, and externally as a Missionary Church, the Committee determined to invite you to this country not only that they might take counsel with you on these questions, but that by intercourse with Christian friends at home, and acquaintance with the labours of earnest men within our parishes, your own soul might be quickened and refreshed, and your judgment matured and expanded. They had a good hope also that by personal acquaintance with the Committee and their friends, your attachment to the Society would be strengthened and deepened.

The Committee do not now enter into more detailed instructions, as they will, at a subsequent interview with you, arrange more definitely as to your future place of labour.

They would only add the expression of the pleasure it has been to them, and to many of their friends, to witness the grace of God bestowed upon you; they feel sure that you have the spiritual and temporal welfare of your people at heart. And they would earnestly pray that you may be kept at the feet of Jesus receiving daily from His fulness, and so not only return in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ, but be kept, sustained, and abundantly blessed in your future career.

East Africa.—The return of Sir B. Frere has enabled the Committee to judge, in some degree, as to the prospects of extended work on the East Coast of Africa.

The existing Missions at Mombas and Kisulidini will, it is hoped, form a base not only for extension among the tribes to the west and south of those points, but for carrying on a large and important work among the unfortunate victims of the East African Slave Trade.

The Committee have had an interview with Sir Bartle Frere, and from the information given by him, they believe that the Government are ready to avail themselves of the services of Missionary Bodies, and to hand over to their care, large numbers of the liberated slaves.

When, on previous occasions, the Committee had to consider the subject of the liberation of these unhappy victims of man's cruelty, they thought the Government would only liberate on British Territory, and were therefore prepared to take up a position at the Seychelles Islands. Now, however, in consequence of the new Treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, they are advised by Sir B. Frere, that perfect protection would be afforded at Mombas, and sufficient land obtained for the formation of a settlement.

The Committee are therefore encouraged to proceed, and though they could have wished that the Government had adopted the principle which pervaded all dealings with this question in the West Coast Slave Trade Abolition, viz. that the liberated slaves were British subjects, they yet hope that the protection may be as real, as to remove much of the difficulty.

They are therefore prepared to push forward in this work, and have resolved to send two additional European Agents to the spot in company with Mr. Sparshott; of these, one, Mr. Chancellor, has recently been ordained; the other, Mr. Bockstatt, was formerly at Sierra Leone in charge of the Society's Liberated African School, an institution of the very kind now proposed to be commenced at Mombas or Kisulidini. Mr. Bockstatt is now at Jerusalem, engaged in the erection of a Church there, and he will shortly, God willing, proceed thence to Mombas.

The Committee also propose to convey to Mombas some of the liberated slaves from their African Asylum at Nasik, in Bombay. These have been trained in all useful pursuits, and they will form an admirable band of assistant teachers for their countrymen.

You, Brother SPARSHOTT, are returning to a place well-known to you; you have undergone many trials and acquired much valuable experience. The Committee, therefore, regard your return with much thankfulness and hope. They know your wishes and desires for the extension of the Saviour's Kingdom among the tribes with whom you have become acquainted, and they would wish you to continue to devote yourself to this work; at the same time, they trust you will give the benefit of your knowledge and experience to your colleagues who will be engaged more directly in the work for the benefit of the liberated Africans. This work the Committee would assign to you, Brother CHANCELLOR, in conjunction with Brother Bockstatt. Your first task will be the acquisition of the language. In this they trust you will receive some preliminary help by consulting their veteran Missionary, Dr. Krapf, at Stuttgart. It must necessarily take some little time before you can acquire the language with any freedom. You will probably also be subjected at first to the usual trials from acclimatization, and there will therefore be some time during which you will be thankful for the help in your department of Brother Sparshott, until you are joined by others.

More detailed instructions shall be furnished hereafter; time will not admit them here. The Committee would only express the hope that you may prove a true follower of Him who was anointed of the Lord to preach good tidings unto the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Palestine.—The Committee gladly accept your offer, Mr. BELLAMY, to connect yourself with them, and they are thankful that they have been called upon not only to strengthen but to extend the borders of their Palestine Mission by a combination of circumstances which they cannot but regard as providential. Among these they would refer first to the desire put into your heart to engage in Mission work in the Holy Land—then to the wish of Bishop Gobat to make over to the Church Missionary Society the Station of Salt, east of the Jordan, where the Bishop has been permitted not only to locate the first Native Preacher of the Gospel, but also to gather in the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest; and further, that measures have been taken of late years by the Turkish Government to bring under control the wild tribes beyond the Jordan, among whom until very recently an European Missionary could not have resided without considerable risk.

It is proposed that in the first instance you should establish your head-quarter at Salt, the ancient Ramoth-Gilead, one of the three cities of refuge east of the Jordan. North and south of Salt is the territory originally assigned to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh. Although miles may be traversed without passing through the habitations of men, the ruins of towns and villages show that it was formerly a populous country, and of the southern portion of this tract known by the modern name of the Belka, the fertility is so great that among the Arabs there is a proverb, "Thou canst not find a country like the Belka." The predatory habits of the great Bedouin tribes have urged the resident population to

congregate in a few centres, one of which is Salt; another, Kerek, some miles to the south, may be kept in view as a place to which Missionary operations may be extended at no distant period. But in view of this or other places into which God's providence may call us to enter, it is most important that from the first your thoughts should be directed to the training of qualified native agents, and though at first the acquisition of Arabic must take up much of your time and attention, the study of the language may bring you in contact with some who, by your influence, may be led, under God, to devote themselves to the Master's service.

Mr. Bourazan has also been engaged by the Committee for service in Palestine. He is a native Christian from Mosul, the ancient Nineveh. Arabic is his mother-tongue, so that he will be useful to you as an interpreter, and after some special training it is hoped that his services may be turned to good account at Salt, where there is already a small congregation of some seventy Protestant Christians, and where we pray that God may so bless your labours that in future years there may be a large ingathering, not only among the resident population, but among the wild Bedouin tribes of the Desert.

Western India.—You, Brother DALE, have been appointed to one of the most important spheres of labour occupied by the Society, that of Sharanpur (Nasik) in Western India. Here the labours of faithful men who have gone before you (many of whom were content to sow that others might reap) have resulted in a Christian settlement in connexion with which there are schools and a training institution; to these, with God's blessing, we may look for a future supply of Native Evangelists and teachers who will find a wide sphere of employment among a dense Mah-ratti-speaking population. The Mission has recently sustained a loss by the return home, on account of ill health, of the Rev. W. S. and Mrs. Price, who have been permitted to labour earnestly for many years in promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Native Christians, many of whom had by them been led to Christ. Apart from the duties of the Christian settlement of Sharanpur, there is much evangelistic work to be done in Nasik, one of the strongholds of heathenism, and in the neighbouring district. At present the Rev. Robert Squires is the

solitary European labourer at Sharanpur charged with its multifarious duties, and in order to strengthen his hands you have been assigned to this post, where the Committee pray that the grace of God may enable you to co-operate zealously with your brother in Christ, and to take an active part in the work which, as it was commenced, so it must be continued and ended in Christ.

The peculiar exigencies of the Mission have led the Committee to sanction your going out married. The educational work carried on among the females makes the desirability very great of the superintendence of a Christian lady. We have a good hope that your wife will prove one fully qualified for this work, and in full sympathy with yourself in the desire to lay yourselves out for the welfare of those around you.

North India.—You, Brother SHIRREFF, go out to strengthen the Mission in the Punjab. A succession of able and devoted Missionaries have well sustained the Society's work in that important province. God has blessed their labours, and now the crowning result of a Mission has begun to be realized in the raising up of a Native Ministry prepared, as we trust, to carry out the work of evangelization on a much wider scale than is possible to the foreign Missionary. With this later development of the work the name of the saintly Knott is closely associated. At the invitation of one who by personal knowledge of the work to be done was able to urge its claims with effect, our devoted and gifted Brother French, Mr. Knott gave up a position which united much that was desirable at home to consecrate his matured powers to this work of training a Native Ministry in India. In the mysterious providence of God, he was not permitted to do more than barely enter on the work. The foundations of the Lahore Divinity School were, as Mr. French has said, laid in a life ungrudgingly sacrificed in its behalf. By Mr. French's own abundant labours, ably supported by Mr. Clark and others of the Punjab Mission, this Native theological college has been successfully carried through the first difficulties of such an undertaking, and bids fair to prove a permanent blessing to the Indian Church.

The Committee have anxiously looked to the Universities for the reinforcement of his staff. And now they rejoice that Oxford, which gave us Mr. French and Mr. Knott, again sends forth in you another of her sons

desirous of taking part in a work which especially demands the qualification of sound and religious learning.

The Committee have therefore heard with much thankfulness of your special interest in Mr. French's work, first awakened in your mind by his farewell address at Oxford, and now send you to Lahore in the expectation that you will there find a sphere for which you have been endowed with special qualifications.

Of the value and importance of sound theological training for the future teachers of the Native Church there can be but one opinion. To impart this through the close and profound study of the Word of God has been the aim of Mr. French. But another object he has steadily kept in view is to train his students to be men of action as well as scholars. He feels that for the evangelization of India are needed men of her own soil, self-denying and laborious, in thorough sympathy with their own people, while imbued with ardent longings to make them partakers of the "common salvation." Such characters can only be formed, through God's blessing, by the force of example and the contagion of a deep, spiritual enthusiasm. You will cultivate, then, a generous sympathy with your students; let them witness in you the constraining power of the love of Christ and the high standard of one willing to spend and be spent in the ministering of the Gospel.

To you, Brother GRIME, the Committee would address a few parting words as to one of their own training for the work of an evangelist to which you now go forth. In their Islington College you have received a careful preparation under the watchful and loving direction of one who has himself laboured as a Missionary, and has experienced the peculiar difficulties and trials of the work, and also its joys and consolations. You now yourself enter on the conflict, to make proof of the weapons with which you have been furnished. These are not carnal, but mighty through God: may you ever wield them in faith, having no confidence in the flesh, but realizing that your sufficiency is of God.

In assigning you to a sphere of labour at Jubbulpur in Central India, the Committee have had regard to the needs of the Mission, and also to the advantage to yourself of being associated at the outset of your career with such a Missionary of laborious zeal, tact, and experience as you

will find in Mr. Champion. Avail yourself, then, freely of the help and advice which we feel sure he will be ready to afford: take the place of a learner, and make it your special endeavour by careful habits of study, and by familiar intercourse with the people; to gain a thorough knowledge of the native language, as the indispensable qualification for your usefulness as a Missionary. Be not discouraged by the difficulties which may appear to thicken around you as you advance. In bearing up against them, looking to God and His all-sufficient grace, your own powers will be strengthened and matured, and you will prove how faithful is the saying, "The husbandman *that laboreth* must be first partaker of the fruits."

You, Brother BRIGGS, are about to return to Multan, a sphere of labour in which you have already experienced the special difficulties of Missionary work when carried on amongst a bigoted and fanatical people. The Committee trust that your brief visit to your native land, after many years of absence, has refreshed your spirit and invigorated your health; and that you will return to proclaim the blessed Gospel to the gainsaying Mohammedans of Multan with a new impression on your heart of its life-giving power. The Christian sympathy which you have met in England will assure you of the interest which many will take in your work, and their prayers will sustain you in it. Special interest will attach to the labours of Mrs. Briggs amongst her countrywomen. She has already won their confidence, and is able to communicate with them more freely than any foreigner could. The Committee hope that in the Girls' Schools and the Zenanas she will continue to find increasing opportunities of testifying of the Saviour's love. Your own special sphere of work will be, as heretofore, in the Christian Schools at Multan and in the neighbouring Native State of Baháulpore. Your thorough familiarity with the language enables you most effectively to impart religious instruction to the youths under your charge, and you have had experience, in the public profession of Christianity by several of your pupils, of the blessing with which the Lord is sometimes pleased to crown His servants' labours in this department of the work. While you continue to labour for such fruit, to pray for it and to expect it, you will not be discouraged, even should such immediate and visible results be withheld. The faithful Missionary's work

is eminently a work of *faith*—whether the scene of his labours be the bazaar or the school. His encouragement lies in the conviction that no labour which “is in the Lord” is in vain; and he has also the satisfaction of knowing that the wide proclamation of the Gospel by the preacher, and its persevering inculcation by the teacher, are means which have already been largely blessed to the removal of blind prejudice and the diffusion of a knowledge of the truth. In carrying on the important subsidiary work of education, the Society has gladly availed itself of the labours, whenever they could be had, of pious and devoted laymen. And they are glad to add your name to the list of such labourers.

You, Brother MAXWELL, go to fill a post of honour, for you take the place of one who fell in the field—the devoted and much-lamented Elmslie. His labours as a medical Missionary in Cashmere will long be held in remembrance; and the story of his single-hearted and self-denying life, devoted to opening up that jealously-guarded field for Missionary work, will be an ever-fresh incentive to toil. His was the hard work of the pioneer. You follow to make good the position he won. Still, difficulties you doubtless will have, and you will need special wisdom from above to direct you in that permanent establishment of the Mission which recent concessions will, it is hoped, render possible.

Your special work, like that of education, is one in which the Christian layman may most suitably engage. And there is reason to believe that the example is not lost on the Natives when they have this proof of the constraining power of Christian principle in a layman devoting himself to philanthropical labours on their behalf, and ever pressing upon them the Gospel as the one effectual remedy for sin and for sorrow. Your work and ministry becomes a *living Gospel*, which at once impresses and conciliates.

You will find many warm friends in the Punjab who take a hearty interest in medical Mission work. The Committee of the Punjab Medical Missionary Association have now for a number of years contributed liberally to the Cashmere Mission and defrayed the expenses of the subordinate Native staff. You will have the advantage of their experience and counsel in maturing your plans. The Committee had hoped that the Rev. W. Ridley, who was designated last year to Cashmere, might have been able to accom-

pany you. But medical opinion is still opposed to his return to India. The Committee, however, will not slacken their endeavours to supplement your professional work by the labours of an ordained Missionary, an arrangement which your lamented predecessor in the Mission had strongly urged. Meanwhile, they rejoice to know that you will copy his excellent example and let slip no opportunity of leading those who come within your influence to the great Physician who is alone able to give healing to the soul.

South India.—Brothers ELLINGTON and HORSLEY are designated for the South India Mission.

The Committee rejoice with you, Brother Ellington, that you are returning to a Mission which of late years God has remarkably blessed, and that in the particular department of it to which you are called there is so much to invite and encourage the labours of the Missionary and the prayers and thanksgivings of the Church. Your work will be that of preaching to the adult heathen in the villages; of devising and carrying out measures for the instruction of the catechumens, who are in such large numbers flocking into the Christian Church; and, lastly, of providing for the edification of the Native Christians, and for their organization on a self-supporting system. The Committee suggest the formation of Christian companies and the appointment of unpaid head-men, in accordance with the plan described in their printed minute on this subject. The Committee are aware that above all you will urge on these young converts earnest prayer for that outpouring of the Holy Spirit, by which alone they can become strong and fruitful and bring glory to God.

You, Brother Horsley, in going out now for the first time as a Missionary of the Cross, are returning to the land of your birth, and have been appointed to a field of labour where the name you bear is well known, and where large sections of the population will be prepared to welcome you as the son of one from whose professional skill and energy they derived benefit, and who was not ashamed to confess Christ while engaged in the important duties of his secular calling. The Committee designate you for Tinnevely. The more particular allotment of your work is left to the Society's representatives at Madras; but the Committee will be glad if it can be arranged that you should reside, while learning the

language, with Brother Meadows at Sivagāsi, and that the work on which you enter, after having acquired the language, should be rather evangelistic among the heathen than pastoral over Native Christians.

Ceylon. — The Committee thank God, Brother ROWLANDS, at the prospect of your entering once again on the field of your former labours in Colombo.

They know that your feeling is that of the Apostle — "Who is sufficient for these things?" But they know also that God has helped you in time past, and they share with you the assured conviction that He will be with you to the end, and will give the strength that may be needed for every work and every trial which His wisdom may appoint.

In sending you back to Ceylon the Committee cheerfully accede to your own request, that you should devote yourself specially to the Tamil-speaking population of Colombo and the neighbouring districts. By the blessing of God several hundreds of Tamil Christians have here been gathered together, partly converts from heathenism, partly Native Christians that have immigrated from other places. The Committee would now earnestly press upon you the importance of stimulating this little community corporately as well as individually to rely directly on the Great Head of the Church rather than on the European Missionary or Missionary Society. As the Tamil Christians who have been under your care are spread over a somewhat extended area, it will be practicable to form amongst them several congregations who may be apportioned between two or, if possible, three Native pastors. Elected delegates from such congregations will form, together with the pastors, a Church Council, of which you will naturally be the chairman. The Committee wish for the appointment of two or more pastors rather than one, in order that from the first the federal system may be introduced. But it is not necessary that the two should be appointed absolutely at the same time. These pastors might be either men ordained for the post or brethren already ordained and transferred from other places.

The Committee would also suggest that an effort should be made for the benefit of the Mohammedan population of Colombo. Valuable assistance and advice may be obtained by correspondence from Mr. French of Lahore and Mr. Sell of Madras. The Committee will favourably consider an application for the

appointment of paid Native agents qualified to initiate this new enterprise.

For the gathering together of the scattered Tamil Christians found in different parts of the Western and Southern provinces, the Committee earnestly press the desirableness of calling out *voluntary effort*. If in any locality a pious Tamil Christian is found, able to read intelligently his own language and willing to conduct a simple religious service for his own countrymen, the Committee would regret to see such duties devolved upon a salaried Catechist. The duty of Catechists, like that of the European Missionary, should be to call out and foster these voluntary agencies among Christians and to labour themselves for the evangelization of the heathen.

The Committee are glad to think that in nearly all that has been now said they are rather endorsing your own views than suggesting what has not occurred to you. May the Lord give you wisdom and guidance!

The Committee congratulate you, Brother UNWIN, that you are proceeding to the Ceylon Mission at a time when peace and progress seem to characterize its annals. Your more particular designation will devolve on the Ceylon Conference. You are entering on scenes unknown and untried, but He who knows all and disposes all is a Reconciled God and a Loving Father.

China. — The Committee are thankful, Brother GRETTON, that it has pleased God so far to restore your health as to enable you to return to the populous field in which you have already laboured.

You go forth again, we hope, not only with restored health, but refreshed in spirit.

This time you do not go forth alone, and the Committee trust that she who accompanies you will prove a true helper in the work of the Lord; that, sharing each other's toils, you may be sharers in the crown that the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give in the great day to all His faithful servants.

The honour conferred upon our Brother Burdon by his appointment to the Bishopric of Victoria will leave a gap in the small Mission Staff at Peking, which the Committee feel it important to have filled up at once. It is probable, therefore, that this will be the scene of your future labours, in which case the Committee hope that you will see your way not to confine your labours to the city, but make occasional journeys of itineration throughout the surrounding district, and be

led to discover openings to be occupied by Native catechists.

It is possible, however, that as other changes are pending in the China Mission, some other arrangement may be more advisable. On this subject the Committee have communicated with Bishop Russell, from whom they hope to hear before your departure. Wherever your location may be, the Committee would urge the extreme importance of doing all in your power to increase the efficiency of Native agents. In every field their great hope is in these, but more especially in China, where the population is so vast. The Committee hope you will not only long enjoy the privilege yourself of preaching the Gospel, but of leaving others qualified by your efforts to carry forward the evangelization of that great empire when you have found your reward in the presence of your Lord.

Japan.—You, Brothers WARREN and PIPER, have been designated to labour among a people who, in a sense, may be truly described as stretching out their hands unto God. Long had Japan been like a fast-closed, ice-bound shore; but the breath of the Almighty has gone forth. Warm under-currents have begun to flow; the obstructions have been broken up, and they now lie like great floating masses, through which the Gospel-ship may push its way. No doubt, at the first, sailing on such a sea will have its dangers. It will require zeal with judgment, and determination mingled with discretion, to steer the vessel wisely and bring her safe to land. It is, therefore, with peculiar thankfulness that the Committee are able at this juncture to send out to the support of their now solitary labourer in that field those who are no novices in Missionary work, but who may be said to have earned for themselves a good degree; those, too, who have already been associated in labour, and who will find the benefit of having bent their energies to acquire a sound knowledge of the Chinese language.

Gladly, Brother Warren, do the Committee welcome you again among their labourers. You had shown such patient labour in learning the language when you were at Hong Kong, and such earnest devotion to your work there, that it was a cause of much regret that the failure of your health obliged you to return home. They are thankful, however, that your restoration to health has found your Missionary spirit

still alive and brightly burning, and not only yours, but Mrs. Warren's also, whose weak health might easily have been pleaded by her as a reason for wishing to remain at home.

The Committee trust that the more genial climate of Japan will enable you long to labour there, and to help in laying a good and sound foundation for the future Church of that interesting country. The place at which the Committee hope you will eventually be stationed is the populous port of Osaka. Till, however, you have gained some knowledge of the language, especially as you will be accompanied by your family, the Committee have been advised that you should take up your abode at Kobe, where a considerable number of Europeans are already residing.

There is constant and easy communication between Kobe and Osaka, and this will shortly, we understand, be made more easy by the construction of a railway. The Committee hope it will not be long before they hear of your having secured a place in Osaka, at least for meeting inquirers who may wish to come to you, if not for open and public preaching of Christ. Peculiar advantages attach to Osaka as a basis for Missionary operations. It is in close proximity to a very large population, and the dialect there spoken is said to be the purest in Japan.

The Committee have good hope that you will not long be left to labour alone. A member of the University of Oxford will be ready, we trust, to follow you immediately after the Christmas ordination; and others whose thoughts have been directed to this field will, we hope, be led to decide to offer themselves. You will take counsel before you go with our Brother Ensor, and get from him all the information you can. One thing only the Committee would press upon you, to have an eye from the very first on the raising up of a native agency, and to lay yourself out for it. The fact that at present the upper classes are more accessible than the mass of the people makes the importance of this the greater.

For this, as for all you have to do, the Divine Spirit make you a vessel fit for the Master's use!

You, Brother Piper, have been appointed to Yedo, to act as the Secretary to our Japan Mission. The Committee would have been loath to remove you from Hong Kong, where the blessing of God has so evidently

rested upon your labours; but the appointment of Mr. Burdon to be the Bishop there made your presence the less necessary.

The Committee acknowledge with thankfulness the readiness with which you responded to their suggestion of your transference to Japan, and still more the spirit of devotion manifested in your offering to return for the work's sake without delay, although you had only just reached this country. Doubts have been expressed of the wisdom of at once occupying Yedo; but the fact that some five or six well-educated Englishmen have already gone out thither from this country, this present year, in the employment of the Government, as professors and teachers of the arts and sciences, seems to lay it upon the Church at once to press forward, and at the same time to prove that no risk is likely to be run by such a course. Events, however, occur with such rapidity in Japan that all arrangements of this kind must needs be made with some reserve. The Committee, therefore, leave you free to act on your own discretion, if you are led to think, on arriving in the country, that some other place of occupation would at first be preferred.

As in the case of Osaka, the Committee have a good hope that they will not long have to leave you single-handed; but that others will soon follow to help in spreading the knowledge of the Son of God.

The Committee hope they will find both in yourself and Mr. Warren good correspondents, so that you will keep them informed of all matters of interest connected with the work. They also hope to be made acquainted with any openings that may occur, and will be glad to receive any suggestion by which the work may in your opinion be furthered.

The Committee are not unaware that the work in Japan must needs be compassed with peculiar difficulties, but they rejoice in the remembrance that the God whom we serve is the God of all grace, and that His word of promise by His servant is this: "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him."

North Pacific.—You, Brother COLLISON, have been appointed to the North Pacific Mission. Though last upon our list, it is not least in our hearts' affections. God Himself has marked it out as a field of special interest. The story of the Metlakatlah Mission has indeed been "stranger

than fiction," for it has been from beginning to end a story of the grace of God. We trust you will regard it as no small proof of the confidence the Committee have been led to repose in you, that you have been selected for this field, to labour with one whom God has so greatly honoured.

In the first instance, the Committee wish you to act as an assistant to Mr. Duncan, ready to undertake any work that he may direct: and they feel sure you will account it a privilege so to act under one whom the grace of God has so distinguished. Concurring with Mr. Duncan's advice, the Committee send you out unordained, and they thankfully appreciate the readiness with which you surrendered your own wishes in the matter.

The words in which our brother asked for a fellow-helper are these: "My advice is this—he should come out unordained, and be willing to help in school work while learning the language, say two or three years, and when he can preach in the native tongue, and is found otherwise efficient, he should be ordained and take full charge of the Church here. By that time no doubt there will be a native able to take up the school work, and hence I should be free to start a new Mission on Queen Charlotte Island; should it please God to spare my life and open up my way; I could still occasionally visit Metlakatlah till they learnt to do without me."

The Committee feel no doubt of the wisdom of this advice. While, therefore, assisting in every way that you can, you must consider that for the present your first work is that of learning the language and preparing for Holy Orders. The Committee have long desired to have a Missionary in full orders residing in Metlakatlah, so that they will rejoice to hear of such a consummation.

The Committee cannot refrain from expressing their satisfaction that you are to be accompanied by one who, from all that they have heard, they have reason to believe will prove a true helper to you in your work, and a true mother to the infant Church of Metlakatlah.

They hear, too, with pleasure of the interest taken in your welfare and hers in the city of Cork, where you have both been labouring, and secured the respect of those who know you. They trust your call to the Mission-field will be the means of stirring up continually fresh interest in our great work in the hearts of the people of Cork.

They would only add that they look for the

blessing of our faithful God to accompany you both on your way and to bless you. You are not going to one of the dense populations of the earth, but you are followers of Him who said, "What man of you having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it;" and they pray that you may be abundantly partakers of His Spirit and sharers in His glory.

The Committee have now completed their

instructions. Soon, beloved friends, you will be scattered in your various fields of labour. Do not forget that, wherever you are, "the same Lord over all is rich unto all them that call upon Him"—rich in grace—rich in resources—rich in power—rich in fatherly love.

We feel we cannot commend to you a better word than that of the Psalmist,—

"Trust in Him at all times;
Pour out your hearts before Him;
God is a Refuge for us."

The Missionaries were then addressed by the Rev. Canon Linton, Rector of St. Peter-lè-Bailey, Oxford, as follows:—

MY DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST JESUS,—The Committee having requested me to address you on the present deeply interesting occasion, I have not felt at liberty to decline undertaking this responsible office, though there are many reasons why I should shrink from it. But if every one who feels his own weakness and incompetency for a work set before him in the providence of God were *on that ground* to decline entering upon it, many of you, I suspect, no less than myself, would be absent from this meeting to-day. But now, in a strength not your own, you are girding on your harness to meet the great enemy on his own ground, and in the name of the Lord to wrest from him some of those poor captives whom he has long held in chains of darkness and misery.

May He whose strength is made perfect in weakness be present with us to bless us, while in simple dependence on His grace I try to speak a few words which may help to confirm and encourage you in that good work to which you have devoted yourselves.

1. And first, do not be too much disturbed in your minds, as if some strange thing had happened, because you feel sadly cast down under a sense of your own insufficiency for the work you have undertaken, and sometimes feel tempted to doubt whether you have not altogether mistaken your vocation. It is no new temptation. Mr. Venn remarks that "whenever we are called to do a work for the Lord, if we are not humbled before we enter upon it, there is little reason to think we shall meet with any success."

Many years ago, when I attended a meeting similar to the present, the one thing which struck me more than anything else was the way in which each Missionary going out for the first time besought us to pray that he might be kept humble. And I do not think one of those failed in his mission. One or two were eminently successful. "Before honour is humility." I recollect your Missionary Ragland saying to me, after we had visited a house where he was treated with marked attention, "I wish people would not make so much of me because I am going out as a Missionary, for what is there in that?" He felt it did him no good, and might do him harm. His great fear was lest he should be pleasing himself with the prospect of being much spoken of in Cambridge and elsewhere amongst pious people, and praised as being more devoted to God than his fellows. In a letter to a friend he wrote, "Of all methods of attaining to a position of usefulness and honour, the only safe and sure one is to fit ourselves for it by purging our hearts from vain-glory, worldliness, and selfishness." And certainly he himself was an example of this.

2. But you must not from fear of pride fail to *magnify your office*. You cannot be too distrustful of yourselves, nor too full of trust in Christ, who has accredited you as His ambassadors. God has not called you to be His messengers to degrade you. You

must remember the numerous passages of Scripture where the high dignity of your office is clearly set forth, and not be ashamed to assert it. You must speak with authority in God's name, with all boldness, remembering that He has promised to stand by you and to help and protect you. Never forget that you represent Christ, and that He expects you to be strong and very courageous; and that while you follow His instructions and act faithfully upon His promises, He will not suffer any of your words to fall to the ground. Those whom they do not convert they will condemn. For the Lord has promised to be with you always, even to the end of the world.

3. Do not expect to reap as soon as you have sown: "Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient" (James v. 7, 8). Many a sermon which appears to be lost may spring up after many days and bring forth fruit unto life eternal.

When Dr. Pfander and Mr. French were challenged to confront some very learned and determined Mullahs, who came prepared, as they thought, by a vast mass of evidence which they had industriously compiled (chiefly from European sources) to prove the utter unreliability and corruption of the Christian Scriptures, both parties, as might have been expected, claimed the victory in that controversy. And for a time no fruit was seen. Our Missionaries might think they had run in vain and laboured in vain. But what has been the result? It is a fact that two or three of the more earnest Mohammedans then present have since joined themselves to Christ in baptism. One of these converts, named Imad-ud-deen, a man of considerable learning and ability, has since been ordained. Mr. French met him on his arrival at Lahore, and heard him preach a sermon from the words, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." He says, "It was powerfully handled, and exhibited great originality, and also a power of logical and methodical arrangement of his subject, grappling with its points" (Journal). Thus he preaches the faith which once he destroyed, and is one of the most able and powerful defenders of Christ's Gospel against those with whom he was once associated in seeking to overthrow it. But who could have anticipated such fruits as these when the discussion took place at Agra and the Mohammedans claimed the victory? Therefore "in the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good."

But some of you may say, "Dr. Pfander and Mr. French were giants, men of powerful intellect, and that intellect highly cultivated; men able to make the best of a good cause and to cope with their adversaries, however learned or subtle, in argument. But we are weak and feeble; we have no intellectual power; and that which you have related serves rather to dishearten than to encourage us." Well; be it so. Granted you have no such strength as theirs, and that it would be unwise in you to enter into controversy with subtle and learned Mohammedans. But have you never read of those who out of weakness were made strong, and that it is the glory of God to ordain praise out of the mouth of babes? Mr. French relates, in one of his interesting journals, that "in one place on the Sutlej much inquiry has been awakened among a fair number, both of the Hindu and Mohammedan inhabitants, through the unaided and spontaneous efforts of an old catechist who settled down amongst them and read out of the Bible to the people whom he met with, never arguing with anybody, but replying to objectors, 'I am a poor ignorant man; I cannot argue; but if you want to know the truth, take the book and read it yourself.' The simple process of this poor untrained catechist," says Mr. French, "has taught me much, and few results have been so satisfactory thus far.

At any rate, Mr. Clark has had an earnest petition that a church may be built among them, and it may be that ere long this petition will be granted " (*Lahore Divinity School*," pp. 9, 10).

And remember that Christ is honoured and souls won to Him, not only by child-like simplicity and reliance on the power of His word, but by patient suffering. "Julius Palmer, a stubborn opponent of the reformed doctrines, was a spectator of the death of Latimer and Ridley. Their fortitude and faithfulness had such an effect upon him that he could not rest till he had searched the Scriptures to ascertain the grounds of the faith which they professed. The result was conviction to himself, and a determination to offer himself to the same trial. He persevered, and suffered at the stake. The same appears to have been the case with Constantine Ponce de la Fuentè, a Spanish ecclesiastic who attended Philip to this country. He had been one of the preachers of Charles V., and his learning and eloquence made his character as famous as his private worth made him beloved. He returned to Spain and began to expound Scripture and write catechisms for his countrymen; but when the people crowded to his preaching he was almost immediately accused and imprisoned, and died in a dark cell of the Inquisition. Charles V. heard of his arrest a short time before his own death. 'If Ponce is an heretic,' he said, 'it is time to look to it, for he is no common man'" (See Massingberd's "*English Reformation*," pp. 406, 407).

I need scarcely remind you that, wherever you go, temptations will meet you. Satan would cease to be Satan if he did not try to baffle you, to discourage you, to make you turn back, to cause you to fall. Whatever temptations may have beset you at home will probably beset you with twofold force abroad, especially in a tropical climate. There will be temptations to indolence, to impurity, to irritability. Against these you must double your guard. There will be a danger lest the constant sight of heathen practices should deaden your sense of their shamefulness and abominableness in the sight of God. But remember that no temptation will have taken you which has not been felt, struggled with, and overcome by hundreds who have preceded you; for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able. And He will overrule these temptations for good, and lay you low in your own esteem, and bring you often to your knees, and make the salvation of Christ increasingly precious to you. In Him you will ever find a sympathizing Friend and Helper. "He knows what sore temptations mean, for He has felt the same." It was Luther's saying, and I think that of Austin before him, that prayer, reading, temptation, and meditation make a Minister. I am sure they make a Missionary.

Constant prayer, the daily reading of God's Word, hourly conflict with Satan and the evil world without, and the remains of the old man within; these, with meditation upon God's power and love, His faithfulness and truth, will enable you to hold on your way, to wax stronger and riper in your ministry, and, whether you know it or not, to exercise an increasing influence on those around you, to win souls for Christ, and to advance the kingdom of God. By taking heed first to yourselves and then to your doctrines you will both save yourselves and them that hear you.

Be sure of this, that it is not so much by great talents, or powers of oratory, as by the eloquence of holiness that men are influenced. There is a power in that which they cannot gainsay or resist. It was said of Ragland by one who knew him well, "His influence was great, but it was the influence of what he *was* rather than of what he said—the influence of a consistent and holy life, an atmosphere of holiness about him, which made one feel nearer to heaven in his company. He effected a great deal, but it was with quiet, not with noisy energy. He kept himself beneath the surface, and exerted his powers more like the screw which, unseen beneath the waves, propels the

steamer in its course, than the splashing paddle-wheel which is seen and heard, commanding attention to its vigorous strokes" ("Life of Ragland," p. 37).

Follow after holiness, *διώκετε*, pursue it. It is God's gift, but only to those who diligently seek it. It is those who hunger and thirst after it who shall be filled. Again, *follow after peace*, peace with all men, but especially peace one with another. Bear and forbear; be loving and kind; be very slow to take offence, and most ready to forgive the offender. The late Mr. Hambleton, who has more than once addressed departing Missionaries, relates that one of our Missionaries, who had laboured till his health failed, told him that he and a brother Missionary had lived for years in harmony in the same station, because if the one saw on the other's countenance only a shade of unkindly feeling, he would go to his house and say, "Come, brother, what means this? Your face was not toward me as usual this morning. This will not do for us. Come, let us kneel down and pray together." Yes, prayer is the great healer. In a letter from Mr. Ragland, in 1854, he spoke of it as a matter of much thankfulness that through God's grace repressing the evil of their hearts He had enabled him and two brother Missionaries to live in *peace* and *love* together, and to take increasing pleasure in the work to which He had called them.

It was that letter which suggested the prayer used by several friends at Oxford on Friday afternoons in behalf of Missions, because in it he stated those special subjects in which he most desired the prayers of his brethren at home; and no one can so well describe the wants and wishes of a Missionary as a Missionary himself. He referred particularly to the two petitions in the touching Whitsunday Preface in the Communion Service, saying, "O for the grace and fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel to *all* nations; for the love of Christ to constrain my heart to labour for Him, and for Him simply, and not for success, not for a name in the Church. Next after this (I know indeed but these two wants), would that God would graciously give me the power of speaking the Tamil tongue fluently, clearly, and acceptably to the people!" He also stated how keenly he felt the loss, through ill health, of his dear friend and companion David Fenn.

And now, my dear brethren, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. Remember that God has not given you the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. Never forget that you are the ambassadors of a great King, who sits with the Father upon His throne. And will you be ashamed of Him and of the message with which He has entrusted you? Put on a good courage, and show that you know in whom you have believed, and though you suffer affliction and are often treated with contempt, and, to use an expression of Mr. French's, are sorely brow-beaten, never be ashamed; but remember whose you are, whom you serve, and in whom you have trusted; and be sure that He will never leave you nor forsake you, but give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist. Do not expect help till the necessities of the case require it. It is the glory of God to show Himself strong in the behalf of those who fear Him in the hour of their deepest need. Daily study His Word, daily pray, daily commit yourselves to Him, and He will bring it to pass and supply all your wants according to His riches in glory by Christ Jesus. Thus you will learn to praise Him for all that is past, and to trust Him for all that is future.

Hold fast the form of sound words with which the wisdom of the Church of which you are ministers has supplied you. You will never find better in which to express eternal verities. Be thankful for the three creeds, and for the Thirty-nine Articles. The men who drew them up were no novices, but men of ripe age and experience,

and well acquainted with their Bibles. It is a great help to have such sound words and well-weighed expressions to fall back upon.

Use the law lawfully. When I was young in the ministry it was my privilege to meet Mr. Simeon at the house of Lady O. B. S. He soon found out my ignorance of the uses of the law, and gave me some sermons of his on the subject, which at that time were invaluable to me. For they showed me that the moral law was intended, first, to convince men of sin; secondly, to lead them as lost sinners to Christ; and thirdly, to be the believer's rule of life. I cannot tell you what a flood of light these three remarks let in upon my mind, and how useful they have been to me ever since. Till men are convinced of sin, they will never heartily embrace the Gospel. They will not feel their perishing need of Christ. Press unconverted men with the law. Show them its extent and spirituality—that a lustful look is adultery, and that envy, hatred, and malice are murder, and that the soul that sinneth, it shall die. This alone will convict them of sin, and extort the cry, “What must I do to be saved?” and “God be merciful to me a sinner!” Then preach Christ to them, and under the Spirit's teaching they will feel His preciousness, and depend on Him alone. Being justified by faith and accounted righteous through the merits of Christ, they will not need the law for its two first uses. In this sense the law is not made for a righteous man. He has the law of love to guide him (Gal. v. 18). Those who are led by the Spirit are not under the law as a covenant of works, a covenant of life and death. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace; against these there is no law. “*Quis legem det amantibus?*”—“Who shall prescribe a law to those who love?” They delight in the law of God after the inward man, and their only sorrow is that they cannot love God more, and serve Him more perfectly.

Once more, “*Grow in grace* and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” The greatest safeguard against falling away is growth in grace. While you are growing you are safe. He who gave this precept was himself a remarkable instance of it. Look at Peter in the Gospels, Peter in the Acts, and Peter in the Epistles. He had all along been a growing Christian. There was grace in the blade, grace in the ear, and then full corn in the ear. If any man had a right to say it, he had. Grow in grace. St. John, too, speaks of little children, young men, and fathers. Once in mistaken zeal he would have called down fire from heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritans, but in the Acts of the Apostles we find Peter and John going down to Samaria and praying that the Samaritans might receive the Holy Ghost. And as love increased power increased, and these two fishermen gathered into the Gospel-net an incredible number of fish—and see the rich reward of their patient labours!

Be ye also patient, and the result shall be the same. I verily believe that faithful Missionaries abroad are, as a rule, far more successful in winning souls for Christ than ministers at home. Oh, what a harvest of souls will some reap! They sowed in tears, but they will reap in joy. Even now they are often permitted to see that their labour has not been in vain in the Lord. Mr. French, in a letter to his father (which I was permitted to see), dated the 14th of December last, wrote, “This has been rather a memorable day to us in the ordination of two Native deacons and three Native priests, all of them well known to me, two at Agra, one at Dera Ismael Khan, and two at Lahore; and all have been more or less under my instruction at some time or other.” “I heard one of the newly-ordained priests preach in the Native church on two texts, ‘I am the light of the world:’ ‘Ye are the light of the world.’”

May you see much fruit of your labours, if God sees it safe for you to know it; and not, may you still find in the eternal world that you have not run in vain, but that

God has reserved the discovery of it for that state where the knowledge thereof shall do you no harm, but only redound to His glory. May He bless you by land and by water, at home and abroad, by night and by day! With long life may He satisfy you, and show you His salvation!

After a few earnest words from the Rev. E. Sargent, from Tinnevely, prayer was offered by the Rev. Rowley Hill, the Vicar of the Parish, and the Benediction pronounced by the Venerable Archdeacon Hunter.

THE CITY OF PERPETUAL PROSPERITY.

In the "Church Missionary Record" for October, 1872, there is a very full account of Shaou-hying, the city of "Perpetual Prosperity." It lies on the main road between Ning-po and Hang-chau, being distant about one hundred miles from Ning-po, and thirty from Hang-chau. The city is the capital of the department of the same name in the province of Che-kiang.

We must refer our readers to the "Church Missionary Record" for much most interesting information about the ancient history of Shaou-hying, communicated in the letter of our Missionary, Mr. Valentine. According to him, the present population is estimated at about 500,000 souls; there is probably also a population of two millions in the numerous and easily accessible villages scattered round it in all directions. In the estimation of Bishop Russell, "it must be regarded as a sphere of Missionary enterprise inferior to none in the Chinese Empire."

Mr. Palmer, whose letter we subjoin, has not been long in China, nor has the Mission, which was broken up some years ago by the incursions of the Taepings, been long resumed. The door, however, seems to be open, or at any rate opening, for the entrance of the Gospel. Mr. Tong, the native agent, whose death is mentioned, was among the first-fruits of this great city when first visited by our Missionaries in 1861. There was much promise of future usefulness in the opening career of this young man, but the Master has called him, and he is no longer here.

Shaou-hying, Dec. 9, 1872.

I am happy to be able to tell you what I most certainly believe myself, that the past year has been one of progress, first, in the erection of another permanent Mission-house, and, secondly, in our being able to hire a room in one of the principal streets of the city, for daily preaching to the heathen the Gospel of the grace of God. And although at present we see not that for which we long, viz., the real and spiritual progress of the Kingdom of Christ, the inquiry among this people of the way to Zion with the face thitherward, the desire to cast their idols to the moles and bats, and with one heart to trust in the Lord and His Christ—although as yet we see not this blessed progress, still I think you will agree with me that a step in advance has been taken during the past year; that we have, through God's blessing, been enabled to drive our stakes deeper, to buckle on our armour more

tightly, and to prepare our weapons more effectually for going forth to battle with the idolatries, the superstitions, the pride and the conceit of this poor, heathen Chinese people, who, verily, professing themselves wise, have become fools.

In my letter to Mr. Hutchinson a few months ago, I gave him some account of events connected with the purchase of the building-site, which turned out most favourable for the Mission. I am glad to say that since that time everything has gone on most quietly, and that the Sô family (to whom I then alluded) are among my politest neighbours. I also succeeded, without the least trouble, in paying (for the first time) my house-tax, or rather land-tax. On the whole, the past year has been free from rumours. Of course there were a few reports about while the house-building was going on. Some said that I was building (in concert with other

foreigners who were building elsewhere) with a view to the subjugation of the Chinese Empire; others said that I had rent the Fong-s,* i.e. the luck or prosperity of the Confucian temple, not far from my house; and others went still further, and said I had entirely spoiled the luck of *the whole district*. However, now, after the expiration of nearly twelve months, it is comforting to these people to know that things generally remain about the same as they were for ten years before the foreigners came to dwell among them, and that, after all, the "foreign devil" is not nearly so bad as they formerly thought him to be, and who, by the way, has now gained the respect of many, and with it a kinder and more decorous appellation. It is pleasant to record that round about our houses, and in the streets we most frequent, we are now very seldom called that opprobrious name so hard to hear in *Chinese*, but that a better and more respectable one has taken its place.

I regret to say that I have not been able to give very much time to the preaching-room, owing to building and other circumstances. Whenever I have been able to attend, I have been most interested, both with the number who have crowded into the room to hear, and also with the interest they exhibited, though sometimes one feels that their interest is more in *hearing a foreigner speak to them in their own tongue than in the truths the foreigner proclaims*.

However, there are some who do seem interested in the truth itself. I was speaking the other day in the preaching-room, and noticed that one man seemed particularly interested. I was speaking of the difference between the one living and true God, and false gods, the works of men's hands. He seemed surprised to hear that *all* besides the One God were false, and suddenly he interrupted, saying, "Sir, have you no idols of wood and earth in your honourable country?" I assured him that we had not one. "Then," said he, "what do you worship?" I then explained to him that we worshipped not a god whose power was limited, like most of their so-called gods, but One who is infinite, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things. The man still manifested his surprise by saying to those around him, "In the foreign teacher's country they have no idols of wood and earth!" This was not said in the trifling frivolous manner that one meets so frequently

with among the Chinese, but the man seemed to speak in all seriousness, so that one could not but pray that such as he might be led by the Spirit of God to believe in Him who alone can save.

I feel sure that the daily preaching to the heathen must be productive of immense good, though perhaps we are apt to think otherwise as we see so little fruit. In the space of an hour or two, hundreds of people come in and out, some listening only for five minutes, some for half-an-hour, and others there are who will listen as long as we are able to speak to them. Now these people (principally men), whether they stay for a longer or a shorter time, always hear some Gospel truth, something which cuts at the root of that which they have been taught to believe in as the truth. And therefore I think that we must not be *over* saddened or discouraged, because we, in the providence of God, are not permitted to see much success to the work of our hands, for we are sowing seed, namely, the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, who He is, and what He has done for the human family—seed sown to accomplish the Lord's good purposes—seed, we trust, that will spring up and bear fruit to the glory of our God, to be reaped, if not by *us*, by our successors, that both sower and reaper may rejoice together. I may here illustrate what I have said above, about spreading a knowledge of the Lord Jesus among the people, by what occurred a few days past. I had just opened the preaching-room, when several men entered, and among them an intelligent-looking man, to whom, after the usual polite questions, I addressed myself thus:—"Have you ever heard of the doctrine of Jesus Christ?" He answered, "Yes, I have." "May I ask where you heard this doctrine?" "About seven or eight months ago at Tien-ing-dông." "Who spoke to you of the doctrine at Tien-ing-dông?" "*You* did yourself." (Tien-ing-dông is the name of the new Mission-house). I had not the slightest recollection of the man, but from what he told me I think I must have fallen in with him while superintending the building of the Mission-house, and then have spoken to him of the Lord Jesus. He had not forgotten something of what he then learnt, for, from the following answer, you will see that he remembered what I will venture to call the two chief points in our holy religion. I said to him, "You said you heard of the doctrine some eight months ago, pray can you tell me who Jesus Christ is?" He replied, "Jesus is *God*, Jesus is the

* Fong-s is literally "wind and water."

Saviour of the world." Surely we have done something if we can make every one we come in contact with *know* these two great and blessed truths. As to *believing* these saving truths, would that we could speak more encouragingly! Still I think, as I said before, that we are making progress, for how shall these poor benighted Chinese "believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" Of course we have many difficulties peculiar to our work among this people, but perhaps none greater than that caused by the intense prejudice against all foreign intrusion, and this prejudice is greatly strengthened by the ridiculous and wicked reports which are continually being circulated. I will just give you one instance of a report which was in circulation in this city a year ago, to deter people from receiving the rite of baptism. My first Shaou-hying teacher, a most intelligent man, and a man of high literary attainments (though an inveterate opium smoker), said to me one day while in conversation, "I should like to know what you do with a person when he receives baptism, as there is a certain rumour abroad, which, if untrue, I should like to be able to contradict;" and then he added emphatically, "not that I believe in any of these reports." However, I am afraid my scholastic friend did really inquire to satisfy doubts in his own mind. I said, "What is the rumour? We have no secret practices in our religion." "Well," said he, "*people say* that when a person enters your religion he is obliged to receive baptism, and that when he is baptized he is obliged to *swallow a pill*." "But what is the use of the pill?" I asked. "Why, the pill is to *prevent the receiver from ever after leaving the religion*. If, after having received baptism, a man should leave the religion, the pill would immediately cause his body to swell to an enormous size, and finally burst asunder, causing death." Such was the ridiculous rumour which was told me without a smile by one who I cannot but think half believed it himself. I was most glad of the opportunity of telling this learned Chinaman how and for what purpose baptism was established, and how it was administered in our church; and, moreover, that when a person received baptism it was done publicly in the face of the congregation that he and any other orderly person might come and judge for themselves, and know for certain that nothing was done secretly, nor any magical arts practised. These rumours may sound foolish and puerile to English ears, but at present are thoroughly believed

in by most of the Chinese who have as yet not come in contact with foreigners. We have need much to pray that the existing prejudice of all the Chinese may speedily be taken away, and that free intercourse may take place between nations at present so entirely diverse.

Our Sunday services are continued as last year. The morning service consists of the morning prayer, 1st and 2nd Lessons (from the New Calendar) and sermon, the text generally being taken from one of the lessons for the day. In the afternoon we have the litany and sermon. Mr. Valentine and myself conduct the services alternately. The congregation is made up for the most part by members of our own households. Lately I have devoted Sunday afternoon to the preaching-room referred to above.

You will be pleased to hear that, notwithstanding the long cessation from study which the building of the new Mission-house entailed, I am feeling quite at home in my *second dialect*, and have the satisfaction of knowing that I am understood by those who listen to the story of the Cross from my lips. You will also be pleased to hear that Mrs. Palmer has commenced a bi-weekly visitation among the women who live about us. Everywhere she is most politely received and gladly listened to; it may be because she is a *foreign lady*; still it is encouraging, to say the least, to find people on every hand willing to listen to the reading of the Holy Scripture, and to the glad tidings of salvation. A Ningpo woman-servant (and a Christian) generally accompanies my wife, and is of very great assistance in explaining to the Natives in their own way the truths which my wife desires to inculcate. At present we have no room in which we can hold any kind of service for those who would be willing to come; but we hope in a month or two to erect a suitable building (*at our own expense*) in which my wife can hold a meeting for women, or have a day-school; and to which also I shall be able to invite my neighbours to come and listen to the truth as it is in Jesus. May I ask your prayers on our behalf, that our efforts in this respect may meet with encouragement and success? You will have heard, before this letter reaches you, either from Mr. Gough or Mr. Valentine, of the death of our only native assistant, Mr. Tong. Mr. Tong and several members of his family, as you are already aware, were brought to a knowledge of the Saviour through the instrumentality of Mr. Burdon. As I was the only one who was able to visit our native

brother as his end drew near (Mr. Valentine at that time being very unwell), it may interest you to know that he departed this life with a sure hope in the Lord Jesus. The first time I visited him after he took to his bed was on a Sunday morning after the service. I was quite struck with his altered and wasted appearance. Death seemed to be written in his countenance. After a few inquiries as to his disease (dysentery), &c., I said to him, "Tong sien sang, God has laid His afflicting hand upon you; we know not His will; it may be that He is going to call you to Himself; and, though we would gladly keep you here to help us in our work, the Lord's will must be done. Now, should it be God's wise purpose that you should depart this life, do you feel at all *afraid to die*?" He answered, "I do not fear death, I trust only in the merits of Jesus; certainly it is not our will, but His." The same Sunday afternoon I saw him, and read and prayed with him, directing his thoughts to the mansions prepared for the Lord's people by the Lord Himself. I saw him several times afterwards, and he always gave me the greatest reason to believe his feet were firmly placed upon the Rock of Ages. The Sunday morning before his death he seemed better, his voice was clearer, and he said to me that even now "it may be God's will to restore me, but His will be done."

On the Wednesday morning following, September 25th, he quietly and peacefully left this wicked world for the life, happiness, and glory which knows no end. He was conscious that his hour had come. Just before his death he said to his wife, who was standing by his bedside weeping, "I am going to the place of rest; you will not be left alone." These, I believe, were the last words he spoke on earth. How much ought we to magnify the grace of God when we remember that this man was born and brought up, and lived as a heathen, yet through the wonderful grace of God he was enabled to forsake all heathen practices and believe the Gospel, and on his dying bed to acknowledge but one Saviour, even Jesus, to trust in no merit save the merits of Jesus, and to confess that he was going to that place of rest prepared by the Lord Jesus for all those who trust in and love Him! May we remember what our converts were before they learnt to trust in Christ, and thus praise God more on their behalf!

You doubtless know that the Chinese regard the placing of the corpse in the coffin as a very great ceremony; it is then that all assemble

to take a long and last farewell of the departed one, and then many heathenish and superstitious observances are practised. We observed this ceremony by holding a short service around the coffin of our departed brother. A few other Christians had come to join us. We first sang a hymn suitable for the occasion, then had prayer, after which I read the account of our Blessed Lord raising Lazarus from the dead. I spoke first of the resurrection generally, and of the sure hope which our brother had in *Christ* of the resurrection to eternal life. I then addressed a few words of comfort to his bereaved ones which the subject most naturally suggested. After I had finished speaking, two Native Christians engaged in prayer, beseeching Almighty God to prepare all present for the hour of death, and to enable the afflicted ones to look to Jesus and cast their burden upon Him.

On Friday, the 8th of November, we committed the remains of our native brother to their final resting-place. The family have a plot of land at a village called Po-dong, about twenty-five to thirty li from Shaou-hyng, and it is there that our late native assistant is buried. On the day of the funeral, the remains of his father (also a Christian), who died a few years ago, and was buried outside one of the gates of the city, were removed to the above-mentioned plot of ground, and the Christian father and son were placed side by side in the same grave. In fact, three generations were represented in the grave: first the grandfather, a heathen, and then the father and son, Christians. Before starting for the grave, I read half of our solemn burial service in the house. It was a long and tedious journey to the grave, which we did not reach till two o'clock in the afternoon, although we left home as early as nine a.m. The place of interment is situated in a very pretty spot, at the foot of a hill, and all round about the eye lights on tiny hillocks which mark the resting-places of the dead—alas! of the dead who have *not died in the Lord*. The coffins having been placed in the grave, I read the remaining portion of the burial service; after which I addressed a few words to the hill men who had gathered round us and listened most attentively, explaining to them, in as short a way as I could, what the *resurrection* meant, and that we were not there for the benefit of the dead, but to express on so solemn an occasion our belief in the resurrection to everlasting life of all those who put their trust in Jesus, the Son

of God, as we had every reason to believe that our departed brother and friend had done. And there among hundreds of graves is one which, though so much like the others, yet is not alike. At the foot of that one grave stands a stone with the inscription, "Jesus said, I am the Resurrection and Life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." All around is darkness and uncertainty about the future, but from this single grave a ray of light, of revealed light, seems to shine forth, and is more apparent owing to the thick darkness which prevails around. May some poor heathen's eye behold the words inscribed upon that lonely stone! May they be inscribed upon his heart, so that he may not rest until he has found Him, who in truth is "the Resurrection and the Life of all who believe in Him!"

I have sometimes thought, "Why has God

deprived us of our native helper at a time when we appear to want him most?" But just as when we desire to look into the secret things which belong to God, we find ourselves unable to comprehend them, so I find in this case I am obliged to give up thinking and exercise the faith of one of old who said, "It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth unto Him good." We are at all events, by the removal of our native brother, reminded to "be ready also," and to do the work of God while it is called to-day, "for the night cometh when no man can work." May God grant us a richer portion of His Holy Spirit, to feel more and more the *real* state of the heathen among whom we dwell, and to put forth greater efforts to bring them to the Saviour's feet! Asking for an interest ever in your prayers, for our work, my colleague and myself, and with kind Christian regards,

Believe me, &c.,

(Signed)

ROBERT PALMER.

"INNOCENT AMUSEMENT."

DURING what we may, perhaps, without discourtesy, term a brief access of delirium, from which it has since entirely recovered, our respected contemporary, the *Friend of India*, last year, described by the foregoing title the worship of Juggernath. The writer composed his article in a very cheerful spirit, but his cheerfulness was quickly overshadowed by the smashing of two men under the wheels of the smaller of the two cars. This, of course, was "purely accidental." We have to chronicle once more this year also a recurrence of these "accidents." The first intimation of them received in England was by a telegram in the *Times* of July 10th. It stated that on the previous day, "The Juggernath car crushed eight women at Goopto, in the Hooghly District; six are dead." From the more full report of this occurrence, in the *Friend of India*, July 15th, we learn:—

The Jugganath festival in Hooghly closed on Saturday week with more murderous results than ever. At Goopto, in the interior, twenty people fell while the car was being dragged; eight were run over, five were killed on the spot and three were wounded, of whom one has died. The six victims are women. At Serampore, on Friday, not only the people but the magistrate and the police inspector had a very narrow escape during the Oolta or return of the Ruth. The car was stopped at the request of the priests, to enable them to secure more pice by appealing to the people. While resting on its shady side, the magistrate suddenly found it go off with a rush, without notice, at a time when the people were crowding round. It could not be again stopped till

it had run some twenty yards. Providentially no one was injured, but it is precisely during such an unexpected start that people have been crushed to death on former occasions. The conduct of the priests should be carefully investigated. The experience of this festival more than justifies Sir George Campbell's interference in the interests of humanity, and clearly proves that it is a mistake to leave the suppression of such dangerous cars to the discretion of the magistrates. Such responsibility is unfair to them, and only stimulates them to take a personal part in the ceremonial, which no English gentleman should be expected to take, all questions of idolatry apart. Henceforth the Jugganath abomination should be treated like the less dangerous and

revolting Churruk, or hook-swinging festival. The priests should be let alone, to do as they choose—but after the warning that they will

be held criminally responsible for the result. The Goopto priests should be put on their trial.

In addition, we gather from *Allen's Indian Mail*, of August 15th, that, "According to a Calcutta telegram, four men were killed by the car of Jagannáth, in the Rangpur District." Such, so far as it has come to light, is the return of killed and wounded for the present year. The recurrence of these foolish and uncalled-for massacres has elicited some correspondence, both in England and India, which it may be convenient to record, and upon which it may be well to offer some comment. The first document which we present is a letter written to the *Times*, July 17th, by a Dr. Pringle, who was for some time civil surgeon of Pooree, or Juggernaut :—

I am grieved to see by the telegram in the *Times*, from your Calcutta correspondent, reporting the accident at Goopto, in the Hooghly district, during the Ruth Jathra, or Festival of the Car of Juggernaut, that six poorwomen had been sacrificed to Juggernaut, and, if I may judge from what I saw in a similar accident at Juggernaut in 1868, I fear there is very little hope of the recovery of the other two who were injured at the same time. I use the word "sacrificed" advisedly, for though in reality it was probably not so as regards self-immolation, yet the priests will take care that the idol gets the credit of these sacrifices; and thus another stimulus is given to the decaying worship of that abomination of abominations, the worship of Juggernaut. Unless I am mistaken, the Hooghly district is rather famed for these accidents, if they may be termed such, and unless some stringent measures are adopted, they will regularly recur, and the Hooghly Brahmins be able to say that, notwithstanding all the measures of the Government to detract from, or suppress entirely, the worship of Juggernaut, the idol can yet claim its victims from its infatuated followers, and the spiked wheels of its car be dyed with their blood.

During a residence of nearly four years at Pooree, or Juggernaut, I cannot recollect any case of self-immolation, and the cases of the four men alluded to hereafter were certainly not such. Although the desire of self-immolation could be gratified at any period of the festival, as generally conducted, when the cars are being dragged along, if any deluded devotee were anxious to sacrifice himself, yet, as remarked before, no instances of this occurred while I was at Juggernaut.

The late Mr. E. A. Samuells, of the Bengal Civil Service, while Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, in which the town of Juggernaut is situated, with the view, as far as possible, of preventing these accidents, had nets fastened on fixed frames, reaching from the platform of the vehicle to within a few inches

of the ground, placed in front of the cars, and in the accident I shall allude to they were no doubt the means of preventing a great loss of life. The Rajah of Khoordah (the hereditary superintendent of the temple of Juggernaut) at first objected to these nets, as likely to detract from the sanctity of the idol, but when Mr. Samuells told him he would hold him responsible if any accidents occurred from no measures being adopted to prevent them, the rajah at once agreed to these-called innovation.

As it is probable that the accident at Goopto happened under circumstances very similar to that at Juggernaut, I will briefly describe the latter, which occurred in 1868. I may mention that I was not present when the accident occurred, but, being on my way to the dispensary, was on the spot soon after it happened, and the following details, which I gathered at the time, were fully substantiated by what I had witnessed in the celebration of this festival in 1856 and 1857.

The car which was the cause of the accident was at the time dragged by a crowd of from 1300 to 1500 devotees, holding on by four or five long ropes, and, some confusion occurring in these long strings of people, numbers of them fell; but, as Milton truly describes it, "from the sound of drums and cymbals loud," their cries for help were unheard, as also any orders, if such were issued, to stop the car by cutting the ropes, the only possible way of doing it, and had it not been for these nets, it is awful to contemplate the loss of life which would have occurred under these sixteen huge spiked wheels. When I arrived, four mangled bodies were lying in the road; three of the poor sufferers died while I was present, and the fourth died a few days after at my hospital, after having undergone amputation of both legs. It was an awful sight, and one I shall never forget; and a poor mother weeping over the mangled corpse of her son, and the looks of the others for help from the Doctor Sahib, told but too plainly that there was no self-immolation here.

To those who have never seen a crowd of Hindoo devotees, composed chiefly of poor Bengali widows, the only wonder is that sixty instead of six were not killed during the festival at Goopto. There is, however, not the least necessity for even a helpless creature like a poor Bengali widow being killed, if nets, such as I have described, are enforced, and a space of forty clear feet is left between the car and the people pulling by the ropes. In this space native police should walk, with sharp swords

ready to cut the ropes, if the speed attained were too great, or there was the least chance of an accident. Above all let the chief Brahmin be held responsible if any accident should occur from any breach of the above precautions, and I repeat even one poor Bengali widow will not be sacrificed to Juggernaut, in answer, no doubt, as the priests would have the ignorant devotees believe, to the cries of "Victory to Lord Juggernaut."

There would not seem to ordinary readers to have been much to have aroused a spirit of fanaticism in the temperate letter of the Doctor; but two days after there appeared the following letter, signed by "Indian," which makes it evident, whether it is written by a Hindoo, or, more probably, by a Hindooized European, that the spirit which has, throughout our career in India, palliated and upheld all the abominations of idolatry, is not yet extinct. If it was written by a Hindoo, it was probably by some of the students of that nation now in London, educated in our Government Colleges in India. If this could be ascertained, it would be a curious instance of how little avail the superficial teaching of learning and science, which does not reach the heart, can avail to change poor fallen human nature. It was, we believe, Napoleon who said, "Egratignez le Russe et vous retrouverez le Tartare." It is, we believe, yet more emphatically true, that, beneath the coat of infidel varnish superinduced by Western philosophy, there lurks the idolater.

We rather, however, incline to the notion that the letter is the production of some philosopher (!) amongst ourselves, sitting loose to all creeds, and having a natural affinity with every species of error.

His lucubration is as follows:—

Dr. Pringle's letter in the *Times* of the 17th is, if allowed to pass uncriticised, liable to cause much misconception of the nature of the celebrated Hindoo Car Festival. It might well have been thought that the light recently thrown on the subject by the writings of Dr. Hunter and others would have dissipated the ignorance that used to shroud our knowledge of this Car Festival; but here we have a letter—written, indeed, by a gentleman who has presumed passed much of his life among the scenes he depicts—crowded with all the old misconceptions and the old erroneous deductions of bygone times.

The writer accuses the priests of taking care that the idol is supplied with sacrifices. He asserts that it "claims its victims from its infatuated followers," and talks about its wheels being dyed with their blood. He insinuates that the desire of self-immolation is ever present in the hearts of the devotees, and he attributes the accidents that occurred at Goopto the other day to the machinations of the Brahmans. He talks about the decaying worship of Juggernaut, and "the measures of Government to detract from, or

suppress it entirely." So far Dr. Pringle. Now as to Dr. Hunter on the Vishnuvite worship of Juggernaut.

"Nothing," says Dr. Hunter (*Orissa*, vol. i. p. 134), "could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu worship than self-immolation." According to Chaitanya, the Apostle of the Juggernaut faith, "the destruction of the least of God's creatures was a sin against the Creator." Chaitanya and Kabir, the modern apostle of the religion, preached "a moral code of humanity, truthfulness, retirement, and obedience to the spiritual guide" (*ibid.*, p. 194). "Life," said Kabir, "is the gift of God; the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a crime." The copious religious literature of the sect frequently describes the Car Festival, but makes no mention of self-sacrifices.

And again, "A drop of blood shed within the Pooree Temple would now pollute its whole precincts, with the priests, the worshippers, and the consecrated food" (p. 306). A commissioner of Orissa, in the early and unsettled days of our occupation, witnessed the ceremony for four successive years, and could only testify to three cases of self-

immolation, one being probably an accident, and the other two being sufferers from excruciating complaints, who chose this method of ridding themselves of the burden of life (*ibid.*, p. 397).

So far also from the worship of Juggurnauth decaying, it is at the present moment the most flourishing of the Hindoo creeds; and the idea of Government suppressing a faith held by "from one-fifth to one-third of the whole people of Bengal (*ibid.*, p. 114) cannot, of course, be intended for a serious proposition."

The spirit of the reformed Vishnuvite faith has, says the authority quoted in this

While, however, newspaper correspondents were ventilating the matter here in England, in India the whole question had become a matter of correspondence between the Governments of India and Bengal. It would seem that Sir George Campbell took up, as a serious matter, the death of the two men crushed last year, and expressed his opinion in a letter addressed to the Home Department of the Government of India, from which the following is an important extract:—

The time has come for stopping the dragging of such of these cars as, from their clumsy construction or other reasons, are found to cause serious danger to life. He does not now stop to inquire how this is to be done. He has no doubt that if a certain religious character was not supposed to attach to the thing it would be stopped by a simple order to the police not to allow it. If we were still in a bigoted Hindoo country, such things might be permitted; but in Bengal the rulers are Christians; half the population are Mohammedans, half the remainder are aborigines, outcastes from Hindooism, Brahmos, and nothing in particular. There is but a limited Hindoo population, who have very little enthusiasm for this kind of thing, and the heavy cars are with great difficulty moved by

letter, been no doubt isolated by the introduction of gross indecencies. So, also, the Car Festival of Juggurnauth at Pooree cannot, on account of the deplorable result of the pilgrimages to the shrine, be looked on without horror and regret. On these grounds we may—if there be any without sin among us—declaim against the worship of Juggurnauth; but as to the alleged sacrifices and self-immolation, let us call them what they rightly are—accidents, that are likely to arise in any uncontrolled multitude of excited people; and they must be prevented in India, as in Europe, by suitable police arrangements.

the people, many of whom are, it appears, ryots on the temple estates, and others driven unwillingly to the work, or people who take it up for reasons not religious, some for fun, some for profit. The Mohammedans long ago put a stop to everything of this kind in Hindoostan. Although the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the Ruth ceremonies are generally an unnecessary nuisance, he would, on general principles of toleration, permit them, so long as the car is not so heavy and unwieldy as to be dangerous; but he would instruct the magistrates not to allow any car to be moved when they think there is danger of such accidents as those now reported. Before, however, doing anything in the matter, his Honour would be glad to have the advice and instructions of the Government of India.

Upon this the *Friend of India* remarks:—

All this is true. The question of at least substituting light cars is one purely of policy and not of intolerance. We are glad that Mr. Campbell has thus spoken out. Fatal accidents occur here, or at Hurripal, almost every year. The Bengal Government is still con-

sulting district officers and intelligent natives as to the best means of preventing accidents. We trust action will be taken before the recurrence of the festival towards the beginning of July next.

The action of Government departments is slow, and, although we note with satisfaction that Lord Northbrook, on a visit to Serampore, took occasion to put many questions to the priests of the temple about the annual festival of July, measures have not been adopted with sufficient promptitude to prevent fresh loss of life in the Districts of Bengal, if not actually at Serampore. From the *Times* of August 5th we gather that "the correspondence ended in the Government of India agreeing with that of Bengal, that the nuisance section of the criminal procedure code provides for the evil, and that a discretionary power may be left to the responsible magistrate of stopping any car which he deems to be unsafe, in which act he will be supported by the Government." Whether

the fresh batch of "accidents" this year will stimulate to further action remains to be seen. If the Serampore magistrate had been smashed under the wheels of the car, as seems to have been all but accomplished, probably some more energetic interference than placing responsibility as well as the car upon him would have been ventured upon. Meanwhile it is some comfort to learn :—

The festival at Serampore was this year a striking commentary on the above description. Fourteen miles above Calcutta, on the right bank of the Hooghly, a pious Hindoo has erected, by his last will, a fine ghaut for the pilgrims to the Serampore Juggernaut. On Wednesday last, the day before the festival, a few boats only were seen at the spot where in former years thousands used to throng. When I landed, the temples were sounding the hour of evening prayer on discordant gongs, nude ascetics fresh from the hill of ashes were wandering about among timid women in charge of some elderly priest. Beggars dressed up with extra hands and heads, and coloured to represent the deities of Hindooism, were silently presenting their plates for offerings. Soon the sparse crowd cooked their evening meal, or ate their parched rice and lay down on the ground to sleep away the hours till Juggernaut appeared in his car. Next day, for the thousands of former years there were literally tens. Even Sir George Campbell's "elderly females" found it more interesting—in the case of a group of simple women from a distance, at least—to study the dress of a party of English ladies who had come to see the sight, and to listen to the words of one of them at the very time that the shapeless block of wood was being hoisted up to its place on the car. More than one Native Christian preacher, too, had a good audience. All the booths, shops, and shows of the "Jattra" were there as usual, but almost

neglected. The pice, or farthings, which each devotee offers to the priest on the car for a consecrated garland of white flowers, were few. After the orders of Government the English magistrate was on his mettle, believing that he could so supervise the dragging of the car this year as to prevent fatal accidents. Policemen, native and English, were everywhere. But up till 2 p.m., the hour which he fixed as the latest, the priests failed to get men enough to draw the unwieldy erection on its twenty-four vast discs of wood, although their own tenants were there. The second and rival car further on had then its turn, but the ropes broke at the first pull, and there it stands to this hour a melancholy spectacle. Towards sunset the first car was dragged the usual distance, the temple having succeeded in inducing a sufficient number of hands to draw. But there was little of that indescribable roar when the idol is lifted up to its place—a cry, half sonorous, half bleating, which in former years I have heard two miles away. Never has the festival been such a failure, though it has annually been falling off. The priests ascribe it to the interference of the police, who prevent accidents that give *éclat* to the occasion. Some evidently orthodox Hindoos whom I asked declared that the heat was too great to allow people to come from a distance, and that the epidemic fever had weakened many. But all, priests and orthodox, sorrowfully allow that the Car Festival is not what it once was.*

We wish we could really feel satisfied that this baleful superstition is rapidly dwindling away, and becoming altogether a thing of the past; but it is not easy to distinguish how much may be attributable to the decline of native fervour, and how much to the consciousness that the vigilance of Government was aroused, and that, at Serampore, at any rate, mischief would be promptly put down. As it was, the magistrate and the police inspector had, as we have seen, a very narrow escape. "Indian," on the other hand, assures us that, so far from the worship of Juggernaut decaying, it is at the present moment the most flourishing of the Hindoo creeds. We will, however, hope for the best; but it is clear that yet more distinct interference is necessary before this needless shedding of blood is put a stop to.

Upon the general question we will now proceed to offer a few remarks.

We will begin with "Indian," on the supposition that if he is sincere in his views he will rejoice in the suppression of these car festivals. If he places the slightest reliance upon the

* Indian Correspondent, *Times*, August 5, 1873.

sentiments of Chaitanya and Kabir, there can only be pollution to the God, if there is divinity in the shapeless log seated upon the car, whose spiked wheels are annually crimsoned with gore. If "the destruction of the least of God's creatures is a sin against the Creator," and there is existence, will or power in the God, what shall be said of that God (!) who goes forth annually crushing bones and blood beneath him in his triumphal progress? If "a drop of blood, shed within the temple of Pooree, pollutes its whole precincts," when the car rolls on, red with gore, does it pollute on its return to the sacred precincts? If "life is the gift of God, and the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, is a crime," in what category are these annual "accidents" to be placed? Will not "Indian" hail with delight the willow-work Toy-cart in which it has been suggested that the God should henceforth parade? or is all his letter mere rhodomontade and idle theory, which it requires the credulity of a modern philosopher to put faith in?

From "Indian" we turn to Dr. Pringle. To our apprehension the value of his testimony, the more valuable because apparently unconscious, consists in the admissions which he makes. Unlike "Indian," he is shrewd enough to perceive the real value and meaning of these "accidents." We quite agree with him that "the priests will take care that the idol gets the credit of these sacrifices; and thus another stimulus be given to the decaying worship of that abomination of abominations—the worship of Juggernath." Again, we gather from him that Mr. Samuells, when Commissioner of Cuttack, to prevent "accidents," devised an arrangement of nets, which, in Dr. Pringle's judgment, were "no doubt the means of preventing a great loss of life." Before this humane precaution was adopted, what must have happened year after year? What led Mr. Samuells to adopt such a precaution? Had there been previously loss of life? Why did the Rajah of Khoordah object to them? Would there have been less *éclat* in the festival if there had been no "accidents"? Did the Rajah really wish that Juggernath should not be polluted with blood? What of Dr. Hunter's theories? What about Chaitanya and Kabir?

From the recurrence of these "accidents," it is quite clear that the interference of Government on behalf of the lives of its subjects has been so far in the right direction; yet we think that interference should be exercised still further, and that, as it has been very properly suggested, the priests should be held responsible for these "accidents." It may be essential in their judgment that these Ruth Jattras should take place; but, if one drop of human blood is shed in consequence, let due reparation be made by those who have caused it. No punishment can, of course, be inflicted on the senseless log of wood hoisted on the car; but the priests can and ought to be held answerable. Why they should not be punished for murder or for manslaughter we fail to see, if they persist in bringing forth into the public thoroughfares a huge machine, which is unmanageable and annually fatal to life. It would assuredly not be impossible to fix the responsibility upon the promoters of this senseless proceeding, and, if necessary, to quote Chaitanya and Kabir to them, in justification of the restraint laid upon them, which should hinder them from shedding blood and so polluting their God. If they still persevered, that blood should be upon their own heads.

Lastly, we once again call attention to the difference between theory and fact. Let all be granted that Dr. Hunter would urge, as to the *theory* of the bloodlessness of the worship of Juggernath, the *fact* still remains that blood is shed annually in his worship, and that it would be much more than ordinary credulity to come to the conclusion that those who are most deeply interested in upholding the worship of the God would dispense with these annual sacrifices of human lives in honour of their Deity. They may be "accidental," but they are "annual." It is easy, moreover, to perceive the

extreme reluctance with which any attempt to diminish the frequency of them is received by those whose craft without them would be in danger. The Rajah of Khoordah has no doubt clearer and more practical views of what is essential for the glory of Juggernath than Dr. Hunter has, or the sciolists who reproduce his theories. Wherever and whenever the car of Juggernath rolls,

Plurima fuso

Sanguine terra madet.

It may be the result of accident, but these accidents have the character of constancy. With the theory or philosophic illusion we will not concern ourselves, but we trust that there is so much right reason and judgment left in our governors that the appalling fact shall be put an end to, even though it should be at the cost of righteous retribution on those who are guilty of shedding innocent blood, that by this craft they may have their wealth. We can hardly agree even with the so far sensible conclusion of the *Friend of India*, which has now abandoned theory for facts, that—

"The priests should be let alone to do as they choose, but, after the warning, that they will be held criminally responsible for the result."

[Since the foregoing was in type there has been a fresh correspondence in the *Times* and in the *Friend of India*, which is of so much importance that we do not hesitate to subjoin it, that our readers may have the whole subject before them. In the issue of the *Times* for August 19th there is the following letter from a writer who signs himself "A. F."]

In August last year you were so kind as to publish a letter from me . . . in which I endeavoured to show that an accident so-called, causing the death of two men, reported by your Calcutta correspondent as having occurred at Serampore, was in reality a case of self-immolation. The following is an extract from that letter :—

"A case that occurred in my own experience will illustrate the grounds of my belief. Some twenty-five years ago I was managing a large estate in Lower Bengal belonging to a Hindoo gentleman. In the chief village of this estate there was a Ruth, or Juggernaut Car, which, having become dilapidated, underwent rather extensive repairs. The cars are supported on a number of wheels which are invisible externally. On the day when the Ruth ought to have proceeded on its journey the huge multitude found it impossible to move it. As I afterwards learnt, the priests had locked the wheels. For two or three days the people tried to move it, but in vain. At last it began to be whispered that a human sacrifice was required to inaugurate the newly-repaired car. A day or two more and I was told that the victim had been procured in the person of a leper, who had sold himself for the sum of 6*l*. I was also told that the Darogah, or superintendent of police, had been handsomely bribed, and that he would report to the magistrate 'Accidental death.' I did not believe all this, especially as my informant was a

woman, who, I thought, might have been imposed upon by what we call 'bazaar gup,' or common gossip; but in two or three days more I was informed that, to the joy of the whole country round about, the Ruth had at last moved, but that, unfortunately, a poor leper, falling under the wheels, had been crushed to death. It was, however, a purely accidental occurrence, for, after a most searching inquiry, the Darogah had so reported. After this experience I made a practice of watching the Ruths, of which there are a great many in Bengal, and invariably found that when one refused to be dragged by the people, as the 'smaller car' of your correspondent did, its first motion was attended with a serious, if not a fatal accident."

With reference to the above, and to the telegram from your correspondent reporting the death, this year, of eight women crushed by a car at Gooptiparrah, I wrote to you on the 12th of last month a letter in which I said :—

"I venture to predict that, when fuller accounts arrive, it will be found either that the car was a new one which was to be consecrated by sacrifice, or that it had just undergone extensive repair, or that it had refused to move."

My prediction has been fulfilled, for in the letter of your Calcutta correspondent of the 15th of July—three days later than the date of my letter to you—we read with reference

to the car or cars by which the death of the eight women had been caused,—“In this case the priests had been warned to repair them (the cars) and to take their pinnacles down.” Thus the very precautions of the Government

against accident became the cause of human sacrifices being—in the eyes of the owners of the cars, who are not always priests—rendered necessary.

To this there is the following reply from “A Bengali.”* It is hardly possible to doubt, from the style and tone of the letter, that it proceeds from one of that class of ingenuous youth, who last year disclaimed against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who are now cultivating on the banks of the Thames the “humanities” gathered originally in Government Colleges on the banks of the Ganges. It fully makes good the remarks on which we ventured in an earlier part of this article.

I hope you will be good enough to publish the following lines in reference to a letter of your correspondent “A. F.,” which appeared in your columns of the 19th inst.

The writer, to say the least, broadly insinuates that the late loss of the lives of eight women at Gooptiparah was, in reality, a case of self-immolation. I most humbly beg to say that he is greatly mistaken. I have known the people of Gooptiparah very well from my childhood, I know the car to which your Calcutta correspondent referred in his letter, and I have recently heard from my friends at Gooptiparah about the affair. It was a mere accident, and nothing more nor less.

The car or Ruth of Gooptiparah is sacred to “Brindhà vana C'andra” (another name of Juggernaut), an idol much loved and respected by the mass of the people. There is a very large gathering of them on the appointed day, when the Ruth moves or is dragged along, and women come from the distance of twenty miles and upwards. It runs on a bad road, very muddy, rough, and by no means wide enough for a multitude of, say, 10,000 men and women. The loss of life often occurs on account of these reasons, not only in Gooptiparah, but everywhere.

In the front of the Ruth there are generally two wooden horses, and ropes are tied round these and the front rails, &c.; sometimes the number of these ropes are ten, or even more than that. The people catch hold of them, and pull them with all their might; and as there is a superstition among the vulgar that they must pull one of these ropes if they want to get rid of any illness from which they may be suffering, so all the “pullers” are by no means sound and strong. If the car is new, or any great alterations have recently been

made in it, then the mob cannot generally rightly guess how many hands are wanted to make it go; first a batch goes and tries “the job” as they call it; if they are unsuccessful in their attempt, then, on account of the zeal of the spectators, their original number is suddenly doubled; so when, with the help of these newcomers, they pull again, the car may rush with swiftness, and the pullers, overjoyed with it, begin to run and pull at the same time; but the weakest of them are not always able to keep pace with the others, but fall down, and then the wheels, which have not ceased to move, run over them. But this is not all. Sometimes, when the car is going very swiftly, one of the ropes may suddenly break, and the pullers of this one must inevitably lose their balance and come down to the ground, but before the fact can be noticed or measures can be taken the wheels are upon these unfortunate tumblers. These and various others are the causes of the fatal accidents of which you hear now and then, but I can very well assure you that if on the occasion a prudent and energetic police officer could be employed, who would direct the mob, and not let them have their own way in drawing the car, you would very seldom hear of any fatal accident.

In conclusion, I humbly beg your correspondent “A. F.” not to stick to the belief that the Bengalis are now-a-days as fond of self-immolation and procuring human sacrifices as they were twenty years back, or in the days of Cornwallis; and not to make such dangerous insinuations in the *Times*, a newspaper so much read by the higher Government authorities in Bengal, or it may go very hard against honest people, who no more believe in Juggernaut and his cars than Mr. “A. F.” himself.

Meanwhile, from another Hindoo, not perhaps equally enlightened with philosophy, but apparently more gifted with common sense and the feelings of natural humanity, we receive the following account, either gathered by himself upon the spot or from eye-witnesses. He relates the ghastly scene as it happened in all its horror, not with the

* *Times*, August 21, 1873.

fond recollection of an "innocent amusement," to which distance from the scene lends enchantment.

Sir George Campbell got great discredit among the writers of the Native press for his orders on the Ruth Jatra. I am inclined to think that whoever takes a dispassionate view of the matter must be irresistibly driven to conclude that the festival is barbarous in its conception and dangerous in its character. To establish the truth of this assertion I need hardly look back on what happened in years gone by. It is enough for my purpose to write a plain unvarnished tale of what occurred on Saturday last at Gooptipara, on the occasion of the return of the car.

On the 5th instant, at eight o'clock in the morning, whilst a large body of men were busily engaged in moving the massive, rickety car, a beam suddenly rolled down on the people who occupied the front rank and made sad havoc among them. The consequence was that several persons fell flat on their faces and were run over by the huge Ruth. Immediately after eight women were found lying on the spot, two of whom had already breathed their last; three of the remainder were gasping for their last breath, and the rest were in a very distressed condition. Many more persons who had received slight bruises did not stay to be the observed of all sight-seers, but fled away in deep consternation. The three that were gasping died a few hours after, and it is said that a dead child was afterwards found stuck on one of the wheels of the car. Upon hearing of the accident, Baboo Upendra Narayan Mazumdar, a respectable gentleman of Gooptipara, visited the spot along with a medical friend of his, with a view to do all assistance in his power to such of the wounded as had any chance of life. It was at his request that the police sub-inspector removed the three wounded to

a shady place, though for an hour they were being scorched by the sultry sun. His medical friend then dressed the wounds and applied some medicines, when they were removed to the Hooghly Hospital. But I have not yet come to the strangest part of the story. Just at the occurrence of the accident the owner of the Ruth, who should have taken all necessary precautions to prevent the catastrophe—at any rate, who ought to have been on the spot to do all that lay in his power to mitigate the sufferings of the wounded—under cover of a pretext that one of his fingers had sustained some injury, left the scene and retired to his house. The police also seemed to be lukewarm in the discharge of their duties.

Now, Mr. Editor, the above narrative, the truth of which will be vouched for by all who were present on the scene, tells beyond the force of all logic what a dangerous thing the Ruth festival is. The lives of six human beings were lost for an entertainment which, to say the least, is demoralizing in its character. The conservative element in the national character would be touched to the quick were I to recommend the abolition of the festival; but the distinctive tendency of the English administration should not be lost sight of. The effect of the abolition of Suttee rites and of the Charak leads me to think that, should the Government issue a fiat prohibiting the Ruth Jatra, people would very soon forget the outrage thus committed to their feelings, and, what is still more astonishing, would look upon the festival itself some time hence as an unmixed evil.

P.S.—I have just come to learn that of the three wounded that were sent to the Hooghly Hospital two have died since.*

Upon this the Editor of *Friend of India* remarks in his editorial,—

The tale of murders due this year to the cars of Jugganath has not yet been all told. A telegram, which we have received since our last, announces "four men killed in another Ruth accident in the district of Rungpore." Will the intelligent and even orthodox Hindoos themselves not show that idolatry has not robbed them of all regard for humanity and their poorer countrymen by combining to urge on the Government of India the suppression of the large cars? They did this in the case of the hook-swinging Churruk, and now that is dying out all over the country, if it is not dead. The letter of one of them

elsewhere, giving a graphic account of the Gooptipara atrocity, holds out the hope that the community on whose English education so much public money has been spent during the last forty years will show that it is bearing some good fruit. If not, Lord Northbrook's interference is now imperative. The Gooptipara priest was warned by the magistrate to repair his car, and declined to substitute a smaller one lest his rivals should draw away the crowds and affect his pocket. An experience of fifteen years has convinced us that the people would be grateful if Government limited the size of the cars, nor would the

* *Friend of India*, July 22, 1873.

miserably greedy priests object if all were treated alike. In Hooghly alone there are 10 large and 150 small cars. The authorities cannot watch even all the former, so that now at Gooptipara, last year at Hurrupal, and the year before at Serampore, there has been sad loss of life. If the cars be dimi-

nished in size—the talk of the greater merit of large cars is mere priestly avarice—and the priests be held criminally responsible for every accident, the Ruth Jatra may everywhere be left to itself, without the assistance, so degrading to the Government and to himself, of the Christian magistrate.

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* for August 21st remarks, in a still more outspoken manner,—

The death of four men under the wheels of a Juggernaut car at Kahgunj, in the Rungpore district, has been announced. Two more women have died from the accident at Gooptipara, so that this year's Jatra has resulted in the unusually large number of twelve deaths. As a new car is made at Pooree every year, accidents there are now rare. But in Hooghly there are at least ten cars in different places, and each is forty feet high, erected on from twenty to twenty-six enormous discs of wood, which act as wheels. They are often out of repair. They totter along unsteadily on roads frequently impassable from rain, and more than once they have fallen over into the ditch. It is not possible, by any mechanical appliances, to regulate the dragging of the car by a crowd of somewhat excited devotees, who extend for a great distance and cannot hear an order. Could this be done, however, there are neither English magistrates nor

police officers enough to watch each of ten such cars in one district, dragged on the same day. The result is that the orders of the Government of India, given this year with the best intentions, have failed to prevent a worse catastrophe than has happened within the memory of this generation, and have identified the Government, through the magistrate, with the idolatrous ceremonial, in a way unknown since the indignation of England led to the abolition of the Pooree pilgrim tax nearly half a century ago. It is not surprising that the Bengal Government has asked Lord Northbrook's approval of the proposal to stop the large cars for the future as dangerous to life under the most favourable circumstances, and as dishonouring to Government when the British magistrate and policeman is forced to take the post of danger on the car, as in Serampore, or to head the procession, as in Pooree.

It would be difficult after the prediction of "A. F.," sent to the *Times* before the receipt of intelligence from India, not to feel assured that the "accidents" in these "innocent amusements" are "impromptus faits a loisir," and in many cases are on a par with the atrocities practised by heathen negroes in their fetish worship in the interior of Africa, and the exact counterpart of them.

Again, it would be difficult not to come to the conclusion that, however benevolent may have been the intentions of Government, we are now incurring the guilt of complicity with these bloody holocausts. "When British magistrates and policemen are forced to take the post of danger on the car, as in Serampore, or to head the procession, as in Pooree," we leave it to the intelligence of our readers to conclude what interpretation is put upon such acts by the devil worshippers who are surrounding the car.

Lastly, we would call earnest attention to the amount of substantial enlightenment resulting from a system of godless education in the minds of the rising generation of India, as evidenced in the letter of "Bengali." Upon the childishness of it we do not comment, nor on the admissions which he makes, for which his idolatrous friends and philosophical Europeans will hardly thank him. If there is any meaning in his letter, "twenty years back, or in the days of Cornwallis," Bengalis "were fond of self-immolation and procuring human sacrifices." We would rather direct attention to the assertion of sympathy with the "idol, much loved and respected by the mass of the people," even at the expense of "unfortunate tumblers," and the readiness to excuse and desire to uphold what the commonest humanity, if godless teaching could influence it, would unsparingly condemn.

We do trust, at any rate, that in future years these bloody massacres, under the plea of religion, will be strictly prohibited by law, even at the expense of "Victory to Lord Juggernaut."]

ON NIRWANA.

"It is appointed unto men once to die." In the enunciation of these words a saying is uttered which, by the common consent of all mankind, is held to be incontrovertible. With more or less of resignation and composure, all men of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues go down one after another into the dark valley overhung with the shadow of death in the full assurance that in their turn they will have to submit to it. However various may be their philosophical theories or their religious creeds, neither Brahmins nor Buddhists, Mohammedans nor Parsis, Confucians nor Sintoists, Roman Catholics nor Protestants dispute the fact that they must die, but—AFTER THIS?

As up to this point the opinions of all men are contemporaneous, so thereafter the divergence is extreme. The Christian, enlightened with the teaching of revelation, replies confidently with St. Paul, "After this the judgment." The answer commends itself to common sense as much as to the conscience. There are evils so grievous which need to be redressed; there are inequalities so astonishing which have to be rectified; there is so much criminality, which, through the infirmity of human law, continually goes unpunished, that if we abstract the notion of a future judgment from the economy of the moral government of the universe, there is more than enough to make "a wise man mad." Lingering remnants of primæval tradition in most countries bear witness, after some confused manner, to the same important doctrine, but it is often difficult amid the distortion which prevails to extricate what will commend itself to the apprehension of the more intelligent. Still, the conclusions of what may be termed barbarous instinct are not to be despised. Like groanings which cannot be uttered, they are the expressions of man's internal consciousness, and have a salutary, because a restraining, influence. Where the light of revelation has never yet been vouchsafed, or has become extinct, the wildest fancies have prevailed with reference to a future judgment. It would be interesting to review them, but wholly beyond the compass of our limits. There is beyond this, however, when we examine into the religious condition of the human race, the startling fact presented to us that the religion of nearly one-third of mankind rejects the dogma of a future judgment permanently determining the destiny of the human race, holds that the destruction of existence is the *summum bonum* of man, and that the goal to which by the most laborious exertion he can attain is annihilation. Such a phenomenon well deserves consideration, and cannot be out of place in a periodical which concerns itself with the efforts which are made to lead men out of darkness and into light, and from the paths of error into the ways of truth.

What, then, is the answer of nearly one-third of the human race to the awful question—"After this?" Whence proceeds the answer which they proffer? What may have been the considerations influencing them to return such an answer? To the question, "After this?" the reply of the Buddhist is—Nirwana.* Upon the exact import of the meaning of this term, "Nirwana," there has been considerable discussion among learned men. Some have supposed it to mean eternal sleep, some blissful immunity from earthly passions; others the total extinction of being. According to a theory advanced by Dr. Max Müller, the two opposite sets of expressions conveying these two last views represent two phases of the doctrine—the one ancient, the other modern. In his valuable Dictionary of the Pali Language (Trübner, 1872), to which we shall be mainly indebted for the substance of the remarks we submit to our readers, Mr. Childers asserts there is a fatal objection to this view. Dr. Max Müller was under the impression that the original doctrine taught by Buddha

* The meaning of Nirwana in Sanskrit is the blowing out, the extinction of light, and not absorption. The human soul, when it arrives at its perfection, is blown out, if we use the phraseology of the Buddhists, like a lamp; it is not absorbed, as the Brahmins say, like a drop in the ocean.—Professor Max Müller.

was that of "the entrance of the soul into rest," while the dogma of annihilation was a perversion introduced by metaphysicians in later times, and finding its expression in the Abhidharma.* This, however, is a mistake; 'the doctrine of the Abhidharma is identical with that of the other two divisions of the Buddhist Scriptures, and the expressions relating to Nirwana are in reality taken from or authorized by them. Professor Max Müller seems to have been influenced by the notion that† "under peculiar circumstances, in the agonies of despair, or under the gathering clouds of madness such language is intelligible; but to believe, as we are asked, that one half of mankind had yearned for total annihilation, would be tantamount to a belief that there is a difference in kind between man and man." Further on he argues, as he says, from human nature, "that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the reformer of India, the teacher of so perfect a code of morality, the young prince who gave up all he had in order to help those whom he saw afflicted in mind, body or estate, should have cared much about speculations which he knew would either be misunderstood, or not understood at all by those whom he wished to benefit; that he should have thrown away one of the most powerful weapons in the hand of every religious teacher, the belief in a future life, and should not have seen that if this life was sooner or later to end in nothing it was hardly worth the trouble which he took himself or the sacrifices which he imposed upon his disciples." We cannot of course argue as to how far Sakya Muni cared about his speculations, but what if he did teach them? What if he did inculcate them? What if he did hold them up as the highest aim, the noblest hope that could fill the breast of man? Additional interest is lent by these remarks of the learned Professor to the question of the exact import of Nirwana. If the conclusion, so startling to him, is yet the true one, a singular test will be afforded of the value of human wisdom in the solution of the most important questions, affecting not only the future, but even the present interests of mankind when viewed apart from the light of Revelation.

Following, then, the guidance of Mr. Childers, and making free use of his valuable labours, we will endeavour to present our readers with a fair conspectus of this important subject. There are, then, it seems, four sublime truths or four theses, (*ariyasaccāni*) upon which the whole doctrine of Buddha is based. The first is that "existence is suffering;" the second is that "human passion is the cause of continued existence;" the third is that "by the destruction of human passion existence may be brought to an end;" the fourth is that "by a life of holiness the destruction of human passion may be obtained." Every being born into the universe is subject to transmigration. Death is everywhere followed by re-birth in a new existence, which may be one either of misery or of happiness. The insect crushed beneath the foot may be re-born as a radiant angel, or by the potent force of Karma an angel may be hurled at death into the nethermost hell. By Karma we must understand the actions of a being in previous states of existence. The present condition of every sentient being is determined by the aggregate of its actions in its previous states of existence. Sometimes a good or a bad action meets its appropriate reward immediately and in the same existence, sometimes in the next existence, but its consequences may be indefinitely delayed, and an action performed countless ages ago may be working for a man's good or evil at this moment. As the actions of a being are the cause of its re-birth and consequently of its continued existence, the whole universe of sentient beings has its origin in Karma. The cessation of existence can only be obtained by the destruction

* The name of the third great division of the Buddhist Scriptures: it implies metaphysical as opposed to moral doctrine. The instructions conveyed in it were addressed to the *dévas* and *brahmas* of the celestial world.

† "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. pp. 233—235.

of its cause—Karma. A Buddhist, who has passed through misfortune or suffering, looks upon it as so much gain as he has thus worked out so much of the evil Karma accumulated in his former existencies. All, then, as we have previously noticed, being unstable and uncertain, present happiness is no safeguard against future misery, and even the bliss of heaven has its alloy; the whole sum of sentient existence is suffering and release from suffering or from the prospect of suffering can only be obtained by release from existence. The cause of continued existence is sin; remove this and you strike at the root of existence. Sin is removed by the Four Paths of Sanctification, and to these entrance is obtained by the Sublime Eight-branched Road, which is a life in accordance with Buddha's commands. By the practice of charity and other good works, by purity in thought, word and deed, and by the exercise of religious meditation, (Jhana) the disciple of Buddha is enabled to enter the Four Paths, and by so doing to escape from the misery of existence. The Four Paths are four stages of sanctification, ending in Nirwana; the fourth immediately or in the course of a small number of years, the other three after various intervals, but all with absolute certainty, for he who has entered the paths once can never fall away, but is certain of obtaining Nirwana. Of these four paths (*cattáro maggá*) the first is called the path of Sotápatti. Upon the being who has entered upon this path the doors of the four hells are shut; he has maintained the true profession and entirely approves of the doctrines of the great teachers; he also rejects the error which teaches, "I am, this is mine;" he has no doubts as to the reality of the Buddhas, and he sees that the practices enjoined by the Buddhas must be attended to if Nirwana is to be gained. Thus become a Sotápanna, he cannot be re-born more than seven times. When a man has attained Sotápatti he can, by a successful exertion of the necessary means, pass onward to one or more of the higher steps. The next in succession is the path of Sakadágámin. Then not only has he rejected the errors overcome by him who has entered on the first path, but he is also saved from the evils of Káma-raga, and the wishing evil to others. He is called Sakadágámin, because he will again receive birth in the world of men. Having returned once more to the world, and having attained the next path, the path of Anágámin by the rejection of sensual pleasure and malice, from evil desire, ignorance, doubt the precepts of the sceptics and hatred, he becomes an Anágámin, one who does not return again to the world of men. He is not again born in the world of men, or of devas, but only in Brahma world. He attains Arhatship in the heavens. Arhatship, however, can be attained also in this world. This fourth or highest path is called Arahatta or Arhatship, "the state of being saintly." Arhatship is final and perfect sanctification; it is a state in which merit and demerit original sin, desire and attachment are rooted out, in which all that binds man to existence, all that leads to re-birth or transmigration is wholly extinct. The Arhat is still a man; he is subject to temptation; he is subject to physical suffering, and his life is not prolonged beyond that of other mortals. But he is a man, purified and exalted. However greatly tempted, he cannot sin, for his heart is purged from every taint of human passion. Freed from the trammels that bind men to earth, he traverses the air and works great miracles. He scans the thoughts of others; he can recall his own past life in countless existences, just as Pythagoras professed to be able to do;* he hears the sounds in distant spheres; he beholds with the divine eye the beings that people the universe, dying and being re-born. And in all the vicissitudes of his life his mind preserves its even tenor; serene and tranquil he lives out his span of life, rejoicing in the ever-present consciousness that he has triumphed over man's great enemy—Existence. Death comes at last, but the seed of existence has withered, the lamp of life has burnt

* Ovid, *Metam.* XV. 153, &c.

out; the Arhat is re-born no more again, he has attained Nirwana, he has ceased to exist. Nirwana is the annihilation of every conceivable attribute of being. An ordinary Buddhist, if questioned by an European as to the reward of a virtuous life, will generally answer by depicting the sensuous joys of the Kámavacardevaloka,* which is the reward he immediately looks to. A mistaken impression is thus produced on the questioner, who comes hastily to the conclusion that this is the famous Buddhist Nirwana, and he proclaims to the world that the modern view of Nirwana makes it a sort of paradise of sensual delights. It is not so; the goal of Buddhism is annihilation, and Nirwana is a brief period of bliss followed by eternal death. The chief source of this bliss is the consciousness that existence is nearly at an end. There are instances of an Arhat deliberately putting an end to his life by the miraculous exercise of his will. Thus the Arhat Santati, having received permission from Buddha to attain Nirwana, rose into the air, and by means of tejodhātu (fire, Kammattánā†), put an end to his existence, flames breaking forth within him and consuming his flesh and blood, while the bones fell to the earth like a shower of jasmine flowers, and were collected and enshrined in a Thúpa. To us, "extinction is bliss" may sound strange or ridiculous. To the Buddhist it conveys the same feeling of enthusiastic longing, the same consciousness of a sublime truth that the words "eternal life" convey to the Christian. As the mariner who lands upon an island is safe from the stormy ocean, so the Buddhist who attains Nirwana is safe from the stormy sea of transmigration. There is probably no doctrine more distinctive of Sakya Muni's original teaching than that of Nirwana—the annihilation of being.

We have now, under the guidance of Mr. Childers, and mostly in his own language, placed before our readers what we deem to be a satisfactory explanation of this cardinal doctrine of Buddhism. Unless the hope of extinction can be called hope, the Buddhist is without hope either in this world or in the next. He is also "without God in the world." According to Buddhism there is no Creator, no being that is self-existent and eternal. The power that controls the universe is Karma, literally Action. The manner in which being first commenced cannot now be ascertained.

Buddhism is now almost universally recognized to have been essentially a revolt against Brahminism. It departed from it rejecting much evil, and with the evil also the relics of some good. It therefore went still further from God, and furnishes even less information upon the destiny of man than could be gathered from the confused utterances of the Vedas. In a certain sense it was, as Professor Max Müller holds, an advance upon Brahmanism, but an advance in the wrong direction; it led further away from any idea of God.

* The six Devalokas, i.e. the worlds of dévas superhuman beings or angels, living a life of happiness exempt from the ills of humanity. They are inferior to the Brahma angels, being subject to Káma or the pleasures of sense.—*Childers*.

† Analytical meditation.—He who exercises it fixes his mind on any one element, and reflects on it in all its conditions and changes, until, so far as that element is concerned, he sees that it is only unstable, grievous, and illusory. It is by means of Kammattánā that Jhāna, which leads after death to re-birth in one of the Brahma heavens, is practised. Jhāna forms the principal means of entrance into the Four Paths. The priest desirous of practising Jhāna retires to some secluded spot, seats himself cross-legged, and, shutting out the world, concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation. This is the first Jhāna. Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he frees his mind from reasoning and investigation, while the ecstasy and serenity remain, and this is the second Jhāna. Next, his thoughts still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstasy and attains the third Jhāna, which is a state of tranquil serenity. Lastly, he passes to the fourth Jhāna, in which the mind, exalted and purified, is indifferent to all emotions, alike of pleasure and pain. Those who have exercised Jhāna are re-born after death in one of the first eleven Rúpa Brahma heavens, or worlds of corporeal Brahmas.—*Childers*.

The Professor, quoting M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, declares, "Buddhism has no God; it has not even the confused and vague notion of an Universal Spirit in which the human soul, according to the orthodox doctrine of Brahmanism and the Sāṅkya philosophy, may be absorbed. Nor does it admit nature, in the proper sense of the word, and it ignores that profound division between spirit and matter which forms the system and glory of Kapila. It confounds man with all that surrounds him, all the while preaching to him the laws of virtue. Buddhism, therefore, cannot unite the human soul, which it does not even mention, with a God whom it ignores; nor with nature, which it does not know better. Nothing remained but to annihilate the soul; and in order to be quite sure that the soul may not reappear under some form in this world, which has been cursed as the abode of illusion and misery, Buddhism destroys its very elements, and never gets tired of glorying in this achievement. What more is wanted? If this is not the absolute nothing, what is Nirwāna?"*

Professor Max Müller remarks, "Such religion is, we should say, made for a mad-house." Yet it was and is Buddhism. In his letter on Nirwana, addressed to the *Times* (April, 1857), he seems to wish to clear the memory of Sakya Muni from the charges of Nihilism and Atheism, and inclines to a notion that his metaphysical crotchets might have been the work of his pupils, not of Buddha himself, and that the "ineradicable feeling of dependence on something else" has led Buddhists to change "the very nothing into a Paradise, and to deify the very Buddha who had denied the existence of a Deity." In direct contravention of this Mr. Childers observes, "There is no trace in the Pāli Scriptures or commentaries (or, so far as I know, in any Pāli book) of Sakya Muni having existed after his death, or appeared to his disciples. The veneration given to Buddha at the present time, at least in Ceylon, where Buddhism retains almost its pristine purity, is clearly understood by educated believers to be merely veneration paid to the memory of a great saint, who in his lifetime conferred the greatest benefits upon the world, but who ceased to exist 2415 years ago." Any deification of Buddha or any one else is therefore in direct conflict with the doctrines taught by the Founder of the Creed and his earliest disciples. It is not a development of the creed so much, but an antagonism to it; as if Christians were to proclaim that death is extinction, and to refuse to honour the Son even as they honour the Father.

Viewing such a system from the standpoint of Christianity, it would at first sight seem inexplicable how a creed so cold and so cheerless could ever have asserted its dominion over human intelligence, and quenched the dying embers of primeval revelation still lingering in the human breast. Nor do we presume to determine accurately how this came to pass. Even to the philosopher it presents a riddle which the ingenuity of the intellect of man is incapable of explaining. Light, however, may be thrown upon the subject from the pregnant and awful sentences of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

In this state of ignorance Sakya Muni found men. He professed to be Buddha the "Enlightened One," but the light within him was the darkness of death. He made no

* "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 254.

attempt to explain the origin of being; he guessed at its conclusion, and from the contemplation of visible things fancied it must be extinction. There was no attempt on his part to solve at least one half of the bewilderment so touchingly delineated by the English Thane, when our forefathers worshipped Woden and Thunder and other Gods. Most persons will remember how he rose up and said, "Truly the life of a man in this world, compared with that life we wot not of, is on this wise: It is when thou, O King, art sitting at supper with thine Aldermen and thy Thanes in the time of winter, when the hearth is lighted in the midst and the hall is warm, but without the rains and the snow are falling, and the winds are howling: then cometh a sparrow and flieth through the house; she cometh in by one door and goeth out by another. Whilst she is in the house she feeleth not the storm of winter, but yet, when a little moment of rest is passed, she flieth again into the storm, and passeth away from our eyes. So it is with the life of man; it is but for a moment: what goeth afore it and what cometh after it, wot we not at all. Wherefore, if these strangers can tell us aught that we may know whence man cometh and whither he goeth, let us hearken to them and follow their law."*

Had Sakya Muni, instead of Paulinus, been the stranger, he must have confessed his ignorance; he did not even affect to know "whence man cometh." He had hardly attained the extent of the wisdom of the little negress in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "I 'spects I growed." His utmost wisdom was antagonism to previous ignorance fostered by priestly tyranny. He opposed error to error. When he lived, all men, saving the Israel of God, were wandering in darkness and in error.† The help he extended to his brethren was to lead them farther astray; he multiplied and intensified the gloom encircling them. There was room for his error, and a predisposition to accept it on the part of those who were groaning under the tyranny and oppression of the Brahmanical caste. Mr. Spence Hardy justly remarks that for the rapidity of its early extension and subsequent popularity Buddhism was in a great measure indebted to the broad basis upon which admission to the priesthood was placed, being open, contrary to Brahmanism, well-nigh to all willing to receive the privileges of the ascetic. Nor was the religion he taught uncongenial to the natural heart of man. It took away all sense of dependence, of responsibility and of accountability before a judgment-seat. It placed man in the stead of God. It left him in his own conceit free to choose good or evil as best suited his own convenience, for all sanction and restraint was removed, save that proceeding from his own judgment. There was no lawgiver to whom responsibility was due, and it would not require much acuteness to discover that "the tabernacles of robbers prosper, and that they that provoke God are secure." Driven forth eventually by the tyranny of the Brahmans, these disciples of Sakya Muni carried his religion throughout the East, and established it in the midst of other and similar superstitions, for Confucianism is nearly as atheistical as Buddhism. With such facts before us it is hard to avoid the conclusion that when man is left to himself and exercises his reason without light from revelation upon the things which are invisible and superhuman, he cannot rise above himself. "Tout est ténèbres." When he does not reason, but listens to the lingering voice of consciousness within himself, and to the yearnings of his own soul, he retains some confused perceptions of God and of a future state. Where there is no revelation, or that is dim and imperfect, they are wisest and they are safest who are in any measure enabled to walk in the spirit so beautifully expressed by David in the 131st Psalm:—"Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty: neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me. Surely I have behaved and quieted myself, as a child that is weaned of his mother: my

* "Old English History for Children," by E. A. Freeman, M. A.

† "Les peuples auxquels sa doctrine devait convenir étaient aussi aveugles que lui, et il a été prouvé par la science de nos jours qu'ils ne connaissent pas Dieu, même de nom."—*St. Hilaire*.

soul is even as a weaned child. Let Israel hope in the Lord from henceforth and for ever." How great, then, is the blessedness of those for whom all these clouds of darkness are rolled away, who walk in the light of the Gospel of that "God who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel" (2 Tim. i. 9, 10).

Professor Max Müller doubts how far the belief in Nirwana was ever shared by the large masses of the people. If Sakya Muni did not teach them this doctrine, he may have been, and no doubt was, a social and a moral reformer, but he can have no claim to be termed a religious reformer. Nor can he be said in any sense to have taught religious equality, as understood by Christians, inasmuch as in Buddhism, no one who has not in some state of existence, either past or present, observed the ordinances of asceticism, can obtain Nirwana. Even the boon of extinction is practically denied to the ordinary professor of Buddhism—that is, to the masses who profess to hold the creed.

Professor Max Müller lays stress upon the moral teaching of the Buddhists, and quotes Mr. Spence Hardy as to the value of the Dhamma Padam, or the "Footsteps of the Law." We think that in justice to that gentleman he should have added that, in Mr. Hardy's judgment, with such "errors as there are at the foundation of the system, no purity in its moral code can be of much avail," which he proceeds to prove at length, and with great ability. For instance, as he points out, a man may be the inheritor of the foulest crimes committed during the three or four generations immediately preceding, and yet on account of some virtue performed by the being preceding him in the fifth generation, he may live in happiness, without a cloud to darken his prosperity, and may have the consequences of these crimes and his own added to them to be endured in all his bitterness by the being he will himself produce, or by some more distant being in the series. Of what avail could a code of morals, even the purest, be to mankind under such circumstances? Few who read his pages will dissent from his conclusion, that the moral precepts of Buddha, with the interpretation put upon them by authorized expounders, are rather an ineffectual attempt to teach men the way of rectitude than a perfect law. We cannot, however, undertake to enter now into this subject, which would carry us beyond the bounds we have proposed for ourselves in this article. The more pure, however, and the more perfect the code of the Buddhist, the more forlorn and awful his condition, when even Nirwana is beyond his reach, a privilege to which he can prefer no claim; "he knows nothing of an atonement; he rests under the weight of his sin, but he cannot rid himself of the burden. The voice that promises him rest is only a sound; it has no living existence, no substantiality. In the wilderness to which he is driven he sees no cross, no river of blood, no fountain of life, with the cheering words inscribed upon the rock which overhangs it: 'Whosoever will, let him come and drink freely, and live.' He hears of salvation, but he discovers no Saviour. Thus mocked with delusive promises, his disappointment is severe. The best affections of his heart are destroyed, and if he still pursues the system, he is converted into a harmless being, silent, and full of abstract thought, that seeks its own annihilation, so that even of thought there may be none."* If any one would wish to measure the full extent of the difference between Buddhism and Christianity, he has but to arise from over the grave when closed upon the form of some one most dearly beloved, and to ponder over the wild reveries we have been passing in review, contrasting them as he does so with utterances

* Rev. R. Spence Hardy, "Eastern Monachism," p. 345.

with which St. Paul consoled the spirits and cheered the souls of the Corinthians who had accepted the revelation of mercy and grace and truth made to them by our Lord Jesus Christ. The difference between the two is the difference between Buddha and Christ, between the "Enlightened One" and the "Anointed One," between Knowledge and Charity, between Man at his best estate and God in His condescension to our needs. As M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire well remarks, "Le seul mais immense service que le Bouddhisme puisse nous rendre, c'est par son triste contraste de nous faire apprécier mieux encore la valeur inestimable de nos croyances, en nous montrant tout ce qu'il coûte à l'humanité qui ne les partage point." For us the problem is solved, the victory is won; but what is the condition of our fellow-men? It is appointed unto them, as also unto us, to die, but—AFTER THIS?

MISSION OF SIR BARTLE FRERE TO THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

IN the estimation of the world there may be enterprises of more moment and account than the Mission of Sir Bartle Frere to the East Coast of Africa. But if, in the sight of God, it is a solemn thing that there be not found in the skirts of a nation "the blood of the souls of the poor innocents," we may congratulate England, our rulers, and all Christian philanthropists, that such a Mission has been undertaken, and so far brought to a successful issue. We are thankful that the "Church Missionary Society" has once again been permitted to take a part in this blessed work, and that the prayers which have been offered up, and the exertions which have been put forth, have not been altogether in vain. It is not, of course, to be expected that this gigantic evil should be crushed at once; there will yet be much misery to be relieved, but there has been a good and an auspicious beginning, and we will fain believe that He, who has so far prospered the handiwork of His servants, will bring it to a blessed consummation, that there will be a hastening of the release of the poor captive exiles who have been carried away into such sore bondage. So many interesting and important topics are touched upon in the Report which has recently been presented to both Houses of Parliament that a *résumé* of it and extracts from the more important minutes which it contains will enable our readers to realize in a vivid manner the cruelties practised, by the Mohammedans especially, upon the poor down-trodden negro. It will be seen that the guilt is not confined exclusively to the followers of Islam, but upon them the chief burden of the evil rests. As this Report comes from such sources, it may fairly be looked upon as an authorized and official manifesto proceeding from men who weigh their words and are neither enthusiasts nor theorists. It would be very easy to darken the shades of the picture by furnishing collateral testimony from other sources, but we prefer adhering simply to the Report, and giving it, in its main features, additional circulation. It will supply much matter for serious and anxious thought.

The Report opens with an intimation to Dr. Kirk and to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, of the reason why the Mission was sent forth, "Her Majesty's Government and the people of this country being determined that the traffic in slaves should cease." His appointment as Envoy is then notified to Sir Bartle Frere, and to facilitate his negotiations he is assured that the subsidy of 40,000 crowns, payable by the Sultan of Zanzibar to him of Muscat, shall be regularly paid to the latter from Her Majesty's Treasury at Bombay. The draft of a Treaty is then furnished, which after many difficulties was subsequently ratified in June, 1873, the articles of which declare that the export of

slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, and their transport to foreign parts, shall cease; that all public markets in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar shall be closed, that the Sultan shall protect liberated slaves, and that our Queen will inhibit natives of Indian States from possessing or acquiring slaves. On his way to Africa Sir Bartle Frere was instructed to proceed to Paris and Rome, and confer with our representatives in those cities. When in Egypt, our Envoy had an interview with the Khedive, in which he explained the object of his Mission. The Slave Trade in Egypt was then touched upon. His Highness did not attempt to deny the existence of such a trade; he added that "he himself would gladly assist in the matter, but as a Mussulman prince he had great difficulties to contend against; the institution of domestic slavery had existed in those countries for many centuries even before Mohammedanism, and it was impossible to stop it immediately by a *coup de sabre*. But if he had the moral support of Great Britain he was prepared to engage that he would put an end to the Slave Trade in Central Africa." His Highness further remarked that "if the slave markets and slave okells could be put down in Zanzibar, the traffic there would soon die out." We subjoin copious extracts from a most important memorandum of information gathered by Sir Bartle Frere on the present state of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Egypt.

It is clear that the official position of all questions connected with slavery and slave trade in Egypt has greatly altered of late years. In 1834, and I believe for some years afterwards, there was a large open slave market in Cairo, which was one of the sights usually shown to strangers. We met many boat-loads of negro slaves coming down the river, and saw them openly exposed for sale, without attempt at concealment, at various places in Upper Egypt. In 1855, though the traffic was formally prohibited, any Frank who cared to do so might visit the houses where slaves were always for sale. This, I am assured, is no longer possible except in disguise and clandestinely; and no official difficulty, I believe, is ever found by our Consular authorities in securing the prompt and faithful fulfilment of all the engagements of His Highness' Government, and immediate attention to and redress for any complaints which may be brought to the notice of the Egyptian Administration.

This indicates a great and very satisfactory change in the Egyptian official view of the subject, and proves that the professions of the Government are not merely formal. Even those of my informants, some of them not Englishmen nor officials, who took the least favourable view of past progress, and were least sanguine as to the future, admitted that redress was always readily afforded by the Egyptian police authorities to any slave with a real grievance, who applied to the British Consul for protection; and they testified to the general impression among slaves that they could always get protection by applying at our Consulate. I believe that neither do our

officials find any want of careful attention to their representations on the part of the Egyptian Government officials, nor do the latter complain of undue officiousness or causeless interference on our part. This proves, I submit, more than mutual courtesy and good understanding. Such a state of things could hardly exist unless both parties had common objects sincerely at heart in the subject-matter of their communications.

As regards the general character and treatment of slaves in Egypt, I must refer to the annexed appendix embodying some of the information which struck me most. I have omitted hearsay stories which admit of no proof, including some of a rather sensational character; nor, with occasional exceptions, have I noted inferential observations which, though probably true, are sufficiently self-evident as regards slavery in any country. Information thus collected is of course liable to various sources of error from which the statements of official persons taken officially would be free; but it may at least serve to show the sort of views which would be placed before a foreigner by foreigners long resident in the country, speaking under a certain responsibility from the knowledge that the facts they stated would be liable to be canvassed and criticised by those who have at their disposal official sources of information.

The ordinary domestic slaves in Egypt are, of course, as a body, relatively inferior to the same class in a country where slaves are employed in field labour, and where the slaves for house service are selected for some desirable quality from among the field hands. Here all who are brought down find purchasers for

home service, and this is probably one main reason why, except in the houses of the very rich, the Egyptian slave servant strikes those who have seen domestic slavery in other countries as a very inferior being. I was not at all prepared for the very general testimony as to the extent of slaveholding among Christians, especially among the Copts, Syrians, Abyssinians, &c.; and I found it was generally regarded by residents, who have the means of knowing, as a practice which has spread much among the Christians of late years, and is on the increase. All seem to agree that the evil effects of slavery, both on owners and slave, are even more marked among the Christians than among the Mahomedans, and plausible reasons are assigned for the difference.

The Mahomedan, in the possession and ordinary treatment of his slave, is generally within the letter of his law. He does not necessarily offend against his own conscience. The law, as well as custom and social feeling regarding marriage, the lawful number of wives, &c., protect the Mahomedan slave concubine and her offspring, and render crimes arising from jealousy, infanticide and the like, less common in Mahomedan than in Christian families, where, if conscientious scruples as to the possession of the slave are rare or weak, the law, as well as the feeling of society, embitter jealousies, and aggravate the other natural results.

On the question whether slavery is or is not on the increase in Egypt, and as to the proportion which slaves bear to the free population, very conflicting opinions are expressed, and, in the absence of any trustworthy returns or statistics, conclusive evidence is unattainable. I confess I do not see how slavery can be on the decrease. The country is, and has been for years, rapidly increasing in generally diffused wealth and luxury. The demand for domestic service of every kind is extending, whilst the supply from free indigenous labour can increase but slowly, if at all. Some well-informed persons maintain that the supply of free labour for domestic servants is actually decreasing. Foreigners may and do obtain foreign servants, but with difficulty and at high cost. For the natives of the country there is no obvious course of increased supply, save from the great negro store-house of labour.

The supply is mainly kept up by fresh importation. From a variety of causes, on which it is not necessary to dilate, the negro race in captivity seems to lose the character-

istic of being the most prolific of the human family. Large families of slave children, of pure negro blood, born in the country, are said to be rare. In Lower Egypt the climate is not favourable to weakly adults, and very fatal to negro children. Their want of stamina and tendency to chest diseases cause great mortality at all times; they are peculiarly obnoxious to epidemics and contagious diseases.

As to the routes by which slaves are imported, official evidence already on record has established that the Red Sea is becoming, apparently to a greater extent than in former years, the destination of a considerable proportion of the slaves exported from Eastern Africa. Probably the majority are intended ultimately for Jiddah and other ports of the Arabian coast; for Mecca and the ports of the Hedjaz appear to be the *entrepôts* whence slaves are carried by pilgrims returning to all quarters of the Muslim world. But it is alleged that there is a brisk slave traffic through Massowah, Suakin, and other ports on the Egyptian coast. Sometimes the slaves, it is said, are imported at these places for the East coast, on their way to Arabia, Syria, or Turkey; sometimes for the Egyptian market; and latterly it has been stated that many slaves, brought by land from the interior, have been exported from those ports.

His Highness is of opinion that Sir Samuel Baker's expedition has certainly checked slave-hunting in the immediate neighbourhood of the White Nile, and I found this opinion supported by the testimony of others who have lately arrived from the White Nile region. But, as one further result, the Khar-toum traders are said to have this season drawn their chief supplies of slaves from Katarif and Kedarif, on the western bank of the Upper Atbara, and from the districts bordering on the north-western frontier of Abyssinia. Thence slaves are sent to the ports on the Red Sea, as a route presenting fewer liabilities to interruption than the routes down the Nile Valley. Whatever amount of truth there may be in such reports, all who profess to know anything on the subject agree that the slave traders avail themselves of all the facilities which steam communication and electric telegraph afford to elude interruption and official observation.

In the absence of any English Consular Authorities at the Red Sea ports, and of any means or authority for making inquiry on board the steamers or vessels under the Turkish flag, it is not easy to ascertain the truth

regarding the trade by sea; and this seems to me one of the directions in which the means of ascertaining the truth and aiding the Viceroy in his endeavours to suppress the trade are within easy reach of Her Majesty's Government by negotiations with Turkey for extended facilities of inquiry, and by an increase of Consular Agency at the ports of the Red Sea.

But probably the main source of supply is still by importation landward along various routes down the Valley of the Nile, one of the most frequented striking the Nile as low down as Asyut (Esiout).

The jallabs, or slave traders, are a rich, well-informed, and well-organized body. They not only influence the whole of the up-country trade, but combine to protect their own interests by varying their routes according to the best information as to possible obstacles, and by securing the connivance of local Government officials.

Of the total extent of the importation I can form no reliable estimate. I fear that His Highness has been misinformed as to its having been reduced to a few hundreds. I am informed that, in some of the large and

Sir Bartle then enters into the remedial measures which he would recommend, but they need not detain us. Subsequently he

It can hardly escape so enlightened a ruler as His Highness, that slavery is in itself a canker which must eat into the vitals of a country like Egypt, whose prosperity depends in so large a degree on the industry of the agricultural class. It will be an evil day when agricultural labour comes to be regarded as degrading; but it is by no means impossible that an extension of slavery might lead to the growth of an Helot caste, which would prove at least as great an embarrassment in Egypt as it has done in all other countries. His Highness has now under his influence a larger population of savage and semi-civilized subjects than any sovereigns except the Ruler of British India and the Emperors of Russia and China. He may, by making Egypt free soil, place himself in the van of the civilizing Powers of the world; but if slavery be upheld as a domestic institution it will be inevitable that his best devised plans for the improvement of his people should be viewed with suspicion, and that nations which have renounced slavery should hesitate to aid in subjecting to his influence savage races which he has the power to civilize, but which in the hands of a careless or indifferent ruler may serve no purpose but

rich remote provincial towns seldom visited by influential Franks, the annual sales of freshly-imported slaves might be counted by thousands; but probably it would be difficult to form more than a guess as to the number in any one place; and even His Highness would find it difficult to learn the truth as to the total imports throughout the whole of his extended dominions.

As regards the mode in which the supply is procured, there is little to add to the melancholy but monotonous story of slave-hunting in other parts of Africa. Some are got by simple kidnapping or by purchase from relations or petty local tyrants, but the ordinary mode is to sweep the country in a slave-hunting raid, slaying all who resist, leaving the old and feeble to perish, and carrying off the women, children, and able-bodied male prisoners in numbers sufficient to repay the expenses of a costly expedition.

It is not difficult to meet with credible persons in Egypt, who testify to having been, at a comparatively recent period, eye-witnesses of massacres in remote districts up the White Nile, in which hundreds of lives have been so sacrificed to effect a large capture.

remarks,—

to fill up the void in the decaying population of a worn-out social system.

A proposal for making Egypt or any part of it free soil may appear to many who have known Egypt well, even of late years, a very wild idea. I confess it would, till lately, have so appeared to me, for I had not realized the progress made by Egypt in most branches of Western civilization, the growth of her real power in Africa, and the influence which I think she deserves and will probably possess amongst the civilized nations, whilst it is clear that the weight of that influence must depend on the intimacy of her agreement with modern civilization on those few vital points on which all those nations are now pretty fairly agreed, such, for instance, as this question of Slave Trade.

The Khedive now rules over tens of millions of negroes, of various races, all prolific, docile, and capable of great physical, as well as moral and intellectual, improvement. But, whatever may be the capacity of the higher races, few, if any, approach to the standard of civilization long since reached by the lowest orders in Egypt proper. What is to be the destiny of these negro races? Every year decreases the obstacles to intercourse

between the Upper and Lower Nile. It is quite conceivable and probable that these obstacles may be so far diminished as the enlightened and advanced projects of the Khedive for railways, improved navigation of the Nile, &c., are developed, that the great negro storehouse of labour may become easily available to Lower Egypt. But on what conditions? If slavery did not exist in Egypt, the conditions would be mutually advantageous to both races. If, however, slavery continues to exist, free negroes will not come there voluntarily, and negro labour can only come as slaves and Helots.

What a curse and social canker such a state of things must prove cannot escape the observation of His Highness and his advisers, who may see in various parts of the world the difficulties arising from an Imperial dynasty of foreign sovereigns, a rich and luxurious middle class of natives holding honest free labour in contempt, and a labour-

The Appendix to the Memorandum contains such valuable remarks, not only upon the progress of Slavery in Egypt, but also upon the neglect with which they are treated, that we subjoin the greater portion of it. The episode of the Coptic Patriarch will, we hope, arrest especial attention.

Domestic slavery has little diminished of late years in Egypt. In fact, owing to the increase of wealth and luxury, especially since the great rise in the price of agricultural produce consequent on the American war, the possession of a domestic slave or two has become common in families which in former days would never have aspired to any such luxury. We constantly meet with cases of Government employés, on salaries of only 5*l.* per month, who manage to purchase a slave as a domestic servant, such as a few years ago would only have been found in the houses of the wealthy. We know many families of the only "well-to-do" who have six or seven slaves. The desire to possess slaves is greatly stimulated, not only by the change in habits which leads to less household work being done by members of the family, but also by the increasing difficulty here, as in Europe and elsewhere, of obtaining domestic servants; also there are other causes in operation which are peculiar to this country:—

First, menial labour is not considered respectable, chiefly from the public opinion on the subject resulting from slavery.

Secondly, the harem system and general licentiousness render it almost impossible for respectable females to go out to service. The demand for domestic servants is so great and so constantly on the increase that it is often impossible to procure them when required.

ing class of Helots and slaves. To those who can imagine such a condition of society (and it seems to me imminent in Egypt unless slavery is abolished), it must be evident that such social conditions are not only unnatural, hideous, and dangerous in themselves, but of a character which no European civilized power would like to see extended. With the Lower Nile free soil, the Khedive, ruling over the upper provinces inhabited by negro races, will be truly at the head of a constantly advancing African civilization. All reasonable civilized men will be glad to see his influence extending. As matters stand at present they will hesitate to regard his influence as decidedly beneficent even in the darkest corners of Central Africa. They will always be asking, "Is His Highness' latest acquisition in Central Africa to be a fresh field for the triumphs of civilization and order, or a fresh hunting-ground for the slave trader?"

Even permanent residents, who know where to get everything the country affords, often find great difficulty in procuring them, and have to do without them for an inconveniently long time. We have known an instance of a friend who was in great distress for want of a wet-nurse for his child. After vainly invoking the help of all his resident friends, he went to the slave dealers and gave 20*l.* for a negress to whom he gave or promised her liberty when his occasion for her services was or should be at an end.

It is not only among the Mahomedans, but even among the Egyptian Christians, Copts, and Syrians, that domestic slavery is common. The Copts are in this respect but little better than the Turks and Arabs. We had an instance in the Patriarch himself. He was sent to Abyssinia, by Saïad Pasha, and brought down, it is said, nineteen slaves with him. Two of these he gave to his sister. One of these slaves wished to be baptized for years, and was refused permission by his mistress, because, she said, "It was possible they might require to sell him." The slaves are always a difficulty, when a wealthy Copt applies to the Missionaries for admission to Church membership in a Protestant communion. The applicant cannot be admitted as a slave holder, but there are often difficulties in the way of freeing such slaves: e.g., it would be a very doubtful boon to a young

female slave to free her, and cast her loose on the world. The Missionaries are obliged to deal with each case on its own merits, and often to make some sacrifice of what is desirable to secure what is practical. The same difficulty applies to manumission by a Consul, &c. The Consul has no means of looking after the slave when freed, or of protecting him from recapture; and the slave is often no better off than before.

Even when the Egyptian Government officials take all proper steps there is a serious difficulty in providing for the freed slaves, and preventing their being got back by their old masters, and punished. This is owing to the gross ignorance of the majority of slaves, which renders it easy to impose upon them, unless they have some chance friend to look after them. There is no institution to which they can be sent, and they can only be distributed to persons of supposed respectability.

Besides the difficulty of knowing what to do with liberated slaves, the great obstacle to the suppression of the traffic is the absence of any public opinion condemning the purchase and possession of slaves. I have heard a respectable Coptic merchant inveigh bitterly against the tyranny of the English Government "interfering with the trade of honest people in this matter."

As to remedial measures there is little chance of anything effectual being done, save under pressure from some Christian Power or by a change in public opinion, of which there seems little prospect as long as all the rich and noble in the land are implicated in the maintenance of the evil.

As to the capacity of negroes for improvement, moral or intellectual, there is great difference among diverse races. Some are well developed physically, and capable of a high degree of intellectual culture; others are in the lowest stage of debasement, and intellectually and physically very hopeless savages.

They are generally very deficient in physical stamina; with great muscular power, they generally succumb easily to disease, and die in greater proportion than other races during the prevalence of epidemic or contagious diseases. They suffer much from lung disease, and generally from cold and damp in Lower Egypt, which suits them worse than the upper country. When sick, a physician is seldom called in to attend to the slaves.

A medical man, who has considerable practice, states that, though sometimes called in

to prescribe for a slave in households which he visits, he is rarely called in specially, or a second time, in a serious case. He stated that, as a general rule, more care was taken of valuable horses and dogs than of ordinary slaves in sickness. He said, "I see much of the slave of the better classes in the course of my practice. I am also frequently called in to give certificates of soundness for slaves, and in the case of young children who do not speak Arabic, I know they must be recent importations. I see them hawked about the streets in twos and threes, and there is little concealment in the matter, though a European or any one in Frank dress would not be allowed to enter the slave-dealers' houses. I heard only a few weeks ago that large Kafilas had arrived, and that their advent was hastened by rumours of some measures impending and directed against slavery and the Slave Trade. Judging from what I see in the better class of houses, where the proportion is of course greatest, I estimate that slaves form fully a third of the whole population, and that the proportion is increasing rather than diminishing."

The supply of slaves is mainly kept up by importations from the interior. As to the extent of this importation from Soudan, Darfur, &c., it would be difficult to make any reliable estimate—certainly far more than 400. There are probably more than 1000 brought to Cairo alone annually, as may be judged by the number of little negro boys of pure blood, mostly imported slaves, who are to be seen in the streets. A resident at a large town in the Delta estimated the number of freshly imported slaves disposed of there at several thousands per annum; and another, also in a position to form a good judgment, raised his estimate for all Egypt to 10,000 per annum. But as the import is prohibited, and can only take place through the neglect or with the connivance of officials, any estimate must be mainly guess-work.

The seclusion of the harem affords a veil to the murder of slaves, and especially infanticide, and the temptation is much greater among the Copts than among the Muslims. Comparatively few of the slaves are brought down by way of the river, especially in winter, when European sojourners are upon the Nile. They are mostly brought by the Jelabis by land routes best known to themselves. Without the hearty concurrence of the Government, it would be very difficult, therefore, to abolish the traffic, but with such concurrence it would be exceedingly easy, as the organization for

the collection of the internal revenue is so perfect that it is next to impossible for the smallest quantities of agricultural or any other produce to be brought into the towns without paying duty.

A large proportion of the slaves who are brought in (I am told as high as two-thirds) are from the north-western provinces of Abyssinia, which lie adjoining the Egyptian territory. These, when offered to the Copts for sale, are said by the Jelabis to be Christians, and Muslims when offered to Muslims.

A resident in Egypt states:—

"I am not able to speak to what was the case formerly, but of late years there has certainly appeared to me to be an increase in the fashion of possessing slaves. I found the other day the man, to whom I pay monthly 2*l.* as cook, had two slaves to attend on his wife. Of late years there has been a great increase in the luxury of the higher orders. The richer men have numerous wives—Turks, Arabs, Circassians, or Georgians—and for each of these ladies they keep one or more black slaves, often as many as four each.

"Household work has come to be looked upon as a degradation. I have seen hundreds of girls of the lower and middle classes passing through the female schools maintained or visited by Europeans, but not one of them would undertake for hire, household work of any kind under any consideration. They would say, 'Am I a slave that I should do such work?'"

It is this discredit of honest labour which is the great social obstacle to any growth of a class of free-workers which could supersede slave labour.

There is much diversity in their treatment, not only according to the temper and circumstances of the masters and mistresses, but according to the race and character of the slaves.

There is very great diversity in the latter respects. Some slaves possess fine physical and moral qualities, and are valued and trusted. Others are unmitigated savages. As a general rule, the women are little trusted by their mistresses out of their sight. They speak to us of a slave they can trust to go to the bazaar by herself as a treasure; and they give as a reason for their always taking a slave girl with them to a marriage or other meeting, where many ladies assemble, and where you see more slaves than free women, "We cannot leave the girl at home when we are out of the house."

An Egyptian gentleman, long residing and in high authority at Khartoum, whence he has lately returned, says that the great slave-hunting ground lately has been in the country of Katarif and Kedarif (*vide* Keith Johnston's map of Upper Nubia and Abyssinia) between the Atbara and Blue Nile, and that one-third of the Khartoum slaves this year comes from the north-west frontier of Abyssinia, and are imported by the Red Sea ports.

The remainder of the Appendix comprises information supplied by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and an account of the Franciscan convent at Cairo. The female children educated in it have been mostly sick and troublesome children, sold by their owners to the convent. Children supposed to be in a dying state are sold to the sisters for a few Napoleons; they have it baptized, and, if it recovers, bring it up. It will not be forgotten what dangers resulted from this practice in China; it seems to prevail in Romish Missions; but we cannot help thinking that this system of purchase is evil, and should be discountenanced, however specious may be the pretexts for the practice.

In an important letter, dated January 10, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere calls attention to the extensive and increasing use of the Turkish flag to cover slavery in the Red and Arabian seas and Persian Gulf. He mentions incidentally that the steamers of the Austrian Lloyd's Company had been employed in conveying slaves to Turkey, and that Sir H. Elliot had failed to discover that any punishment had been inflicted by Turkish officials in cases of flagrant and undoubted slave dealing. He also quotes Lord Granville's remark, that "it is hopeless to put an end to traffic in slaves as long as they are bought and sold by persons of high rank, and by Turkish officials." With regard to Turkey, it may be observed on the testimony of Sir P. Francis: First, That slavery is still a legal institution in Turkey. Secondly, That the negro slave trade is illegal, though tolerated. Thirdly, That slaves may be sold by private contract, but not by auction or publicly. Fourthly, That the white slave trade has never been prohibited.

Sir Bartle Frere further observes that Turkey stands "alone in Europe as the upholder of the right of one man to acquire by purchase from another, the power to work, to maltreat, or to slay, according to his will, any third human being." As a curious exemplification of what Mahometanism is at its religious centre, and also of how English law is evaded, we quote the following:—

When the Indian Government was inquiring into a statement that slaves had been imported from Jeddah to Bombay by the followers of a lady of very high rank who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, it appeared that rich foreigners performing the Haj were in the habit of purchasing slaves in the slave market at Mecca, which was abundantly supplied by importations from Georgia

and Circassia, as well as from Africa; and the trade had been so systematized that, when the purchaser was from India, the form of manumission before the Kazi and local authorities was generally gone through, though the papers securing freedom were not given to the freed man, but kept by the master.

A lady, the daughter of one of the Sultan of Zanzibar's chief officers, next to himself in rank, was concerned in what Dr. Kirk justly calls "wholesale slave dealing at Mecca and Heduda, where she bought a fine collection of Georgians, and at Jeddah she bought two or three Abyssinians and a Turkish boy; the latter averred that he was by law 'hoor,' free; he cried very much, but still he was forcibly taken."

We pass over Sir Bartle Frere's reception by the Sultan, and submit an official account of the slave market at Zanzibar, supplied by Mr. Hill, Secretary of the Embassy:—

A short sketch of the slave market at Zanzibar, as it at present exists, may not be uninteresting, but it should be stated that the following is not meant for a sensational account, but for a plain description of a state of things which will, it is hoped, soon disappear.

The slave market is no longer in the square which it so long occupied, as within the last few weeks Her Majesty's Acting Consul, Dr. Kirk, took advantage of the old site having been bought by a British Indian subject, to prohibit his allowing the continuance of the scandal. The site now occupied is a small square surrounded on three sides by buildings, and the approach to which is, on the one side, through the bazaars, where the trade is carried on chiefly by Indians, and, on the other, through more open streets leading to the outskirts of the town.

Coming towards the market from this latter side, we passed a large covered space occupied by the cocoa-nut mills, which are turned by camels, and the primitive construction of which, consisting as they do of a mere hollow log in which a heavy piece of wood revolves as the camels walk round, is said to be a more paying method of extracting the oil than the best devised machinery.

On the occasion of the visit of some of the members of the Zanzibar Mission, three slaves were chained close by this mill for having attempted to steal some of the oil. Their jaunt air showed how little the punishment

affected either their moral or physical sensibilities.

On entering the market we passed by wooden sheds, under which sat, on the left, some half-caste Arabs, on the right some half-clothed negroes. The market was comparatively empty when we arrived at half-past four in the afternoon, so we had a good opportunity of seeing the slaves who were already there. They were seated in rows round the square, each batch sitting packed close together, and herded by an Arab or negro (for the negro seems to forget the miseries he once underwent as a newly-captured slave, or, like a schoolboy bullied as a youngster, bullies again when able), who forced into position the luckless wretch who stretched his stiffening limbs beyond the limits allowed him. We counted at that time ninety, of all ages and of both sexes. Many wore a set and wearied look, many were fat and gay, while two young men and a boy alone confirmed, by their skeleton frames and looks of misery, the sensational tales often written of these markets. The impression left upon the mind at this time was that the process of sale was not more debasing to the negro than were the statute-hiring fairs of recent English times to the servant class of England. Most of the slaves were naked, save a clout round the waist of the men and a cloth thrown loosely over the women. I say "naked," for one can hardly consider as clothing what some evidently held to be full

dress, viz., the scars and slashes on their faces, and the rings in their ears and noses. Some, however, of the women, chosen probably for some attraction which, great doubtless to Zanzibarite eyes, were hardly appreciable by Europeans, were gaudily dressed in coloured robes, with short-clipped hair, eyes and eyebrows painted black, and henna-dyed foreheads, while the rings and armlets they wore were heavy and large.

About five o'clock the frequenters of the market—the lounge of the true Zanzibarite—strolled quietly in, Arabs and half-castes, Persians of the Guard in their long caps, and all armed with matchlock, sword, or dagger. At once the salesmen woke up, and all was bustle. And now came a cruel time. With a true knowledge of business, the sickliest and most wretched slaves were trotted out first, led round by the hand among the crowd, and their price called out. The price of one boy was seven dollars; he was stripped and examined by a connoisseur, his arms felt, his teeth examined, his eyes looked at, and finally he was rejected.

The examination of the women was still more disgusting. Bloated and henna-dyed old debauchees gloated over them, handled them from head to foot before a crowd of lookers-on, like a cowseller or horsedealer, and finally, when one was apparently satisfactory, buyer, seller, and woman all retired behind the curtain of the shed to play out the final scene of examination.

I cannot say that the subjects of this searching examination seemed to object to it; on the whole they appeared perfectly callous, neither caring whether their merits were dilated on nor apparently sensible of the notice they were attracting from the bystanders.

The prices we heard mentioned varied from sixty-seven dollars for a woman to seven dollars for the boy whose case I have mentioned. We saw no deals actually effected, and were told that the presence of the Mis-

sion in Zanzibar had sensibly affected the commerce in slaves as well as in the ordinary articles of trade.

This being the close time, the market was not at its full height, though there must have been at least two hundred slaves there before we left.

No rudeness was shown to us by any one, though I have been told that some officers of the squadron now here have been insulted and hissed by Arabs.

It may be added, though not actually connected with our visit, that since the squadron arrived in this harbour four dhows have been taken by her Majesty's ships: one, containing one slave, was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, not being defended; a second was also condemned as a legitimate prize; a third was released, and the fourth escaped condemnation as her papers were dated three days before the commencement of the close time. She had started from Kilwa with eighty slaves, of whom thirty-eight had died of cholera before she was captured. Two whose lives were despaired of were left by their owner to die on the beach, whence they were rescued by the French Roman Catholic Mission, a fact which would alone show the hardships to which the victims of the Slave Trade are exposed even before their trials on land commence.

Let people say what they will of the happiness of the negro when landed, I think the above facts will show that the fate of a human being put on shore in sickness, driven in that state and regardless of his sufferings to the barracoon, dragged daily there to broil his wretched carcass in the hot East-African sun, without water, without shade, till the shadow of death is on him (for the more wretched he is and the more unsaleable, the less he will be cared for)—these facts, I say, will show that not one moment too soon, not one whit too strongly, has England interfered to abolish for ever the curse of Africa.

There is a very interesting account given of Captain Fraser's estate at Kokotoni, who by his energy has changed an unimproved Zanzibar rice swamp into a well-arranged and well-cultivated tropical estate. We quote from it such portions as show what may be accomplished by free negroes under judicious management, and how negroes increase and multiply when the marriage tie is duly recognized:—

But the estate has a special interest far beyond its fertility or the excellence of its machinery, owing to the fact that all has been done by English capital and Captain Fraser's energy and fertility of resource, entirely through native agency and by native

workpeople, the labour being now entirely free.

Not only all the field labour and road making, but all the masonry, carpenters' and smiths' and coopers' work, the cart making and mending, the transport and

putting together of a large quantity of heavy machinery, its repair and daily starting, feeding, and stopping—all are worked, managed, and directed entirely by free negroes working for regular wages; Captain Fraser himself is much engaged in town, and can seldom visit the estate. He has of late seldom had more than one European assistant at a time, and when we saw the factory, the assistantship, in the temporary absence of Mr. Johnston, the permanent incumbent, was filled by a gentleman who had only arrived from Europe a few weeks before. But Captain Fraser assured me no difficulty whatever was experienced, the native headmen in each department carrying on all details of the work with only a very general supervision from the European manager.

These headmen are of various tribes, and from various parts of the coast and interior. With only one exception, all have been slaves; and it is curious that, at least in one case, a sort of leadership is voluntarily attributed to a man whose parents in his own country belonged to a ruling clan.

There can be no doubt that the consciousness of freedom has in many ways improved the moral and intellectual, as well as the physical, condition of these freedmen; and they have at various times, and occasionally in a manner inconvenient to Captain Fraser, manifested a strong desire to assist their enslaved fellow-countrymen to recover their freedom.

One of the most pleasing and noteworthy facts we witnessed was that of troops of healthy-looking, well-fed children, numbering altogether eighty-five, of all ages under eight or nine years old. They came round Captain Fraser directly they saw him, and evinced none of the fear of the white men usual with slave children who have been taught to believe in the cannibal propensities of the white races.

The existence of such numbers of children after recent visitations of cholera and small-pox, and of much fever and other disease consequent on the late hurricane, is indeed a very important fact, for, as your lordship will recollect, it has been confidently and persistently affirmed, as an excuse for defending a constant importation of fresh slaves from the mainland, that the slave population of Zanzibar is infertile, and would die out in a few years, if not steadily replenished by bringing fresh slaves from the interior of Africa.

Of the fact there can, I believe, be little

doubt. Slaves in Zanzibar have few children except under specially favourable circumstances, and, taken as a body, would, as asserted, soon die out if no fresh slaves were brought into the island. The question is, whether this infertility is due to climate or other similar causes, or is it in any way connected with the status of slavery?

Some learning and much ingenuity has been expended in proof of the former proposition, but after taking great pains to arrive at the truth, I feel convinced it has not an atom of sound foundation. I have met with no single well-ascertained fact to support it, while there is abundant incontestable evidence to prove that the causes why this naturally most prolific race does not increase and multiply in Zanzibar are all more or less connected with slavery.

The facts patent at Kokotoni appear to me strongly corroborative on this point, and I mention them, not because they are at all peculiar to the place, but because I found there collected examples and proofs of all the facts I had separately noticed elsewhere, and they may be accepted with the less hesitation because I believe Captain Fraser himself was for some time a believer in the theory of the natural infertility of the negro race in Zanzibar.

The negroes, as he first collected them on the estate, were slaves who naturally retained all the characteristics and vices of slavery. Among other peculiarities observable was that of infertility.

Marriage as a permanent tie, or as any restraint on almost promiscuous intercourse, was hardly recognized. Every kind of consequent disease in its several forms was common. Children generally were looked upon simply as a restraint and an incumbrance, and neither shame nor blame was attached, in the opinion of slaves among themselves, to any means for preventing or terminating the existence of children before or after their birth. The maternal instinct was deadened, if not extinguished; and the manager's public sitting to hear and dispose of complaints and controversies among the labourers frequently testified to an almost incredible amount of shamelessness, want of natural feeling, and sensual depravity.

The change for the better was very gradual and attributable to a great variety of causes, of which it is difficult to assign special prominence to any one beyond saying that all resulted more or less directly from the status of freedom, with the exception of the kindly

good sense of Captain Fraser and his manager, Mr. Johnston, which, of course, it is conceivable might have been manifested to slaves as well as to freedmen.

General habits of order, decency, and regularity, good medical attendance from a qualified English practitioner (Dr. Christie) when ill, and many such causes, operated to aid improvement, but the most efficient agency, no doubt, was the sense of property—that what they had was their own. This cause acted most effectually in raising the freedmen from the more degrading vices of slavery.

It is curious that the first marks of an anxiety to have children about them, as desirable additions to what they possessed, were remarked by Captain Fraser among the men. The women followed, and are not, he thinks, now at all behind their husbands in looking upon their children as natural and desirable additions to the comforts and respectabilities of their homes; but in the earlier annals of his primitive court for the adjustment of matrimonial, as of all other disputes, it was the husband who generally appeared the more anxious of the two to see his children grow up around him.

(To be continued.)

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

LINGERINGS OF LIGHT IN A DARK LAND. By the Rev. T. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., formerly Minister of the Government Church, Cochin, &c. *London*: W. Brown & Co., Hamilton & Adams, 1873.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN THE EAST. By the Rev. R. COLLINS, M.A., late Principal of the Church Missionary Society's Syrian College, Cottayambe. *London*: King, 1873.

THE LAND OF CHARITY: A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF TRAVANCORE AND ITS PEOPLE, &c. By the Rev. S. MATEER, F.L.S., of the London Missionary Society. *London*: Snow, 1871.

FEW more glorious spectacles burst upon human vision than the scenery of the Western or Malabar coast, viewed from any favourable point on the Ghauts, which, for hundreds of miles, separate Travancore and Cochin from the more Eastern portions of India. No lapse of time will ever efface from our recollection the panorama we remember to have seen—so wonderful that even a traveller so experienced as Baron Von Humboldt declared it could hardly be surpassed elsewhere in the world. We would fain convey to our readers some idea of it as given by Mr. Mateer in his description from another more southern point: it may serve to give them some imperfect idea of the romantic grandeur of this “land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills.”

“Many are the magnificent views of hill and dale, of wooded jungle and cultivated lands—verdant rice-fields gleaming in the brilliant tropical sun like lakes of rich emerald green, belts of noble forest, and isolated masses of rock rising abruptly from the surrounding country, with the lofty mountain peaks of the Ghauts shining calm and majestic in the distance. One of the finest and most charming views I ever beheld was from the summit of one of the mountains near Cape Comorin, on the slope of which our Mission has a small bungalow, used as a sanitarium for the enfeebled, and as an occasional retreat from the labour and excessive heat of the low country. To the east lay spread out the wide plains of Tinnevely, flat and arid, on the red sandy soil of which few trees flourish save the tall Palmyra palm; westward stretched the green and undulating country of Travancore, luxuriant with exuberant vegetation; northwards the noble range of the Ghauts expanded into a mazy group—a very ocean of mountain-tops; while to the south the whole coast-line on both sides from Cape Comorin showed clearly visible. At our feet lay dense forests, some still impenetrable,

the abode of numerous wild beasts. Here and there portions of this primeval forest had been cut down to make room for plantations of coffee, and there rows of coffee bushes, with their glossy green leaves and beautiful white jasmine-like flowers, clothed the acclivities with perpetual verdure; while down from the heights, over rocky precipices, through green and shady valleys and deep ravines, gushed sparkling brooks, like streams of molten silver, the sources of those larger rivers which could be seen below flowing peacefully onward to the sea, now irrigating the fertile plains in their course, but in the rainy season to be transformed into swollen, rapid, and impassable torrents."

It will be no marvel that such a land, so highly favoured, should, from the earliest ages, notwithstanding its secluded position, have been much coveted and visited, and that its rare and valuable produce should have been the means of attracting merchants of all lands to its shores. Very interesting descriptions of its natural history and agriculture will be found in Mr. Mateer's volume. "Air, earth, and water alike teem with animal and vegetable life." As concerns its history: at the earliest period of which we have any authentic history, the state of Kerala (or, as we term it, Malabar), extending all along the west coast from Chandragiri to Cape Comorin, was under the rule of Brahminical chieftains, assisted by leading men among the aborigines. Mr. Whitehouse supplies a brief but interesting allusion to the rise of the Perumal princes, who were most probably viceroys sent by the sovereigns of the neighbouring kingdoms to govern the land. It may have been about the period of the birth of Christ that the dominion of these rulers began. The rule of each was limited to the period of twelve years. The last of them ended his days about a thousand years ago, but "he seems to have ruled as an independent prince, and at his death to have divided his dominions amongst the members of his own family and his leading chieftains." During the rule of these chieftains, the state of Kerala was much frequented by merchants. The Romans carried on trade with the Malabar coast. About five-and-thirty years ago "some three hundred large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint, and bearing the image and superscription of Nero, were found in or near the bed of a river about sixteen miles from Cannanore." Coins of Julius Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar have been found much further inland in the Coimbatore collectorate. Without, then, venturing into more remote periods of which we have no certain accounts, we have distinct evidence that the Malabar coast was constantly trafficked with ever since the Christian era by the chief western nations, as also by China at a somewhat later period. Into such antiquarian details we will not, however, enter, but would rather try to place before our readers some account of the fortunes of Christianity, which, under most various forms, has existed in Travancore and Cochin from the very earliest periods.

Mr. Whitehouse strongly inclines to the opinion that the tradition concerning St. Thomas, which would represent him as the "Apostle of India," has some reasonable foundation, although he does not hold it to be an absolute certainty. The accomplished translator of "Marco Polo" (Colonel Yule) also observes that "the tradition of Thomas's preaching in India is very old—so old that it probably is in its simple form true." Mr. Mateer, on the contrary, with Mr. Hough, the author of "Christianity in India," holds it to be extremely doubtful. The testimony of the Native Christians of India, Mr. Whitehouse asserts, is "clear and unhesitating" as to the truth of the story, Rufinus, on the other hand, who wrote in the fourth century, says that the Apostle was buried at Edessa. In this case it would seem very uncertain whether he ever was in India at all. Still he may have visited it. If, however, the Apostle did there promulgate the doctrines of Christianity, we have no authentic accounts of the results of his labours. There may have been Christians at Mylapur on the Coromandel coast, where he

is reported to have been martyred, and on the Malabar coast, where he would have landed, but we know nothing about them. The next notice that we have is the mission of Pantænus, who was president of a college in Alexandria (circa A.D. 200), and who, at the request of certain Christians in India, undertook a mission to them to instruct them in the faith and doctrines of Christ. We advance a century, and at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, a bishop, named John, signs the decrees as Metropolitan of Persia and of Great India. As Mr. Whitehouse justly remarks, this title implies ecclesiastical jurisdiction over India, and there seems to have been for several centuries thenceforward a close connexion between the Christians of India and Persia. From the writings of Cosmas, a Christian merchant of Alexandria, who visited India A.D. 529, we have further intimations of the existence of Christianity and of ecclesiastical relations with Persia. In his Appendix D. Mr. Whitehouse quotes a most interesting account reprinted from the Church Missionary Report for 1818-19, translated by Mr. Bailey from the original Malayalam, in which the Syrian Christians relate their history after their own fashion. Their advent seems to have given rise to two parties among the Christians, who were designated respectively as the North party and the South party. As a curious exemplification of the differences which spring up even among those who ought to have only "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," we quote the following passage:—

The North party walk after the way of their father; the South party after the way of their mother.

Among the North party it is customary for the bride and bridegroom to stand while the priest is marrying them, but among the South party to kneel. The North party use the cross when they perform the marriage ceremony and put it on the neck; the South party use a chalavim or something almost like a cross. The North party, when they join hands in marriage, cover the head and face of the bride with a cloth, but the South party uncover them. The North party have

the chief barber to shave the bridegroom the night before the marriage, he having never till then been shaved, while the South party employ an under-barber. The North party have the chief washerman to wash their clothes at marriages and feasts, the South party an under-washerman. Among the North party, when they give food to a young child, which is done by a priest, the child sits on the father's lap; among the South party the child sits on the mother's lap. The merchandise of the North party consists chiefly in gold, silver, and silk; that of the South party in other articles.

The Syro-Chaldaic origin of these settlers, who thus intermarried with, and with the distinctions we have noted, formed eventually one body with the original Christians, is manifest from their observance of the Syro-Chaldaic ritual, and the use of phrases in the same language when speaking of sacred subjects. There is a very careful account given in Mr. Whitehouse's volume of the "Seven Churches of Malabar," traditionally reported to have been founded by St. Thomas. In some instances the candlestick has been quite removed from them, out of her place, as, for instance, at Cranganore, now in ruins, where the Mohammedans have a mosque and the Hindoos a celebrated pagoda, whither myriads of worshippers come to offer a cock to Bhadra Káli to protect them from the small-pox, but there is no Christian church anywhere near. At Parur, which is (now under the rule of the pope and of his agents) another of these churches, a friend of Mr. Whitehouse writes to him:—"If it is true of the parson, so of the people, then I am afraid that if St. Thomas should ever come to Malayalá again, he would not stay long at Parur. We found there a dirty-looking priest, who was so uncouth and impudent that we left his room without delay. I have heard many a bile-stirring word from natives, and bore it, but this man's filth I could not."

Thus upheld by intercourse with Christian Churches in the North-East, and with merchants and settlers of Eastern origin, the Churches of Malabar continued until the period of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, when Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, a Syrian by

birth, was, through the influence of Cyril of Alexandria, condemned for the tenets which he held about the divine and human nature of our Lord. As the Christians of Malabar received their bishops from Persia, and the Metropolitan of Persia sided with Nestorius, they naturally adopted the views of Nestorius, notwithstanding his condemnation and deposition. For a thousand years the Christians of India continued in this faith, subject to the Patriarch of Babylon, and without any change in dogma or ritual. Colonel Yule, in a note on "Marco Polo," remarks how little conception people in general have of the vast diffusion of the Nestorian Church at one period, which had its chain of bishops from Jerusalem to Peking, and, as we have seen, to the very south of India.

For a long period, therefore, the Syrian Church in Malabar followed its course, disturbed only from within by the Manichæan heresy. In the third century a sorcerer, called *Mánekávachakar*, found his way to the Malayalim country, and by pretended miracles acquired an influence similar to that which Simon Magus obtained over the people of Samaria. Even to the present day traces of his followers are to be found in Travancore, though they are not a numerous body. The remarks which Mr. Whitehouse makes upon them well repay perusal. More formidable in many ways was the danger springing from Mohammedanism. There do not seem, however, to have been any accessions worthy of notice to the creed of the false prophet from the Christians of Western India. On the whole, therefore, as the Mohammedans themselves were barely tolerated by the heathen princes, they were rather an annoyance than a source of distress to the Christians of Malabar, who do not seem to have been in serious peril till the advent of the Portuguese in 1500. The standard of Christianity was probably very low amongst them, and they were little prepared by zeal and purity of faith for the fearful calamities and cruel oppressions which Rome inflicted on them. The fact, however, remains, that for 1500 years Christianity existed in India apart from Rome, well-nigh unconscious of her usurpations and her blasphemous perversions of the truth as it is in Jesus. They knew that the Pope lived at Rome, but, as a Venetian traveller said, had no other knowledge of the Holy Roman Church. The Christians in Malabar were not without their errors, but they were free from the monstrous parasitical developments which had well-nigh stifled all spiritual life in the "injusta noverca," who arrogated to herself the title of Mother of the Churches. The following description, given by a Malabar Christian named Joseph, who was taken to Europe by Cabral, and visited Rome and Venice, gives a fair idea of the condition of the Syrian Churches previous to the introduction of Romish idolatry among them:—

Joseph stated that his people had churches much like those in Europe, surmounted with crosses; but as they had no bells—which does not at all agree with what the Venetian traveller, already quoted, tells us of the churches at Calicut—they called the people to worship in the Greek manner—probably by striking a board. Inside their churches (he said) there were no images, but simply the symbol of the cross; they had priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; the priests did not wear the tonsure as the Romanists did, but shaved the whole of the upper part of the head; infants were not baptized till the fortieth day after their birth, unless they were in danger of death; they sprinkled themselves with holy water upon entering their churches; in the celebration of the

Eucharist they consecrated unleavened bread, and where no wine could be obtained, after soaking raisins in water, they pressed out the juice and used it as a substitute; the people received the Lord's Supper three times a year; they knew nothing of extreme unction, but buried their dead with religious rites, on which occasions large numbers of people assembled, and ate together in company for the space of eight days, terminating their feast with solemn prayers; they made wills, but when any person died intestate his nearest relative became his heir; widows were usually sent home to their father's house, taking back their original dowry, with the understanding that they were not to marry during the first year of their widowhood.

On the subject of Festivals and Fasts,

Joseph informed his friends that they observed Lent and Advent as fasts; kept the great Church Feasts observed in Western Christendom; and (in addition to those retained by the Reformed Church of England) also feasts in honour of the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin; especially observed the octave of Easter, in remembrance of St. Thomas putting his hand in the side of our Lord; and the 1st of July, when the memory of this same Apostle was venerated by the Christians and Heathens of the country.

Their priests, he further stated, led very chaste lives; but if any were discovered to be guilty of incontinency he was at once prohibited from celebrating mass; divorces were very rare among them; and the marriage tie kept inviolate till cut asunder by death; they divided the year into twelve months, and had the intercalary day; but the days they divided into sixty hours, which, in the day time, they discerned by looking at the sun, and at night by observing the stars.

Mr. Whitehouse notes several particulars in the relations of Joseph which may fairly be doubted, proceeding either from the unfaithfulness of the compiler of the narrative or from Joseph's desire to please his new friends; as, for instance, he is represented as saying that the Syrians had "the sacraments of Penance and Confession," whereas it is notorious that the Jesuit missionaries had the greatest difficulty in introducing them into Malabar. As to their intellectual acquirements and moral condition, Mr. Whitehouse remarks:—

Joseph's statements that "learning very much thrived amongst them," and that they had "many holy doctors who most judiciously explained the Old and New Testament," may at first appear like an exaggeration, and be hard of belief to those who know how very scarce good books were amongst them before the establishment of our Church Missions in Travancore. But we must not form our conclusions too hastily, for we know that the Romish Missionaries found a great many works, by various authors, when they first went amongst them, which they busied themselves in collecting; and, after their Synodical condemnation at Udiampárúr, gave them without distinction to the flames. During the Dark Ages of Europe there was, perhaps, far more life and light, intellectual and spiritual, among the Nestorians of the East than amongst the ecclesiastics of the West; for Rome was repressing freedom of thought, and reducing all she could to her iron rule; whilst they were copying out the sacred books of Scripture, or writing expositions of Christian doctrine, and sending their Missionaries into the remotest parts of Asia to tell of Christ and His salvation. When the emissaries of Rome attempted the reduction of the Nestorians in

When at Rome Joseph was presented to Alexander VI., who questioned him as to the authority by which the Nestorian Patriarch governed the churches of the East. Joseph seems to have been quite a match for the Pope; and by the theory to which he then gave utterance, cleverly met a difficulty, and pacified his inquisitor. "Originally," he said, "the Apostle Peter presided over the church at Antioch; but when the church at Rome suffered from the atrocious schism caused by Simon Magus, St. Peter was called to Rome to confound Simon, and succour the distressed Christians. However, before leaving Antioch, he appointed a Vicar to act for him, whose successor the present Patriarch is; and hence he calls himself the Catholic, and executes the office of Peter over the Eastern parts of the world. He is appointed by twelve Cardinals, who reside in Armenia; and who declare that they act by the authority of the Roman Pontiff!"

Chaldea, they found very large collections of books, on a great variety of useful subjects besides divinity; but after they gained a footing amongst them, every possible artifice was used to destroy their books. "It is a common tradition among the people of the town" (says Mr. Badger) "that the extensive library of Mosul, consisting of many thousand volumes, was, at the instigation of the Latin monks, carried in baskets to the Tigris by the new proselytes, and by them thrown into that river."

The superior moral tone which prevailed amongst the native Christians of Malabar, together with their freedom from many of those gross corruptions in doctrine and practice, which were now prevailing in the Western Church, leads one to infer that they had something better amongst them than dead forms, and a lifeless creed which did not touch the heart. The old monasteries—with the Missionary clergy, living indeed a single life, but free from any vow of perpetual celibacy, employing their time in the education of youth, transcribing religious books, and acting as the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas—doubtless played a very important and beneficial part in the ancient

church arrangements of Malabar, and preserved a better tone among the people than that which was prevalent when English Christians first began to seek their good. Mar Gabriel, the last Nestorian bishop, confirms all this in what he says of the Mission of Mar Saboor and Mar Prodh to Quilon;

The whole of Mr. Whitehouse's chapter on the condition of the Syrian Church in our dark ages is most valuable, and should be read with attention. We earnestly commend it to our readers. There will be few, we imagine, who will not be prepared to re-echo the aspiration with which he closes the chapter.

If, in God's providence, some enlightened adherents of the Reformed Faith, instead of Romish ecclesiastics, had been the first to establish an intimacy with this ancient Christian community, when it emerged from the obscurity in which it had been buried, how different would have been the results! In a certain sense they had kept Christ's word and had not denied His name, even though dwelling where Satan seemed to hold undisputed sway; "a little strength" too was left,

and, referring to still more remote times, he tell us:—"In this period, by order of the Catholic Patriarch of the East, many great teachers arrived in Malabar, from Bagdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and several other places, who assumed authority over the Christians of the country."

and they were freer from the corruptions of the Dark Ages than the great churches of Europe which had been under the Papacy. It being so with them, simple Gospel teaching, a reformed liturgy in the vernacular, and a general circulation of the Scriptures in their mother tongue, humanly speaking, would have led to such a revival of living Christianity that modern Missions to South India would have been rendered unnecessary!

After the Portuguese first landed, for fifty years the Romish ecclesiastics lived on friendly terms with their Syrian brethren, and treated them with forbearance and consideration. They were mostly of the Franciscan order. Their chief attempt at proselytism consisted in the foundation of a college at Cranganore, in which Syrian youths were educated in the doctrine and ritual of Rome. In an evil hour, about 1550, under the auspices of Xavier, the Jesuits were introduced to work mischief among these ancient Christian congregations. It was not long before, finding that persuasion failed, they called in the arm of the civil power.

In 1595, Menezes, the Archbishop of Goa, was commissioned by Pope Clement VIII. to completely subjugate the Church of Malabar to the Papal rule. A brief was issued by the Pope requiring Menezes to make inquisition into the crimes and errors of Mar Abraham, the Syrian Metran. Fortunately for the latter, death intervened, and instead of perishing in the flames at Goa, he found a last resting-place in the church which he had himself built at Angamálé. Mr. Whitehouse relates at length the visitation of the archbishop, and describes in a graphic manner the notorious Synod of Udiampárúr, in which all sorts of Romish errors were foisted upon the Syrian Church. As he passed along, Menezes separated the Cattanars from their lawful wives, and destroyed stores of Syrian books and manuscripts, which he found in abundance. Upon the forcible divorces insisted upon in the Synod held by Menezes, Mr. Whitehouse remarks:—

Where such harsh measures as these were carried out it can hardly be conceived what disorder, confusion, and misery must have ensued among a people who had always been taught to believe, according to the Apostolic statement, that "marriage is honourable in all." The wives of the Cattanars were even designated, as already stated, by a title of respect, and the best places in the church were assigned to them; and, further, in the event of the husband dying, the widow was considered to have a life interest in the income of the church in which he had minis-

tered, as real as that of the surviving priests; which truly wise and benevolent arrangement seemed to savour of those early times when widows were not "neglected in the daily ministrations." Many of the Cattanars' wives, moreover, had large families, and sons already in Holy Orders; but henceforth these virtuous women were to be ruthlessly put away, as if they had occupied an unlawful position; and they and their children were to have a brand of infamy stamped upon their names. Menezes and his advisers herein doubtless overstepped their mark; and such a

Decree as the one under consideration must have sorely embittered the minds of both clergy and laity—more so, probably, than anything else—against Papal intolerance,

inasmuch as it affected the honour and social interests of almost every family that had any claim to a respectable position in society.

We cannot do much more than advert to the interesting account given by Mr. Whitehouse of the subsequent action of the Jesuits in Malabar. What they did in the way of lying wonders may be gathered from the following brief extract from more lengthened detail:—

First in order, one Gabriel de Ataide, a Portuguese priest, whilst digging the foundations of a church in 1547, professed to find a stone cross, stained with the blood of the saint. This cross became a sort of new god, after which the deluded people ran. On the 8th of December, 1557, it was observed to perspire most profusely, and to have continued this habit for many years, upon the

recurrence of the Feast of the Conception, until 1566. In consequence of this, in 1599, Abp. Menezes, at the Synod of Udiampárúr, with his Jesuit associates, helped forward the imposture by appointing December 18th to be observed by the faithful, in honour of the perspiring cross! Miraculous crosses soon became plentiful in India, and are said to have done wonders.

But far more fearful things are on record against the Jesuits. In 1663 the oppressed and sorely-afflicted Syrian Church had procured from the Patriarch of the Copts, or Jacobites, a bishop named Ahattala, or Theodore. He came from Antioch, and landed at Mylapur, near Madras. Here he was seized by the Portuguese. It was said that “the same night they tied a great stone round his neck and threw him into the sea.” The truth, however, seems to have been, that he was taken to Goa, where he was thrown into the Inquisition, condemned as a heretic, and condemned to the flames in 1654. When the news reached the Syrians, they assembled in their church at Muttancherry, and resolved:—

These Portuguese having murdered Mar Ignatius, we will no longer join them. We renounce them, and do not want either their love or their favour. The present Francis (Garcia), Bishop, shall not be our Governor. We are not his children or followers. We will not again acknowledge Portuguese bishops.” They all wrote an agreement, and took an oath to this effect.

The spot in Muttancherry where this took place is still pointed out by the Syrians; and one of their Metrans told the writer that the oath then taken was drawn up in the most

impressive form, the word “satyam,” or truth, being thrice repeated by all who took it, at the foot of the cross, outside the church. The numbers being so great that all could not touch the cross, when they took the oath, long ropes were tied to the cross itself, and those at a distance held some part of the ropes as the medium of communication with one another, and the sacred symbol, in the sight of which they pledged themselves to united action in defence of their religious rights and liberties.

During the sway of the Portuguese in India the Jesuits were the chief traders. They had the monopoly of the trade in pepper, cardamoms, and wax. There were, as remarked by Geddes, “several custom-houses, in which you shall seldom fail to find Jesuits despatching sugar, tobacco, and other goods.” But a day of reckoning was at hand. In January, 1662, the Dutch attacked Cranganore, and drove the Portuguese into the cathedral, which belonged to the Jesuits; they laid it level with the ground, and brought to utter desolation this chief seat of their power. Shortly afterwards a decree was issued, by which no European ecclesiastic of the Roman faith was permitted to reside in Malabar. Twelve years afterwards, however, through the passion for botany of a Dutch Governor of Cochin, the Carmelites obtained once more a footing in that territory, and kept alive the influence of Rome in the Syrian Church. We must refer our readers to Mr. Whitehouse’s volume for the history of these events.

One most singular result of the oppression inflicted upon the Syrian Christians was

their complete conversion from the doctrines of Nestorius to those of the Syrian Jacobites, who are in their creed Monophysites. Mr. Whitehouse notes, however, that they join us in the profession of the Nicene Creed, in its original form, as received by the Eastern Church generally. The Athanasian Creed does not seem to have been known in Malabar until introduced by Archbishop Menezes in 1599. Several attempts which were made in the early part of the eighteenth century by the Nestorians to regain their influence failed completely.

It is from the beginning of the present century that England began to interfere actively in the affairs of Cochin and Travancore. To prevent the Dutch colonies falling into the hands of the French we took possession of them, guaranteeing to the Native Rajahs their civil independence. Through the influence of several excellent and able men, who have been residents in the courts of these princes, many valuable reforms have been introduced, and the condition of the country has much improved. Still, according to Mr. Mateer,—

Large and liberal measures are still imperatively required for the benefit of the oppressed and down-trodden low castes. These are not, it should be remembered, in every instance, necessarily poor or destitute of capacity and moral character in proportion to their position in the arbitrary scale of caste. The masses of the low-caste population have been as yet but slightly touched by the partial reforms of the Travancore Government. They ought, for instance, to have a fair share in the scheme of Government education, from which they are at present excluded solely on account of caste. Children of low caste are refused admittance into nearly all the Government English and vernacular schools; yet these contribute their fair quota to the public funds, which are wasted on Brahmanical rites, or expended almost exclusively on the education of the higher castes. Although permission to cover the upper part of the person has been given to the lower castes, they are still by law restricted to the use of *coarse* cloths, to the manifest detriment of the national commerce and manufactures. Any advance, too, in the

use of richer ornaments, palankeens, and other luxuries, on the part of wealthy members of these castes, is strictly prohibited. The public roads, also, ought to be opened freely to all classes, and admission to all the courts conceded to even the lowest and most despised of the population. Moreover, the flourishing, peaceful, and loyal Native Protestant Christian community claims recognition by the Government as a body with a status of its own, like the Mohammedans, Syrian Christians, and Jews. Native Protestant Christians should be specified in the census, and admitted to the police, the civil service, and any other employments and offices in the State for which they may prove themselves to possess the requisite qualifications. In short, the *half a million* low-caste people, constituting no less than *one-third* of the whole population, should be educated, enfranchised, invested with the rights of citizenship, and admitted to the enjoyment of the natural and indefeasible rights and liberties which belong to every member of the great human family.

Into the general condition of Travancore, however, it would be impossible for us to enter. We can but notice, and only too briefly, the present condition of the Syrian Church. It may truly, we think, be said of it, that, ever since the Jesuits found their way to India, the condition of the Syrian Church may best be described in the language of the Psalmist—"Her hedges have been broken down; all they that went by plucked off her grapes: the wild boar out of the wood rooted it up, and the wild beasts of the field have devoured it." The material ruin which has overtaken many churches which once were most flourishing centres of Christian life, which are now concealed in jungles well-nigh impenetrable, only too distinctly typify the spiritual condition of the Syrian Churches. Discord and confusion have prevailed to an appalling extent. "In 1848 there were no less than five bishops in Malabar, each decrying the others as unauthorized intruders." Mr. Mateer tells us that at present (1871) there are two Metrans bitter and avowed rivals.

From the time that England first was compelled to interfere with the Western

Coast of India the interest and sympathy of British Christians was much engaged in a Church which, like their own, had had to contend so earnestly against the aggressions of the Church of Rome. This interest was first awakened by Dr. Claudius Buchanan in 1806; but ten years elapsed before, at the request of Colonel Munro, Missionaries from the Church Missionary Society proceeded to Travancore. Some apprehension arose in the minds of the Syrians that the English meant to innovate and bring them under English ecclesiastical authority; but when this was dispelled they were hailed as protectors and deliverers. The object of Colonel Munro may be best gathered from his letter dated September 3rd, 1817, addressed to the Church Missionary Society,—

With regard to the Syrians, our general views will be to pursue the use and promote the study of the Syriac language, and to extend the ancient simplicity and purity of the Syrian Church. It is now deformed by many Popish superstitions and ceremonies, which should be banished without delay. When purged from these dregs of Popery, it will, I

trust, present such a spectacle of pure Christian doctrine and conduct as will accelerate the return into its bosom of the Syrian churches that are still united to the Roman Catholic communion. The Syrians are themselves willing to follow any plan of reform that may bring them back to their primitive principles.

As a result of these endeavours, the gospels, and epistles, and some of the prayers were translated from the Syriac and read in Malayalam, and measures were taken to do away with forced celibacy. It would be quite out of our power to review at length the feuds and discussions which arose from the violent proceedings of a Syrian Bishop, sent from Antioch, while seeking to assume authority over the Metrans, and to annul all the acts of his predecessors for the previous nineteen years. His conduct was so extravagant that at length he was ordered to quit the country and return to his native land a year after his arrival at Cochin. Upon the general bearing of the Society's Missionaries Mr. Whitehouse remarks,—

They came among the Syrian Christians in a very different spirit from that manifested by the emissaries of Rome who preceded them. They did not enter the land proclaiming that there is no salvation except in their own Church; and hence that all who would be saved must join them forthwith; but rather, in their dealings with the Syrian Church, they acted in the spirit of the Good Samaritan, regarding her as one who, after having been for a long time weak and sickly, had had the sad misfortune to fall among thieves, who had stripped, robbed, and wounded her—

leaving her half dead! They approached lovingly, offering their services, and at the same time were *invited* to render them; dealing gently with her infirmities; doing their best to heal her sicknesses; binding up her wounds; administering that which alone could alleviate her sufferings and revive her fainting spirit—the oil and wine of pure evangelical truth—the same light of the glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which first dispelled the darkness of India's sons and daughters.

Notwithstanding, however, all the wisdom and forbearance which they exhibited, troubles arose. The reactionary party in the Syrian Church carried the day. Superstitions and abuses, many of them of Romish origin, were held fast, and estrangement arose between the Missionaries and the Syrian ecclesiastical authorities. In 1837, after well-nigh twenty years of painful self-denying labours on the part of our brethren, there was a complete rupture. In Mr. Collins' volume there is an exhibition of the doctrines of the Modern Syrians, from which it is manifest that they now hold Transubstantiation, and are in the habit of addressing the saints in prayer, although of late the prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints have been omitted in several of the churches. It will be satisfactory to those who are interested in the spiritual welfare of Malabar to know,—

The Syrian Church, on the whole, is far from being now in the same dark and degraded state that it was in when first

visited by Europeans. Whatever difficulties and disappointments the European Missionaries may have encountered, the wide

dissemination by them of the Word of God in the vernacular, and the stimulus given to all educational measures through their influence and by their instrumentality, have not been without marked effect on the Syrians at large. In several of the churches now, in the face of opposition from the more ignorant party, the invocations to the Virgin have been expunged, the prayers for the dead discontinued, and the whole service is performed in

Malayalim. Sermons, too, by some of the more enlightened of the priests, and even deacons, are preached in some of the churches every Sunday. There is indeed a stirring among the "dry bones;" and there can be little doubt that the foundation of a Protestant party, in the original sense of the word, is already being laid in the heart of the Syrians, quite independent of those who have joined our own communion.

Mr. Collins remarks, and we think with justice, that much of the disappointment which has arisen as to the reformation of the Syrian Church has proceeded from the notion that everything erroneous in doctrine and practice has sprung from their fifty years' subjection to the Church of Rome. This he characterizes, and we think justly, as a great mistake. We will not go quite so far as he goes when he says (p. 100), "The errors of Syrianism were the errors of Antioch, not of Rome." Our view is that the errors of both systems had become the evil portion of the Malabar Christians. Some of the Romish evils were readily got rid of, but some of them which were congenial to man's corruption, and a source of gain to the priesthood, have been more permanent. Certainly the feeling of the Church Missionary Society was strong that the Syrians should be left as much as possible to themselves. When Mr. Bailey's translation of the English Liturgy was presented to the Metran and his clergy, it was stated in the Society's Report that—

The Committee conveyed to the Missionaries their decided judgment that the Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the Liturgy and discipline of the English Church; and that should any considerations induce them

to wish such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from adopting it, both for the preservation of their individuality and entireness, and greater consequent weight and usefulness as a Church, and to prevent those jealousies and heart-burnings which would in all probability hereafter arise.

What, then, is the present position of the Church Missionary Society with regard to the Syrian Church? It is that of Protestants, zealous for the truth of God, establishing in Western India, as elsewhere, an open Mission; preaching the Gospel indifferently to all classes; and while providing for the instruction of the Syrians, abstaining from anything like a compromise of principle. Their help was repudiated by the Syrian Metran; all proposals for reform were rejected. Henceforth, as Mr. Collins justly observes,—

There can be no question that the Missionaries were now in their right sphere: they were no longer bound to sanction by their silence things of which they could not approve, or to be parties in proceedings which violated their consciences. They were free to rebuke error and fully to unfold the whole mystery of God without compromise. The pure and Scriptural Liturgy of the Church of England was used in their churches, and many were they who were thus enabled to worship in sincerity and truth. What they did in the matter of their separation was, in fact, scarcely a matter of choice: They had, indeed, no alternative: the Syrians had rejected their aid in the way in which it had

been proffered, and they could only then establish an open Mission. And now God seemed more abundantly to bless their labours: the fire which, when thrust into the midst of the fagot, seemed to be smothered and powerless, now, when kindled on the outside, soon caught the propitious winds of heaven and spread its flames around. As the early Church only grew after its founder was removed, and his work was revealed *as a whole* by the Spirit, so the Church in Travancore only seemed to increase when the Missionaries could pitch their tabernacle outside and exhibit a pure example of the worship of the Most High.

It is a natural question to ask what has been the result of this enforced change of

tactics apart from the fact that there are now fourteen ordained clergymen in our Mission, thirteen of whom are of Syrian parentage; and nearly 10,000 persons in communion with our Church. The system of the last thirty years *has told* on the Syrian Church.

The preaching of the Missionaries (and by preaching I mean the whole of their teaching as ministers of the Gospel), the example of a pure ritual, the lives and teachings of the Native clergy and other agents, increased education, and, above all, the dissemination of the Word of God in the vernacular, have moved the Syrian Church to the centre. A reforming party is growing up, already so far developed as to be known by that distinctive title, who are beginning to read their Liturgy in Malayalam, refuse to acknowledge the validity of prayers for the dead, to worship the Virgin Mary and saints, and to engage in other superstitious observances that have

long polluted their religion. They are found chiefly in the southern districts, where, of all places, the Missionaries, Messrs. Peet and Hawksworth, never gave any quarter to Syrianism. And if further proof were needed of the sincerity of the movement, the following fact stands out prominent among the rest, that Syrian deacons are in increasing numbers seeking their education in the Church Missionary Society's college at their own expense. Thus it would seem that the very opposite of the methods at first pursued in the management of the Mission to the Syrians is gradually producing the very results then so earnestly desired.

We may, then, justly conclude that the efforts so earnestly and persistently made for that most difficult task—the spiritual revival of a decaying, if not dying, Church—have not been in vain, but that God is indeed blessing them, although there is yet much corruption to overcome, and much ignorance to remove, of both of which Messrs. Whitehouse and Collins adduce most painful instances.

Mr. Collins, as it becomes a Missionary, is an enthusiast in his work, but we may be perhaps permitted to observe, with regret, something of a dissatisfied spirit, because it does not seem to grow exactly in the way he could wish it to increase and prosper. He enters at great length into the importance of a native agency in Missionary work, which we are not aware that any intelligent friend of Missions has ever questioned, although there may have been differences of opinion as to how far it should, in the early stages of Missionary effort, be put forth without guidance and control from more experienced and enlightened Christians. It can hardly be said yet that it is much more than a day of small things in Travancore, or that the wisdom and discretion of such men as Mr. Collins himself, and the many worthies who have yielded up their lives for Christ in Malabar, can as yet, with propriety, be dispensed with. When we find, by a reference to the Report of the Church Missionary Society, that the “extensive” agency from Europe, of which he speaks, consists of ten men, of whom some from ill health are in Europe, we cannot deem it an undue staff. He remarks, further, “We want native Missionaries, native evangelists, a native literature; and we have neither.” Surely this is an exaggeration, prompted by a righteous but overweening zeal. In Mavelicara and Tiruwella there are five native pastors and sixty-two native Christian teachers among 3500 native Christians. We would heartily take up the language of Joab to Mr. Collins, and say, “Now the Lord thy God add unto the people, how many soever they be, an hundredfold, and that thine eyes may see it.” But we think it is a mistake on his part to say that there is no native agency, and we are sure that it would be an error if he were to say that it is not the anxious desire of the Church Missionary Society to multiply them. Further on he observes (p. 167), although it is difficult to reconcile it to his former statement, “We are not without a native agency in Travancore.” Such is the fact. We hope that, on reflection, and that if a second edition of his interesting book is called for, he will put his statements in a more guarded and therefore more correct form. What he means, no doubt, is that there is a native agency, but it should be more free and untrammelled, and that it should be increased and multiplied.

It would have been better to have said so simply, and not, "We have neither native Missionaries nor native evangelists." It is apparently an offence to Mr. Collins that "the Churches of Europe will send out preachers instead of teachers; they will send out pastors instead of sending out leaders." We think that they have sent, and are anxious to send, both, and we think that they have done wisely in so doing in what we still consider the infancy of the Travancore Mission, for we date the Mission from its separation from the Syrian Church. Previous to that period, we believe the Missionaries were all teachers, as many have been subsequently. On Mr. Collins' own showing, the labours of some of these European preachers and pastors have not been in vain. "The numbers," he says, "that have rallied round Mr. Peet, now upwards of three thousand, are a splendid testimony to his unwearied zeal and love in his work." Mr. Collins has also put forward some remarks upon the all-important subject of Caste. We wish that upon this point also his statement had been more careful. We think that we understand what he means, but it is not equally certain that, without intending it, he may not convey mistaken notions to readers not thoroughly conversant with the subject.

We must now part company with these interesting volumes, which, in combination, furnish a very lively and complete picture of the Syrian Churches in Malabar, the country in which they exist, and the heathen influences around them. They are all thoroughly readable, and give a large amount of Missionary information in a very pleasing form. Mr. Mateer's volume, as proceeding from a Fellow of the Linnean Society, furnishes multifarious details about the products of the country, and useful accounts of the native heathen population, with their modes of worship; he records also the very successful efforts made by the London Missionary Society for their evangelization. In Mr. Whitehouse's volume, from which we have so largely quoted, it will have been manifest that there is a most valuable description of the Syrian Churches; the particulars which he has gathered by much personal research in the country, to which we could only allude, are full of most curious details; it is in itself a most complete repertorium of information upon a most remarkable chapter of the history of the Church of Christ, and it will be equally acceptable to those interested in ecclesiastical history, and to the Missionary student. We most earnestly recommend the careful perusal of it to our readers. Mr. Collins' book is the product of an intelligent, earnest mind, with perhaps an undue tendency to dogmatism. It principally concerns itself with the work of the Church Missionary Society, but graphic sketches of scenery and manners are interspersed, which will be perused with pleasure. Altogether it will not be the fault of our three friends if the Christian public are unacquainted with Travancore, its people, its history, its heathenism, and its Churches. We heartily trust, as Mr. Mateer expresses it, that it may be that,—

In Travancore we see fields white already to the harvest. The night far spent—the long, dark, cheerless night of idol-worship, devil-worship, and serpent-worship, of Hindu philosophical speculation and unbelief—far spent, and the day—the glad and joyful day of Gospel light and privileges—at hand. We look forward with hope, confidence, and joy to the time when Travancore shall be wholly Christianized, and every blessing—material, intellectual, and social, as well as spiritual—shall follow in the train of religion.

We rejoice to picture to ourselves the period when the material resources of that rich and

beautiful country shall be developed, when manufactures shall be introduced, and national commerce and intercourse with other countries be widened and extended—and all consecrated to Christ; when the talents and energies of the rulers and statesmen, the poets and historians, now devoted to the service of false gods, shall be imbued with revealed truth, and used to the glory of God and the highest good of man; when woman shall occupy her due position in society, and the marriage relationship be sanctified and honourable in every home; when caste feeling shall be qualified and turned into attachment to law and order—the rich kindly to the poor,

and the poor affectionate and grateful towards the great and wealthy; when the various castes and peoples of India shall be fused into one great people, exemplifying as a whole the various excellencies which even now glimmer forth in particular classes—the commanding intellect of the Brahmans, the shrewdness and business capacity of the Súdras, the humble laboriousness of the Shānars and Pulayars, the self-denial and devotion of the ascetics, the simplicity and hospitality of the hill tribes, the indomitable vigour and courage of the Mohammedans; when the religiousness

and liberality now evinced in the support of the temples and worship of false gods, and the punctual attendance on religious festivals, shall become true holiness and practical piety; when kings shall be nursing fathers and their queens nursing mothers to the Church.

Then shall Travancore indeed be what she is now fancifully denominated by her people, *Tiru-vārunḡ-kodu*—the Sacred, Prosperous Kingdom; *Vanji Bhūmi*—the Treasure Land **DHARMA BHUMI**—the Land of PIETY CHARITY, and TRUTH.

THE MASULIPATAM DISTRICT.

THE accompanying letter from the Rev. A. H. Arden tends to confirm what has been our feeling throughout some recent discussion, that in well ordered and effective Missionary operations, preaching in churches and chapels, preaching in the open air, school teaching, should all be carried on vigorously and simultaneously. The sheep are to be fed as well as the lambs; the lambs are to be fed as well as the sheep. And as soon might one member of the body complain of another member of the body as preaching and teaching be placed in antagonism one with the other. We most heartily and thoroughly sympathize with those who are jealous of the secularization of our schools, and most earnestly hold that it is indispensable that the Word of God, which is able to make wise unto salvation, should be freely and unceasingly taught in every school maintained out of Missionary funds to every scholar in them; but we are somewhat indifferent as to the particular instrument employed by which the mechanical art of reading is to be acquired. We would gladly use the best means, but would be quite content with a bushel of sand on which letters might be traced, if by such means more could be brought to learn, or more funds could be obtained for the extension of education. It is sufficiently clear, from Mr. Arden's letter, that, if Missionaries studied their own pleasure, or even their own health, the temptation would be to forsake the drudgery of the school and to wander forth into the ever-varying scenes which travel in India presents. Old civilians and officers will recall with enthusiasm the pleasures of camp-life under favourable circumstances and at appropriate seasons, while letters which reach England from ladies, nurtured in refined and well-cared-for homes in this country, tell of the delight afforded in such wanderings in the East. The self-denial seems to be in the other direction, except, perhaps, in a few of a peculiar idiosyncrasy. We must, however, let Mr. Arden tell his own tale:—

Masulipatam, December, 1872.—Since I last wrote an annual letter my work has changed, and I am now engaged in district work, having had charge of the Masulipatam district since June last.

As far as my health is concerned, the change of work has proved *very beneficial*. The constant *exercise* seems to agree with me far better than the constant *sitting* in school. The more exercise I take, the better I feel,

and the sun has far less effect on me than when my work was sedentary.

The work is very interesting and far more *varied* than school work. It has its own particular difficulties and its own particular pleasures. At the same time, I cannot feel it any *more* Missionary work than school work, or rather I should say that school work is a *whit less* Missionary work or a *whit less important and necessary*. One thing, however,

is *certain*, and that is, a *district* Missionary has far more to scribble about than a school Missionary. The latter is a life of routine and gives but little scope for incident; the district Missionary's life is little else but a succession of incidents, and consequently far more *showy* on paper, though not on that account more deep. "Still waters run deep."

The influence of our Anglo-Vernacular schools upon District work is apparent every day. In fact, the two act upon each other, and the reciprocal influence which they exert is very beneficial. By our preaching in the district and distributing tracts, &c., many boys are encouraged to come in from the district to read in our Anglo-Vernacular schools, and some of the prejudice against them is removed. On the other hand, and in a far more marked manner, through the influence exerted by those who have read in our schools, our preaching is listened to and even courted in the very places where formerly it was hard to get a respectful attentive attendance, and in some instances hard to get an audience at all.

I am writing this in my tent at Pedana, about four miles from Masulipatam. The feast is now going on (to the village goddess) which is described in Fox's life. If I remember right, there is a picture of the temple in the book, with a swinging car before it. I was for a long time this morning at the temple, and had several nice discussions with the people. The Rev. A. Bushanam and two other Brahmin converts were with me, named Anantam and Sannodrayya,—all the fruits of the Masulipatam Mission School. We were all listened to with the greatest respect and attention. Many have come to our tent. Sometimes the congregation at my tent has amounted to fifty or sixty. They have throughout listened most attentively, and over a hundred tracts have been sold and many handbills given away. The audience throughout have been caste people. The seed has been sown we trust faithfully, and now we leave it in the hands of the great Lord of the Harvest to cause it to bring forth as He may think best. I could not help wishing that those who declaim so ignorantly against school work could have seen my three Native brethren as they were preaching this morning. They were the result, not of district but of *school* work, and, humanly speaking, such agents could not be, and, as a matter of fact, have not been, raised up by district work. It required a more incessant effort, a more continuous in-

fluence, than a district Missionary, as now placed, has opportunity to exert. Now that such agents have been raised up in our schools, we may hope and expect that they will be in God's hands the means of influencing, more directly and permanently than a European ever can, the mass of the caste population. I could not help remarking the little real *earnestness* amongst the people in the worship of their painted idol. It was pitched up in one corner of the temple, surrounded with flowers, and seemed about the last object that one could possibly have fixed upon as suitable to worship as *God*. The only people *in earnest* were a few poor women, who, in hopes of becoming mothers, were laying on their faces round the temple with an offering in their hand. They had been previously bathed in the tank, and were thus lying in their wet clothes, shivering in a bitterly cold morning wind. Poor creatures! I pitied them deeply. They seemed in earnest, and yet we could not even speak to them under the circumstances.

There is plenty of work to be done in the district, as it had been for some time without a Missionary before I took charge. Our congregations, like our prayer-houses, soon begin to go to rack and ruin if not constantly attended to. In Prathipad, in reference to the former, I regret to say that it has been necessary to excommunicate several who were merely a disgrace to the Christian name. Of the hundred Christians who are left, some are not quite what they ought to be, but we look forward for better things after the sifting process that has taken place. In reference to the buildings, the late floods have done considerable damage, and all the outhouses to the bungalow have been washed away. The bungalow itself also requires considerable repair. I am trying to get these done as soon as possible, but workmen and materials have to be got twelve or fifteen miles away, and even the sand for the mortar has to be brought six miles, and to be carried by men, as carts cannot go.

In Yalurupad our Christian congregation of about eighty souls seems, I trust, in a healthy state. We have also had some trials there, but I trust they will turn out for good. Our teacher and fifty other Christians were taken up and imprisoned for some days on a false charge. I felt it my duty to bring the matter before the magistrate, and the village Munsiff was fined 5*l*. This will be a certain check upon the oppression which is constantly exercised upon our Native Christians.

We sometimes hear people talk about "rice Christians." I wish they would point out a few. I have not been able to discover them yet. In the first place there is no "rice" for them to get, and, in the next place, even the Pariahs have much trial to undergo when they become Christians. They are in almost all cases the serfs of the people in the caste village. They borrow largely from them, and are consequently completely in their power. As soon as a Pariah begins to send his child to the Mission School established in the village, his employer is angry because he wants the children to tend his cattle, and he, in numerous instances, succeeds in preventing the attendance of the children. On becoming Christians we require them to give up all but positively *necessary* work on the Sunday, and this at once leads to acts of oppression and injustice. Many hundreds are hindered from becoming Christians from this cause alone. We find, therefore, the Sabbath to be a most valuable test of sincerity.

Throughout the whole district there seems a desire for schools; many are anxious to place themselves under instruction. Our great want is *good spiritually-minded Native agents and schoolmasters*. At the present crisis the Masulipatam Boys' Boarding School seems the most important branch of the work. Hitherto it has been most ably conducted by Mr. Thornton, but I fear it will be necessary for him soon to relinquish it, at any rate for a time, for the benefit of his health. Should he be removed for a time, the appointment of a suitable successor will be a matter of considerable importance to the whole Telugu Mission.

When the Society's funds are improved I should strongly recommend that the head of the Boarding Training Institution should *not* draw a Government grant. The students require more training in theology as such, as they

have to do battle in the villages with shrewd and intelligent people. They require a training in the evidences and doctrines of Christianity and in the difficulties met in the Bible. This is something *additional* to their mere *moral and religious training*. The agents turned out do the greatest credit to the Institution considering the time *necessarily* taken up in secular works, and the time that the boys have been at the Institution. But a longer period of training is required, and a great share of the head master's time for religious or rather theological instruction. The Mission, and especially the district, is but in its *infancy*; *the past* may have done very well for *past circumstances*, but now we must look forward to *progress and advance*; consequently to the necessity of having longer trained and more educated Native agents.

I thank the Society very much for so kindly giving me leave to return home in March next, but I feel it difficult to make up my mind what I ought to do. I shall then have been separated from my family for fifteen months, and I know not if I should be right in adding another year to a painful separation. On the other hand, I see no one to take up the district till Mr. Ellington returns, and I cannot bear to think of it being left again without proper superintendence. Should my wife give her consent to my remaining another year, and should my health continue as good as it is now, it is not improbable that I may remain out till 1874. I pray for God's direction, for it is not easy to decide.

A. H. ARDEN.

P.S.—We had a nice gathering on Friday last (20th) in accordance with the invitation to pray for a blessing upon Mission work and increased labourers. The Telugu congregation met in the morning and the English in the evening.

PAST AND PRESENT.

THERE is, we believe, a process in commercial houses which is commonly termed "taking stock," by which the amount of loss and gain is ascertained, and the progress which has been made in the extension of business is gauged. There is thus a review of the past from which calculations are formed as to what may be justifiably attempted for the future. A convenient period for such a retrospect has now arrived with regard to our Indian Missions, and there are materials before us from which satisfactory estimates can be formed. Exactly sixty years have elapsed since there were in the British Parliament earnest discussions on the policy and propriety of introducing education and Christianity into India. The question was most hotly contested, and it was not without a severe struggle that those who advocated what may, we trust, without offence be termed a Christian policy prevailed. Through their exertions the African Slave Trade had received what subsequently proved to be its death-blow; although, like much that is evil, there still remained vitality in it. Christianity throughout Asia was then looked upon as the most important object which could attract the national regard; it was the "other hope" of philanthropy. To this all the exertions of Christians were bent, but there were many adversaries. It may not be without interest first to review the past, and then to contrast the present. The theatre shall not be in either case the committee-rooms of religious Societies, nor shall the actors be Missionaries; but we will take our readers, if they will, with us into the Houses of Parliament, and into the council-chambers of the Government of India.

It may not be amiss first to recall the terms in which those who advocated Missionary efforts in India, and who attempted to carry them on, were characterized by the opponents of Christianity in India. Their arguments were declared to be "ridiculous," "bigoted," "nonsensical"; the Baptist Missionaries were styled "madmen," "maniacs," "mischievous madmen"; Dr. Kerr, of Madras, was stated to be an advocate of "foul fraud" and "deception of the basest kind"; Dr. Buchanan was declared to have given "diabolical advice." It was held that "it is very doubtful whether Christians of the present day are under any obligation to promote the diffusion of Christianity even where to diffuse it is practicable." The eminent authority of Bishop Horsley was invoked, who, we regret to say, had in 1793 stated, in his place in the House of Lords, that "he did not think that any foreign State had a right to interfere with the government of another country without an express commission from Heaven: the Apostles had such commission, and in evidence of it were invested with the power of working miracles; but such power having long ceased, he doubted whether the commission of which it was the evidence had not ceased also." When such were the opinions of a Christian Bishop, it can be no marvel that a layman should undertake to assert his conviction that "on the enlarged principles of moral reasoning the Hindoo system little needs the meliorating hand of Christian dispensations to render its votaries a sufficiently correct and moral people for all the useful purposes of civilized society," or should be at a loss to conceive what "Missionaries propose teaching to the Hindoos more than they could learn from the Sastras." The same writer could discover in the Hindoos "every virtue under heaven," and in his judgment, if ever "Arcadian happiness had existence, it must have been rivalled in Hindoostan." Such were the deliberate opinions of a Bengal officer, which he delivered to his countrymen when he returned from a state of such innocence and joy into the scenes of sin and trouble with which England must have saluted his eyes. It is true that there was some counter-testimony. Governor Holwell had stated, in his "Historical Events," his impression that "the Gentoos, especially the common run of Brahmins, were a more eminently wicked people than any in the known world," and that during the five years he had presided in the Judicial Court at Calcutta, there had never been a murder or atrocious crime before it, but "in the end a Brahmin was at the bottom of it." Sir James Mackintosh, in his

charge to the grand jury in Bombay, had remarked on "the general dissolution of moral principle" which he had noticed in the community. Sir William Jones, after long judicial experience, had reluctantly confessed the general depravity of the people of Bengal. James Forbes, who, when he first visited the Hindoo villages in the Circars, had been charmed with the simple manners of the Brahmins, when he had greater opportunities of scrutinizing their religious and moral character, was astonished: he could neither counteract nor redress their cruelty, avarice, and craft; their prejudices of caste and habits of oppression *rooted and strengthened by religious opinions*, baffled all his endeavours to relieve the poor ryots suffering under their tyranny. A curious instance of their religious pride was noticed by Dr. Buchanan, wherein the successful party caused the Brahmins whom they had defeated to be ground to death in oil-mills. And this in Arcadia!

Passing over, however, all such preliminary skirmishing, we will review, as briefly as we can, the proceedings in the Houses of Parliament in the year 1813. Petitions had previously poured in from all quarters of the country, and meetings had been held in all the great towns of the country, manifesting a most unequivocal expression of the sentiments of the nation. It was felt by the English people that, as they were the rulers, they ought to be the benefactors of the East, and that they had no more precious boon to bestow upon their empire than Christianity.

In the preliminary evidence taken before a Parliamentary Committee, there was, as elsewhere, conflicting evidence. Warren Hastings lent the influence of his great name to oppose the appointment of a bishop, but even he did not apprehend much danger from Missionaries. A Mr. Cooper, who had been for ten years on the Supreme Council, was not aware that there were any Christians at all in India. He was unconscious that there were 7000 families of Christians in Calcutta alone, where he had so long dwelt. A Mr. Graham admitted the *frequency* of self-immolation under the car of Juggernaut. On the other hand, Lord Teignmouth and the Marquis Wellesley testified to the importance of Christianity in India. With regard to Missionaries, the Marquis declared that "he never knew of any danger arising from them. He never heard of any convulsions or alarms produced by them. Some of them were learned men, and had been employed in the College of Bengal. He had always considered them as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body; he had employed them in the education of youth and in translation, and more particularly in translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. . . . He had deemed it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives employed in the translations access to the sacred fountains of Divine Truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could do no less, and that a British Government could do no more."

It was on the 22nd of June, 1813, that Lord Castlereagh moved the following resolution, which had been previously agreed to by a Committee of the whole House, viz.:—"That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of *religious and* moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs." In moving the resolution, Lord Castlereagh declared that it was contrary to the past practice of the House of Commons to hinder persons from going to India for religious purposes. Toleration had always been given so long as individuals obeyed the laws and acted prudently and peaceably. "Would it not," he said, "shock every feeling mind that Britain should be the only power in the East that endeavoured to prevent

every attempt to disseminate Christianity?" He was opposed by Sir Henry Montgomery, who had resided long in India. He was himself a steadfast friend to the Established Church, but he did not carry his ideas so far as to suppose that the souls of men could not be saved because they worshipped the Deity in another manner. He bore testimony to the moral principles of the Hindoos. He depreciated Swartz, whom he termed a politician as well as a religionist. There was no religion (the Christian excepted) more favourable to peace, good order and morality, than that of the Hindoos. Suttees were not a religious rite. Instead of incurring danger by attempting their conversion, "let us reform ourselves at home." He felt more anxious to preserve our Indian empire, and the lives of the 30,000 Europeans there, than he did to save the souls of the Hindoos, if their conversion could not be effected by less dangerous means than the erection of a Church Establishment and the residence of Missionaries in India. We do not attempt to reproduce the reply of Mr. Wilberforce. In the course of it he felicitously adverted to the old struggles in the Slave Trade. The House had then been told that the abolition of it would be productive of numerous evils. Men who had spent a lifetime in Africa had assured them that the Slave Trade was a source of happiness to that country. Almost the whole body of West Indians, naval and military commanders, who had resided there, testified that the slaves in those islands were as happy as the day was long, and far happier than the lower classes in this country, for they were dancing all night. He assured the House that the zeal of the English people on this subject was steady as the light of heaven. While the sun and moon continue to shine in the firmament, so long will this subject be pursued with unabating ardour until the great work be accomplished. He was followed by a Mr. Forbes, who assured the House that he anticipated the worst consequences from Missionaries going to India. He entreated them to pause before signing the death-warrant of all classes of Europeans in India. Mr. Peter Moore denied the possibility of making a single convert among the Hindoos. Mr. Prendergast told a tale about Dr. Carey's preaching on a hogshead in a market-place, and asserted that, although he had behaved with the greatest propriety during the period that Marquis Wellesley had been in India, his conduct afterwards had been of the most reprehensible description. Mr. W. Smith contradicted Mr. Prendergast. He, moreover, pertinently observed that there had been no fear of the prejudices of the natives when our pockets were to be filled or our dominions to be extended.

When, on the 28th of June, the House resolved itself into a Committee, Mr. Lushington urged that with pious awe we should approach that form of worship which had been distinguished for twenty centuries for its benevolent spirit towards every other creed, and which God had suffered to exist for so many ages unchanged in its doctrines and ceremonies. He had never seen in any Christian country so much sincere piety, so much meekness of manners, so strict an observance of the duties of devotion to God and benevolence to man as in the innocent people of India. If ever superstition produced universal good it was in India, where it was seen to form the foundation of universal benevolence. The happiness of the Indian consists in the solaces of a domestic life, which esteems matrimony a duty incumbent on every one who does not quit the world *to unite himself to God*. The Hindoo usually married one wife, who for decency of demeanour, solicitude in her family, and fidelity to her husband, was an honour to human nature. He viewed any attempt at converting the natives to Christianity as impracticable and hopeless. Mr. William Smith, from the Institutes of Menu, threw some curious light on the sweet state of domestic society on which Mr. Lushington had dwelt with so much unction.*

* Some strange illustrations of this domestic felicity had recently been furnished. At Chunakúli, not

On the 12th of July the Report on the Bill for the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter was brought up, when fresh opposition was made to the introduction of Christianity. Mr. Abercrombie Robinson wanted to omit "and of religious." Lord Castlereagh refused. Mr. Forbes rose once more to express the opinions of gentlemen who had been resident in India and were well acquainted with the natives. One averred, "Nothing less than a massacre of the British inhabitants of India will satisfy the saints;" another asserted that the natives of India were much more moral than the natives of this country; while one gentleman, who had been twenty-five years in India, was convinced that Buonaparte had some underhand influence in the question respecting Missionaries! With this concluding and most deadly thrust well-nigh terminated the parliamentary opposition. Mr. Tierney continued it faintly, but in the face of Mr. Stephen's noble speech and Mr. Wilberforce's reply, further struggle was in vain. The words were retained in the Bill.

In the foregoing sketch we do not pretend to have given anything like an exhaustive account of this memorable debate. Indeed, we have hardly alluded to the speeches of those who upheld the cause of truth and right, most eloquent and most argumentative as they were. It is rather to the curious manner in which the respective forces were marshalled that we would wish to advert. In favour of the introduction of Christianity into India were the king's ministers and the Christian Church generally. Nine hundred petitions, signed by nearly half a million of persons of intelligence and respectability, testified the deep interest which the thinking part of the British population felt in a question so intimately involving the honour of God and the happiness of our fellow-men. On the other hand were arrayed almost the whole force of our East Indian administrators, whether in the Direction or among the retired officials of Government, with the splendid exception of Marquis Wellesley. To these were added the combined efforts of wits and philosophers, especially of those affecting a liberality of sentiment, which might, without undue stretch of language, be perhaps rendered hostility to Christianity. Unfortunately for his reputation, the buffooneries of Sydney Smith on this subject have not yet quite faded into oblivion. It is worth noticing how, on this as so many other subjects, old Indians in these days were literally *desorientés*, and could not identify themselves with English feelings. It furnishes a remarkable illustration of the force of our Lord's declaration: "If the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" Such is the sympathy of fallen human nature with corruption. Where the salt of Divine grace is lacking, no other power seems to avail to preserve the superior in intellect, in civilization, in power, from degenerating into the moral condition of the inferior, or at any rate from sympathizing with him. So, as Mr. Froude remarks, it notoriously was with the Norman settlers in Ireland. So, as Mr. Wilberforce triumphantly argued, Englishmen palliated the Slave Trade, and identified themselves with the oppressors of the negro. So, too, might our countrymen in India have sympathized more thoroughly even than they did with the Hindoo and the Mohammedan, if the fierce climate had not driven them out of Arcadia! Still, idols brought from the banks of the Ganges have been worshipped ere now in Berkeley Square, not by Hindoos, but by baptized Europeans. No wonder that English people often looked askance even at their own relations from the far East, and could not comprehend them. But we are wandering too far from the Past of Christianity in India. Those who live in the present will

far from Calcutta, a Kooleen Brahmin had married twenty-five women; thirteen had died in his lifetime, and twelve were burned on his funeral pile. At the funeral of another, a fire, extending ten or twelve yards in length, had been prepared, into which eighteen widows threw themselves. As Dr. Buchanan pertinently argued, if, in the year 1799, twenty-two women had been burned on the banks of the Thames at Richmond, and that the fire had been kept burning three days, the British public would hardly have listened with patience to Mr. Lushington.

smile at the futile absurdities which were uttered in the face of England by men of high reputation, marked ability, and—what ought to have been, but was not—intimate knowledge of India. We may add, moreover, that they professed and called themselves Christians. But what had been the Christianity from which they had come? The only public sign of the Sabbath (1786) was hoisting of the flag on the fort. Shops were open, business was carried on, ladies attended to their tailors, and amusements were pursued. It is the recorded testimony of an old and much honoured resident in Calcutta,* that the greatest enemies of Religion were found in her own house and amongst our own countrymen. The manners of the natives being more congenial to our sinful natures, several Europeans professed themselves Hindoos and Mohammedans, adopted their customs, married native women, and some went so far as even to adopt their dress. One or two instances may be adduced of the religious condition of Calcutta. When the Old or Mission Church was opened—"Beth Tephilah," as it was called, the "House of Prayer"—a lady who was going there one Sunday morning was asked very seriously, "Can you really venture there alone, without any one to protect you?" as if only thieves and robbers were there. A Mr. M——, a young man, was much laughed at by his friends because he refused to play at cards on a Sunday, and would go to church. When he put his hand in his pocket for his Prayer-book he pulled out a pack of cards, which his friends had substituted for it. We have already noticed the Marquis Wellesley as a noble exception to the prevailing disregard for religion. It reads curiously to us that when Dr. Buchanan was called upon by him to preach the thanksgiving sermon, in 1800, for the establishment of peace in the British Possessions in India, the Marquis chose the Lessons and Psalms himself, and both Mr. Brown and Dr. Buchanan were heard to say no one could have chosen more appropriate. He appeared in church, full-dressed in his robes, with the order of the Garter and its accompanying jewels. All the heads of office had been ordered to attend, and the church was crowded. The importance of this public recognition of Christianity as the only basis of civil prosperity was soon perceived in the increasing attention paid to personal religion. It is an important era in the history of Christianity in India. It was the first faint dawn of better things than the past. Christian society began to increase and flourish. Real Christians were now no longer obliged to retreat in order to avoid rudeness and scoffers. Buchanan could write, "Both the churches are full; no impropriety of conduct is known; all is silence and decorum." At one time the Udneys had been the only family among the great in Calcutta who boldly confessed Jesus. Soon after the Haringtons and others became constant attendants at the Old Church. And yet the condition of the Europeans in the Mofussil was deplorable. When one of the Government chaplains in the Madras Presidency was proposing to visit an important station up the country, he was requested by the officer commanding to bring his own Bible and Prayer-book with him, as he had none, and he did not think any one else in the cantonment had.

Such was the Past. What is the Present? Most assuredly there is still enough to disappoint and to distress; nay, there are not wanting symptoms which might lead to fancy almost that there may be a recurrence to the Past. Who will venture to assert that there is among Europeans in India the fervent spiritual religion which existed there forty years ago? Still may we not, after all, "thank God and take courage"? From the House of Commons we will transport ourselves to the Council Chamber of the Indian Government. From it there has just issued a most remarkable Blue Book, which has commanded approval from all quarters. Much of it does not concern topics affecting the spiritual welfare of the people; but we feel assured our readers will be gratified with the stamp of unsought official approbation therein placed

* "Reminiscences of the Progress of Truth in North India during the last Fifty Years." Calcutta, 1850.

upon the labours of Missionaries in India. We propose extracting such portions as bear mainly upon Missionary questions. They are not only an answer in full to all the foolish absurdities we have been recalling, but will carry conviction to all who are susceptible of the value of disinterested testimony.

As the Census returns have not yet been completely made, it was impossible to produce in the Report the figures, interesting as they otherwise would have been. In this respect it is incomplete. It is sad to learn from it that the ravages of pestilence from fever and cholera are said to be fearful. Probably a million and a half died in India from fever in 1871. "At least half of these lives might be saved if we could put quinine retail into every druggist's shop in India at one rupee per ounce." Mortality is fearfully aggravated by the passion of the people for pilgrimages; they "die by hundreds on the route." The Report says "it is not easy to say what remedy Government can devise." Can Christian England furnish one? Infanticide, which is termed "an ancestral crime," is being repressed; but in no less than 3707 villages in the Bengal Presidency the percentage of girls is below the average. Slaves are imported into Calcutta by pilgrims from Mecca. They are smuggled in—the males in women's clothes—to be concubines, attendants, eunuchs. A very curious instance is adduced in proof of the litigious fury "unprecedented in any other country in the world." In Bengal a suit arose in a family. One of the parties, after litigating through all the Courts of India, got a decree in the highest Court. But there was an appeal to the Privy Council, and the suitor's funds were exhausted. So they caught an old man, carried him to the top of a hill, and sacrificed him there, to propitiate the gods who rule the decisions of the Privy Council. Had this been a Missionary story instead of being in a Blue Book, would it have been believed?

There is a lengthened and most interesting report on Education for which we cannot find space. Regular progress has been made. In the North-west Provinces the greatest advance has been made in the instruction of the lower classes, while Bengal takes a lead in the higher education and in the University. The Government of the North-west thinks that the University aims at too high a standard, and pushes the study of English too far. There are a great number of aided high schools, most of them belonging to Missionary Societies. In female education the progress is very slow, and "the dead slumber of ignorance still shrouds the women of North India." In the North-west Provinces Missionary Societies are very actively at work with educational agencies. There has been a great expansion of the system of grants to aided schools. At present there are 324 schools receiving grants-in-aid. In 1860 there were six. In the Madras Presidency the Central Institution of the Free Church of Scotland is the strongest among the aided schools. In the South most of the best schools belong to Missionaries, and in Tinnevely there are no Government schools, the field being given up to the two Anglican Church Societies. The Calcutta Medical College is said to have a larger number of students than any other in the world, namely, 1046. The Report does not add how Hindoo prejudices were removed.

In the conclusion of the Report on Education, which is the nearest approach to any comment on the religious condition of India contained in it, except an allusion to the feuds between the Mohammedans and Hindoos, we have the following testimony, which it is both our duty and our privilege to submit at length. We leave our readers to mark for themselves the contrast between the present rulers of India and the past, as to the value of Missionary effort in India. In a note * we subjoin the testimony of

* SUCCESS OF MISSIONS IN INDIA:—TESTIMONY OF FOUR GOVERNORS.

LOED LAWRENCE, Viceroy and Governor-General.

"I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit that country, the Mission-

modern Indian officials which has been widely circulated among the friends of the Society, but deserves to be recorded in a permanent form, that it may not perish from recollection.

aries have done more than all other agencies combined. They have had arduous and uphill work, often receiving no encouragement, and sometimes a great deal of discouragement, from their own countrymen, and have had to bear the taunts and obloquy of those who despised and disliked their preaching; but such has been the effect of their earnest zeal, untiring devotion, and of the excellent example which they have, I may say, universally shown to the people, that I have no doubt whatever that, in spite of the great masses of the people being intensely opposed to their doctrine, they are, as a body, remarkably popular in the country."

* * * * *

"It seems to me that, year by year and cycle by cycle, the influence of these Missionaries must increase, and that in God's good will the time may be expected to come when large masses of the people having lost all faith in their own, and feeling the want of a religion which is pure and true and holy, will be converted and profess the Christian religion, and, having professed it, live in accordance with its precepts. . . . I have a great reverence and regard for them (the Missionaries) both personally and for the sake of the great cause in which they are engaged; and I feel it to be a pleasure and a privilege to do anything I can in the last years of my life to further the great work for which they have done so much."—*Speech at Wesleyan Missionary Society's Meeting, Highbury Auxiliary, Nov. 25, 1870.*

LORD NAPIER, of Murchistoun, Governor of Madras.

"My travels in this Presidency are now drawing to a close, but when I shall revert to them in the midst of other engagements and other scenes, memory will offer no more attractive pictures than those which will reproduce the features of Missionary life. In Ganjam, in Masulipatam, in North Arcot, in Travancore, in Tinnevely, in Tanjore, I have broken the Missionary's bread, I have been present at his ministrations, I have witnessed his teaching, I have seen the beauty of his life.

"The benefits of Missionary enterprise are felt in three directions—in converting, civilizing, and teaching the Indian people.

"1. *Conversion*.—The progress of Christianity is slow, but it is undeniable. Every year sees the area and the number slightly increase.

"2. *Education*.—In the matter of education the co-operation of the religious Societies is of course inestimable to the Government and the people. . . . Missionary agency is, in my judgment, the only agency that can at present bring the benefits of teaching home to the humblest orders of the population.

"3. *Civilization*.—It is not easy to over-rate the value in this vast empire of a class of Englishmen of pious lives and disinterested labours, living and moving in the most forsaken places, walking between the Government and the people with devotion to both, the friends of right, the adversaries of wrong, impartial spectators of good and evil."—*Speech reported in the "Homeward Mail," Nov. 27, 1871.*

SIR BARTLE FREEE, Governor of Bombay.

"What are our Missions doing in India?—Are they making any substantial progress?—Are they really as little successful as some people tell us?—Such are some of the questions commonly asked of any one freshly arrived from India. . . . The question itself, or the tone in which it is put, generally indicates some expectation of an unfavourable answer. If the opinions of others who have been in India are quoted, they are expressive of some doubt whether much is really being done by Christian Missions in India, but especially by those of our own Church, in comparison with what is being effected by other agencies—many of them unconnected with religion. ANY SUCH CONCLUSION IS ENTIRELY OPPOSED TO THE RESULTS OF MY OWN OBSERVATION AND EXPERIENCE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF INDIA DURING THE PAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS."—*Opening words of essay on "Indian Missions," in the "Church and the Age," 1870.*

"I speak simply as to matters of experience and observation, and not of opinion; just as a Roman prefect might have reported to Trajan or the Antonines; and I assure you that, whatever you may be told to the contrary, the teaching of Christianity among 160 millions of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is effecting changes, moral, social, and political, which for extent and rapidity of effect are far more extraordinary than anything you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe. Presented for the first time to most of the teeming Indian communities, within the memory of men yet alive—preached by only a few scores of Europeans, who, with rare exceptions, had not previously been remarkable among their own people in Europe for intellectual power and cultivation, who had little

The numerous excellent Missionary schools receiving grants-in-aid in the various provinces have already been referred to; but the whole subject of Missionary enterprise in India has such an important bearing on the intellectual advancement of the people, that any notice of Indian education would be incomplete without giving some details respecting the work of the Missionaries. A recent inquiry into the statistical details of Missions in India, combined with the ordinary sources of information, furnish materials for estimating their progress, which are authoritative and complete.

The Protestant Missions of India, Burmah, and Ceylon are carried on by thirty-five Missionary Societies, in addition to local agencies, and now employ the services of 606 foreign Missionaries, of whom 551 are ordained. They are widely and rather evenly distributed over the different presidencies, and they occupy at the present time 522 principal stations and 2500 subordinate stations. The entire Presidency of Bengal, from Calcutta to Pesháwar, is well supplied with Missionaries, and they are numerous in the southern portion of the Madras Presidency. The various Missions in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras are strong in labourers, and almost all the principal towns of the Empire have at least one Missionary. A great impulse was given to the efforts of these societies by the changes in public policy inaugurated by the charter of 1833, and since that period the number of Missionaries and the outlay on their Missions have continued steadily to increase. In 1852 there were 459 Missionaries in India at 320 stations, and in 1872 the number of Missionaries was increased to 606, and of stations to 522.

This large body of European and American Missionaries settled in India bring their various moral influences to bear upon the country with the greater force, because they act together with a compactness which is but little understood. Though belonging to various denominations of Christians, yet, from the nature of their work, their isolated position, and their long experience, they have been led to think rather of the numerous questions on which they agree than of those on which they differ, and they co-operate heartily together. Localities are divided among them by friendly arrangements, and with few exceptions it is a fixed rule among them that they will not interfere with each other's converts and each other's spheres of duty. School books, translations of the Scriptures, and religious works, prepared by various Missions, are used in common; and helps and improvements secured by one Mission are freely placed at the command of all. The large body of Missionaries resident in each of the presidency towns form Missionary conferences, hold periodic meetings, and act together on public matters. They have frequently addressed the Indian Government on important social questions involving the welfare of the Native community, and have suggested valuable improvements in existing laws. During the past twenty years, on five occasions, general conferences have been held for mutual consultation respecting their Missionary work: and in January last, at the latest of these gatherings at Allahabad, 121 Missionaries met together belonging to twenty different societies, and including several men of long experience, who have been forty years in India. The railway system rendered such a gathering easy, and brought the members

of worldly power or sagacity, and none of the worldly motives which usually carry men on onward to success—Christianity has nevertheless, in the course of fifty years, made its way to every part of the vast mass of Indian civilized humanity, and is now an active, operative, aggressive power in every branch of social and political life on that continent.”—*Lecture on “Christianity suited to all forms of Civilization,”* (page 30) delivered in connexion with the Christian Evidence Society, July 9, 1872.

SIR DONALD McLEOD, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

“In many places an impression prevails that our Missions have not produced results adequate to the efforts which have been made, but I trust enough has been said to prove that there is no real foundation for this impression, and those who hold such opinions know but little of the reality. . . . The work may be going on silently, but, when the process of undermining the mountain of idolatry has been completed, the whole may be expected to fall with rapidity, and crumble to dust. . . . The prayers and exertions of a Christian people are required to press on the Government the necessity of doing everything a Government legitimately can do to promote the progress of Christianity and a sound morality throughout India, whether they can take a direct part in spreading the former or not. Above all, they should be urged to send out Christian rulers—men who are faithful, and are not ashamed of the Gospel.”—*From Speech at Church Missionary Society's Anniversary at Winchester, May 17, 1872.* (Substantially the same was urged in his speech at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, April 23, 1872.)

of the conference from all parts of the Empire.

The labours of the foreign Missionaries in India assume many forms. Apart from their special duties as public preachers and pastors, they constitute a valuable body of educators; they contribute greatly to the cultivation of the Native languages and literature, and all who are resident in rural districts are appealed to for medical help to the sick.

No body of men pays greater attention to the study of the Native languages than the Indian Missionaries. With several Missionary societies (as with the Indian Government) it is a rule that the younger Missionaries shall pass a series of examinations in the vernacular of the district in which they reside; and the general practice has been, that all who have to deal with Natives who do not know English shall seek a high proficiency in these vernaculars. The result is too remarkable to be overlooked. The Missionaries, as a body, know the Natives of India well; they have prepared hundreds of works, suited both for schools and for general circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India, and in several other dialects. They are the compilers of several dictionaries and grammars; they have written important works on the Native classics and the system of philosophy; and they have largely stimulated the great increase of the Native literature prepared in recent years by educated Native gentlemen.

The Mission presses in India are twenty-five in number. During the ten years between 1852 and 1862 they issued 1,634,940 copies of the Scriptures, chiefly single books; and 8,604,033 tracts, school-books, and books for general circulation. During the ten years between 1862 and 1872 they issued 3410 new works in thirty languages; and circulated 1,315,503 copies of books of Scripture, 2,375,040 school-books, and 8,750,129 Christian books and tracts. Last year two valuable works were brought to completion, the revision of the Bengali Bible, and the first publication of the entire Bible in Sanskrit. Both were the work of the Rev. Dr. Wenger, of the Baptist Mission in Calcutta.

The Missionary schools in India are chiefly of two kinds—purely vernacular, and Anglo-vernacular schools. The former are maintained chiefly, but not exclusively, in country districts and small towns; the education given in them is confined pretty much to reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and instruction in simple religious works, such as the

“Peep of Day.” In the Anglo-vernacular schools a much higher education is given, not only in those subjects which are taught in English, but in those in which the vernacular is employed; a higher knowledge even of the vernacular languages is imparted in these schools than is usually given in purely Native schools. These schools are most in demand in country towns, in the Presidency cities, and in the districts immediately around them. Bengal has long been celebrated for its English schools; and the Missionary institutions in Calcutta still hold a conspicuous place in the system and means of education generally available to the young Hindus of that city. All the principal Missionary institutions teach up to the standard of the entrance examination in the three universities of India; and many among them have a college department in which students can be led on through the two examinations for B.A., even up to the M.A. degree. A table showing the number and range of these schools will be found in the appendix.

In addition to the work of these schools, it should be noted that several Missions maintain training colleges for their Native ministers and clergy, and training institutions for teachers. These colleges and institutions are eighty-five in number, and contain 1618 students. The training institutions for girls are twenty-eight in number, with 567 students. An important addition to the efforts made on behalf of female education is seen in the Zenana schools and classes, which are maintained and instructed in the houses of Hindu gentlemen. These schools have been established during the last sixteen years, and now number 1300 classes, with 1997 scholars, most of whom are adults. Of these, 938 classes, with 1523 scholars, are in Bengal and the North-West Provinces. The effort has not yet much affected the other provinces of India.

The great progress made in these Missionary schools, and the area which they occupy, will be seen from the following fact: they now contain 60,000 scholars more than they did twenty years ago. The figures are as follows: in 1852 the scholars numbered 81,850, and in 1872 the number was 142,952.

The high character of the general education given in the college department of these institutions may be gathered from the following facts. Between 1862 and 1872, 1621 students passed the entrance examination in one or other of the three Indian universities; 513 students passed the first

examination in Arts; 154 took the degree of B.A., eighteen took the degree of M.A., and six that of B.L. A considerable proportion of the amount expended upon education by the Missionaries in India is provided by school fees, which, in recent years, have been much increased. The statistical tables, however, do not give the exact amount, neither do they state the amount received from the Government grants-in-aid. In the higher education it is believed that little expenditure falls upon the Missionary Societies beyond the salaries of the superintending Missionaries.

The statistical returns now referred to state very clearly and completely the number of the converts who have been gathered in the various Indian Missions, and the localities in which they may be found. They show also that a great increase has taken place in the numbers of these converts during the last twenty years—as might be expected from the lapse of time, the effects of earlier instruction, and the increased number of Missionaries employed. In 1852, the entire number of Protestant Native converts in India, Burmah, and Ceylon amounted to 22,400 communicants, in a community of 128,000 Native Christians of all ages. In

1862, the communicants were 49,688, and the Native Christians were 213,182. In 1872, the communicants were 78,494, and the converts, young and old, numbered 318,363.

A very large number of the Christian communities scattered over India are small, especially in the country towns; and they contain fewer than 100 communicants and 300 converts of all ages. At the same time, some of these small congregations consist of educated men, have considerable resources, and are able to provide for themselves. From them have sprung a large number of the Native clergy and ministers in different churches, who have received a high education in English institutions, and who are now taking a prominent place in the instruction and management of an indigenous Christian Church. The Native ministry contains also men who have been well trained through the medium of the vernacular languages; but this important body of men are encouraged to master the English language also, that they may secure access to the vast store of Biblical literature which it contains, and which will give them direct aid in their duties. The Native converts are thus distributed at the present time:—

Native Protestant Converts in India, 1872.

Divisions.	Communi- cants.	Native Christians.	Native Ordained Ministers.	Native Contribu- tions,	
				Rs.	
Lower Provinces	13,502	46,968	35	8,937	
North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	3,031	7,779	19	5,265	
Punjab	707	1,870	14	1,661	
Bombay and Central India . .	2,256	6,686	26	6,583	
Madras	33,320	160,955	131	62,675	
Burmah	20,514	62,729	77	42,736	
Ceylon	5,164	31,376	79	31,267	
Total	78,494	318,363	381	159,124	=£15,912

The Missionaries, in the course of their efforts, have found the populations of the great cities much more tenacious in their opinions, and firm in their social relations, than those of country districts. On the other hand, they are more intelligent, they are good listeners, appreciate argument and illustration, and their children flock to the Mission schools. The rural population have been much more open to their instructions; the peasantry of large districts have been less bound by caste ties; and the aboriginal tribes and classes in the community, both in

the hills and in the plains, have embraced Christianity in large numbers.

The religious movements which took place forty years ago among the peasantry to the south of Calcutta, among the indigo ryots of Krishnagar, and in the thickly-peopled swamps of Barisál, gave to the province of Bengal three large Christian communities, which now number nearly 16,000 persons. They have been steadily cared for and well instructed, and have been consolidated into prosperous, well-conducted communities. Within the last twenty years the German

Mission among the Cole tribes in the hills of Chota Nâgpur, now divided into two branches, has greatly affected these simple yet manly people; and, notwithstanding considerable social persecution, has led more than 20,000 persons among them to profess themselves Christians. Very recently the Santâl tribes, in the same line of hills, have followed in their steps.

In the year following the mutiny, a new Mission was commenced by an American Society in the provinces of Oude and Rohilkhand; and the Christian congregations already include 2000 converts. The largest congregations in the North-West Provinces are found in Benares, Allahabad, Fathigarh, Agra, and Mirat (Meerut), and sprang from the boarding-schools established in the great famines of 1838 and 1861. An important religious movement has recently occurred in the dominions of the Nizam, under the conduct of Native Missionaries; and 1100 persons have become Christians.

A similar movement has taken place among the Telugu people of Ougole, under the American Mission, which has resulted in 6000 converts. More than 7000 are now included in the two Missions at Cuddapah; and the Telugu Missions in Guatoor, in the Masulipatam district, and on the Godâvari, have increased during the last few years from 1500 Native Christians to more than 6000.

But it is in the southern portions of the Madras Presidency that Christianity has most largely affected the rural populations. The province of Tanjor, first instructed by the Danish Missionaries, amongst them by the respected Missionary Schwartz, has long possessed a large number of Christian congregations. These continue under the care of the Lutheran and the English Episcopal Missions, and are reported to be in a prosperous condition. The Christians now number 11,000 persons in the Tanjor and Trichinapalli districts. In the neighbouring district of Madura the Americans have a flourishing Mission, with 7000 converts and a normal school.

The Tinneveli and Travancor Missions are well known, and are reported to be in every way in a higher position, and exerting greater influence than ever before. These two provinces contain a very large aboriginal population, which has been but little affected by the Hinduism of Southern India. The Shanar tribe and their kindred connect themselves by tradition with the great demon-ruler of Ceylon, the celebrated Ravana; and from the

numerous and marked peculiarities of their social and religious life have proved a most interesting study to the Missionaries who have lived among them. They have been under instruction from the commencement of the present century. Good schools have flourished among them, by which girls have benefited as well as boys. Training schools have supplied well-taught schoolmasters; theological schools have in recent years provided a full supply of Native ministers and clergy; while the congregations have steadily multiplied, and the character of the whole people has been raised. Three Missions have been carried on among them by the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Missionary Society, and a large and influential English staff has conducted the affairs of these Missions. The result is reported to be highly satisfactory. At the present time, 90,000 persons of all ages are professing Christians among the Shanar people; the districts are dotted over with flourishing villages and Christian churches; there are hundreds of Native teachers employed among them, of whom fifty-six are ordained, and are supported to a great extent by their congregations. Order and peace rule these simple communities, which give the Government little trouble, whether in the Madras Presidency or under his Highness the Maharajah of Travancor; while large tracts of country have been brought under cultivation, and the peasantry generally enjoy a larger share of material comfort than in days gone by.

Much the same may be said of the Church Mission among the Syrians of Upper Travancor and Cochin. The congregations among them now include some 14,000 people, and the Syrian Christians at large have been greatly stimulated and improved through the efforts of the English Missionaries carried on in their midst. Only one other Mission needs special mention here—the American Mission in Burmah. This Mission has drawn its converts chiefly from the Karen tribes, the aborigines of Burmah, and the Shan States, who have so heartily welcomed the English rule. Information respecting them has been scanty of late; but it is certain that 60,000 of them are Christian converts, and that the Mission is largely supported by the people themselves.

Taking them together, these rural and aboriginal populations of India, which have received a large share of the attention of the Missionary Societies, now contain among

them a *quarter of a million* Native Christian converts. The principles they profess, the standard of morals at which they aim, the education and training which they receive make them no unimportant element in the Empire which the Government of India has under its control. These populations must greatly influence the communities of which they form a part; they are thoroughly loyal to the British Crown; and the experience through which many have passed has proved that they are governed by solid principle in the conduct they pursue. Dr. Hunter has recently set before the Government the importance of the hill races and other aborigines of India, reckoned at 70,000,000 in number, and both because of the simplicity of their habits, their general love of order, their teachableness, as well as their great numbers, has urged that new and large efforts shall be made for their enlightenment. In the same way, many able Missionaries advocate that the Christian efforts among them shall be increased. There is reason to believe that these estimable races will occupy a more prominent position in the Empire, in the future, than they have done hitherto.

But the Missionaries in India hold the opinion that the winning of these converts, whether in the cities or in the open country, is but a small portion of the beneficial results which have sprung from their labours. No statistics can give a fair view of all that they have done. They consider that their distinctive teaching, now applied to the country for many years, has powerfully affected the entire population. The moral tone of their preaching is recognized and highly approved by multitudes who do not follow them as converts. The various lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas, not only on purely religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. Insensibly a higher standard of moral conduct is becoming familiar to the people, especially to the young,

which has been set before them not merely by public teaching, but by the millions of printed books and tracts which are scattered widely through the country. On this account they express no wonder that the ancient systems are no longer defended as they once were; many doubts are felt about the rules of caste; the great festivals are not attended by the vast crowds of former years; and several Theistic schools have been growing up among the more educated classes, especially in the Presidency cities, who profess to have no faith in the idol-gods of their fathers. They consider that the influences of their religious teaching are assisted and increased by the example of the better portions of the English community; by the spread of English literature and English education; by the freedom given to the press; by the high standard, tone, and purpose of Indian legislation; and by the spirit of freedom, benevolence, and justice which pervades the English rule. And they augur well of the future moral progress of the Native population of India from these signs of solid advance already exhibited on every hand, and gained within the brief period of two generations. This view of the general influence of their teaching, and of the greatness of the revolution which it is silently producing, is not taken by Missionaries only. It has been accepted by many distinguished residents in India, and experienced officers of the Government; and has been emphatically endorsed by the high authority of Sir Bartle Frere. Without pronouncing an opinion upon the matter, the Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by these 600 Missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell.

Of what are called Catholic Missions little is stated. They are described as non-aggressive on the heathen population. The number of students in their institutions is not known, and no information is given respecting their schools in India generally. Rome works in darkness and secrecy.

Such, then, was the Past of Christianity in India; such is the Present: what sixty years hence shall be the Future? May we not believe that there has been in this matter a fulfilment of the gracious assurance "When men's ways please the Lord, He maketh even their enemies to be at peace with them"?

Monseigneur Dufal, the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Bengal, says, "Protestantism, with all the evils which naturally flow from it, like to a blighting frost in spring,

annihilates the hope of ever seeing our holy religion grow and flourish in the pagan world." It does not where there is light. "What communion hath light with darkness?"

MISSION OF SIR BARTLE FRERE TO THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

(*Continued from page 306.*)

THE next important topic handled by Sir Bartle Frere is the extent to which India is now mixed up with East Africa, so that, as he says, African trade is at least as much an Indian as an English question.

Next to the urgent need of a good survey, what has struck me most on this coast is the enormous increase of Indian commercial interest during the past thirty years. I will only state that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all trade passes through Indian hands; African, Arab, and European, all use an Indian agent or Banian to manage the details of buying and selling, and without the intervention of an Indian, either as capitalist or petty trader, very little business is done. They occupy every place where there is any trade. At Zanzibar they have the command of the Custom-houses along nearly 1000 miles of coast; wherever we went we found them monopolizing whatever trade there might be, spending and keeping their accounts

in Guzeratti, whether in small shops or as large mercantile houses. Their silent occupation of this coast from Socotra to the Cape Colony is one of the most curious things of the kind I know. It has been going on for forty years, but I had no idea till I came here how complete their monopoly has become.

I fear there can be no question as to the complicity of the Indian traders. They advance the capital for that as for all other trade on these coasts, and reap the capitalist's lion's share of the profits. They know every turn of the trade, and all who are engaged in it, and they do their best to shield it and those implicated in it, for the sake of the large profits it brings to them and their customers.

With regard to the Southern Slave-Trade, Sir Bartle Frere remarks:—

We got a pretty good idea of the extent and character of the southern Slave-Trade. It is not so great as a few years ago, when large vessels used to take their 700 or 800 slaves at a time to Cuba or Brazil; but moderate estimates make out a total of 8000 or 10,000 annually taken to Madagascar from the African coast, a few being smuggled into the Comoro Islands on their way.

The Portuguese Government is so ill served that their good intentions are little restraint to the collection of a small cargo, which, in the habitual absence of our cruisers from these seas, is easily run across, and landed in some of the innumerable fine bays which abound on the north-west coast of Madagascar.

The Hova Government is said to act in perfect good faith whenever they can, but they hold only a few points on the coast, and the Sakalavas are as inveterate slave-dealers as the Arabs. A few slaves are smuggled into the French islands as "engagés," but I have no doubt a little more frequent visiting of these seas and coasts by our cruisers would greatly check what now goes on. But to do the thing effectually you require some Consular authority, who should move about

occasionally from port to port. There is ample work for two—one on the Portuguese coast, the other for the Comoro Islands and Madagascar; but one man actively moving about could do a great deal. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the islands, and they do not seem more unhealthy than India, if men took the same precautions as in India.

I was glad we visited Kilwa Kavinja. It is the real hotbed of Slave-Trade on this coast, and we had been foiled in our attempts to see it on the way down, having been misled and sent to other places of the same name many miles off. It turned out to be a very large town, even more thriving than Zanzibar, not marked on our charts, and placed out of sight of cruisers, among unsurveyed reefs, difficult of access to any but Arab dhows. A very large trade, especially in slaves, has its seat here, where Europeans are very rarely seen; but a Banian emissary, we were told, had been there and to other places on the coast, warning all slave-traders to send their slaves inland, and to tell us nothing.

These orders were well obeyed, and I never saw anything so insolent as the soldiers of the Arab governor, or so obstructive as the usually mild and obsequious Indians. I have

specially reported the circumstances, and was really thankful when I got the whole of our party embarked without a collision. But I am certain these people would never have behaved so without distinct orders, and

equally certain that, unless both Sultan and Banians are brought to their senses, we shall somewhere have a very unpleasant manifestation of slave-traders' anger at our interference with their proceedings.

In a subsequent letter the Envoy notices that the power of the Hova Government is not equal to their will to carry out their Slave-Trade engagements. He was particularly struck "by the manner in which the forms, at least, of Christianity had taken root amongst the people." In three churches at Majunga there was an appearance of devotion which he had rarely seen exceeded, and this without the immediate influence of Missionaries, as there were none resident there.

We pass over the diplomatic fencing which took place between the Envoy and the Sultan, which ended for the time in what was substantially the rejection of the English demands. In the close of the interview, his Highness remarked, "We have considered what has been said, and we are convinced it involves destruction to us. It is quite in your power to destroy us, but you ask us to destroy ourselves, and that we cannot do. If your object had been to require something short of that from us, we would have granted it at once, for we have no better friends than the English." Thereupon the Envoy took his leave. There is some very curious correspondence relative to Sir Bartle Frere's visit to Kilwa, where the export of slaves is in the hands of British Indian subjects, the representatives of Bombay firms, one of which is the well-known firm of Zigram Singee. By these people Sir Bartle Frere was treated with studied insult: they received him with signs of mingled fear, aversion, and insolence. Incited by them, the rabble of Arabs and negroes assumed a very threatening demeanour. It became necessary to obtain letters from the Sultan to the governors of the northern ports to prevent any recurrence of similar ill-conduct. These were readily granted.

After leaving Zanzibar, Sir Bartle Frere visited Bagamoy, where there is a French Roman Catholic Mission. This is mainly an industrial Mission. According to Captain Colomb, the Missionaries there purchase slaves, with of course the object of making them Christians.* As he says, "they buy them." Still, notwithstanding this awkward peculiarity, considering the object of his Mission, it seems to have met with considerable approval from our Envoy. We presume he must have been aware of this practice of the French Missionaries. His description of the United Methodist Free Churches' Mission at Ribe, and the Church Missionary settlement at Kisuludini, is as follows:—

The Mission-house at Ribe is well and healthily situated on a hill, commanding a view of a wide tract of country, stretching to Mombasah and the sea, from which it is some fifteen miles distant. Mr. Wakefield gives the natives a good character for friendliness. We saw at the Sunday Schools and

Services about forty Wanika and Galla converts; the latter drawn to the Mission by having made the acquaintance of Messrs. Wakefield and New during their journeys in the Galla country, of which accounts have been published by the Royal Geographical Society.

* The French Missionaries are not troubled as ours are by a surrounding cocoon of sentiment on the subject of slavery. If they see a likely scholar any day in the slave-market, they go and buy him, and are not afraid of their countrymen raising a cry against them as slave-dealers. They buy him; they are not troubled about conferring the form of freedom on him; and, as I understand, they never intend to put any artificial notions of freedom into his head, but desire to let these notions come by the natural process of educational development. The aim of their Mission is most benevolent. Of its practical good there cannot be the smallest doubt, but it would be almost impossible for Englishmen to attempt a Mission on that system, unless legislative sanction were obtained for what would amount to a revival of our policy respecting slavery. Page 429 farther on, of the Bagamoy Mission he observes, with what reads almost like a sneer, that the only slaves on whom the "precious boon of freedom" will be conferred there, will be those who "acquire it by developed force of character," or the incorrigible!—*Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean*, by Captain Colomb, R.N.

From Ribe we went on to the Church Missionary Society's establishment at Kisoludini, prettily situated in a spot where the numbers of cocoa-nut trees, the wild cotton, which grows abundantly, and other valuable products of the soil, show of what it is capable were only its cultivation attended to.

Mr. Rebmann, who for nearly thirty years has been resident Missionary in this part of Africa, was himself at Mombasah, where I had much interesting conversation with him; but we were received by his Native Catechist, George David, who was educated at Nassick, and has for some time been resident at Kisoludini. There is a small colony of eight, including women and children, at this station, which consists of a few well-built and comfortable houses.

Mr. Rebmann, whom I am sorry to find was utterly prostrated in bodily strength by overwork and solitude, is a scholar of the highest repute, who has devoted his life to the study of the languages of East Africa. He has completed dictionaries of three of the most

extended dialects—one of the tribes round Lake Nyassa, another of the Suaheli or Coast dialect, and a third of Kanika—the first and last being ready for the printer, and the other only requiring fair transcription. If these works could be printed they would be of inestimable value to future labourers in Africa; but Mr. Rebmann seems unwilling to part with his manuscripts, and unequal to the task of taking them to Europe.

Except by the study of languages, the example of a holy life, and precept to those who sought his teaching, Mr. Rebmann has been able to do little Missionary work, and the results of his mission, as far as number of converts goes, would in general be deemed disappointing. He has, however, gained a high character for the Mission among the natives; and I have no doubt that here, as at Ribe, far greater results would follow if a larger industrial element were admitted into the establishments. I have discussed this subject very fully in my despatch on the mode of employing liberated slaves.

It will be borne in mind by our readers that the Rev. Mr. Sparshott has recently been sent to assist the venerable Dr. Rebmann, and to strengthen the operations of the Society there.

When intelligence reached home of the Sultan's refusal to sign the Treaty, an intimation was sent that, if he persisted in this refusal, "the British forces would proceed to blockade the island of Zanzibar." After touching at Makullah and Shahah, Sir Bartle Frere next proceeded to Muscat. Seyyid Toorkee, the Sultan, without concealing the difficulties he would have with his subjects, exhibited much good feeling and readily signed the Treaty. Sir Bartle Frere comments upon the value of Colonel Pelly's services at Muscat. By the Treaty made with the Nukeeb of Makullah and the Sultan of Muscat, the Sultan of Zanzibar was left alone in his determination "to resist the wishes of the civilized world, and to maintain the horrors of the Slave-Trade."

In another important State paper, which we think it well in a considerable measure to reproduce, Sir Bartle Frere describes the natives of India called Banians, by whom the East African trade is carried on. It will furnish a lively idea of a vast trade almost unknown even to European merchants:

Of all classes connected with the trade of East Africa there is none more influential than the natives of India generally known as "Banians."

Greek and Roman authors describe a flourishing commerce between India, Arabia, and East Africa, and the earliest detailed accounts we have of this coast represent a distribution of races connected with trade very much resembling what we now find existing: native African races as cultivators, labourers, and sometimes, though rarely, as rulers; the ruling power at ports generally in the hands of foreigners of Arab or Persian origin; and all trade monopolized by Indians, or Arabs

with Indian connexion, and having their homes and chief places of business sometimes on the Egyptian, Arabian, or Persian coast, but more often in India, at Tatta in Sind, Mandavie in Cutch, the port of Kattywar on the Gulf of Cambay, Surat, Calicut, and other ports on the Malabar coast.

Vasco de Gama and the Portuguese who followed him found a trade relatively to the rest of the commercial world much larger and more important than at present, but carried on much in the same fashion by vessels of the same build and character as the modern dhows, availing themselves of the regular trade-winds to sail to and fro between the

ports on the same coasts of Africa, India, Arabia, and Persia, and carrying articles of much the same character as at present.* And what is more to our present purpose, he found all this trade in the hands of men whose homes were in India, or closely connected with India, and he describes the traders as in dress, habits of life, and trade, character, and names exactly resembling what a modern traveller would find at the same ports on the same coasts. The Indian traders do not appear, in his day, to have reached farther south than one of the large rivers south of Sofala, where he met the first of the Moors seen in his first voyage. But they were then in possession of all the best trade, at every port from Sofala northwards to Aden.

This vast Indian trade seems to have been sorely crippled, and in some parts extinguished, by the advent of Europeans to these seas. Empire in these parts, then as now, fell to the nation which had the greatest command of ships of war, fire-arms, and artillery. The Portuguese were far more powerful at sea than any nation they met with on the coast, and speedily subdued the whole coast from the southernmost limit of the Indian trade to Aden and Socotra, and by Muscat and Ormuz to the Persian Gulf, building forts at all the principal ports, and commanding points of estuaries and islands, and destroying the Arab and Indian marine. Their own account of their proceedings, and of the wholesale cruelties they practised on all who opposed or were suspected of opposing them, are sufficient to account for the extinction of the greatest part of such trade as they found, for the bitter opposition they met with from the Arabs, who ultimately resumed the dominion of all north of Cape Delgado, and for the sterile character of their occupation of the coast, where they had no hold but on the fears of the natives, and thus missed the opportunity of developing their hostile occupation into an African Empire.

At the same time, during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rovers—English, Dutch, and Arab—made these seas unsafe to all but large and well-armed vessels. Of the proceedings of the English and Dutch, some idea may be found from Defoe's novels, e.g., "Captain Singleton," and the second part of "Robinson Crusoe," and from the adventures of Euro-

pean privateers and pirates, as related in the "Tales of Buccaneers;" nor, if we may judge from the sober narratives of our earlier voyagers, did the native Indian or Arab merchantman fare much better at the hands of the regular European trader, up to the time when the English East India Company obtained the undisputed mastery of Indian foreign commerce. The Great Company then put down English and Dutch freebooting and piracy at the same time, and by the same measure by which they put down all "free trade," as competition with their own monopoly was then called; but it was not till the present century that much was done to check Arab piracy, which went far to destroy what little Indian trade with Africa Portuguese misgovernment had spared.

Up to thirty years ago the depredations of Arab pirates in the Indian seas, and even on the Indian coasts within sight of Bombay, were matters of recent memory. I have met, in my early life, many men, Natives and Europeans, who had suffered from their outrages, or had taken a part in putting them down. The pirates came from all ports between Aden and the head of the Persian Gulf; but the most numerous, active, and cruel were from the southern parts of the Persian Gulf, where Wahabees and other forms of religious fanaticism gave a species of sanction to their depredations and cruelties. Their suppression was mainly due to operations directed by considerable land and sea forces of the East India Company against the pirate nests in the Gulf, to the activity of the Bombay Marine and Indian navy, both in cruisers and surveying vessels, and to the growth of the comparatively civilized authority of the Imaum of Muscat, who, during the first forty years of this century, built up a considerable navy, and became a conquering power on the East African coast.

The Indian traders seem never to have quite forsaken the East African trade; when it was at its lowest, which was probably in the latter part of the last and the earlier years of the present century, a few ships made an annual voyage from Mandavie, in Cutch, and from Surat, Bombay, and occasionally from other ports of the Kattywar and Malabar coasts, bringing ivory and other African produce in exchange for cloth, metals, and beads; but their return from what was then a most hazardous voyage was a great event at all the ports to which they belonged, calculated and watched for as the season of

* See "The Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama," translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, for the Hakluyt Society, 1869.

fair winds came round, and greeted at Mandavie and all the smaller ports by crowds assembled on the shore, and by firing of guns and general rejoicing in the shipping and town.

While Surat and Guzerat had a large manufacture of blue cotton cloth as late as fifty years ago, East Africa was the chief market for it. Some, it is said, was carried by the Portuguese to Brazil, but the greater part found a market in the interior of Africa. About that time Captain Owen found a few Banians and Indians at every place of trade on the coast, but the very small commerce they carried on seems often to have struck him.

I have met during my present visit to this coast few Indian houses which boast an antiquity of more than forty years. Some have told me that the usual system of trade in former days was for a supercargo to deal from the ship, though there were always a few Indian residents at each port where there was sufficient of a settled Government to make their property secure. In Madagascar and elsewhere the Indians assured me that though their oldest house was not more than sixty years' standing, their caste had traded to the coast for ages previous.

During the past forty years the great Indian immigration to this coast has gone on at a constantly increasing rate, which bids fair to restore the Indian trade with East Africa to more than its old proportions. Many causes have contributed to this end: the general peace in Europe, the final suppression of Arab piracy, the establishment of the Muscat Arabs at Zanzibar and on the coast, the appearance at Zanzibar and elsewhere of English, French, German, and American houses, and probably, above all, the great impulse given to Indian trade by the extinction of the Company's monopoly, and by the vast development of commercial enterprise among those Indian castes which have heretofore almost monopolized this branch of commerce. I have been assured on good authority that the fresh arrivals from India last year numbered more than 250 traders to Zanzibar and its neighbourhood alone. For some of the Indian trading classes, trade in East Africa seems to have the same charms as colonizing has for some of our own countrymen at home.

It is difficult to arrive at exact conclusions as to the total numbers of Indian traders on the East African coast, but I am convinced that the best official returns are con-

siderably below the truth. Dr. Kirk estimated the Indian traders connected with Zanzibar in 1870 at 3710 of all castes.* Probably the returns at his disposal, chiefly furnished by the Sultan's Farmer of Customs, gave only the residents at the principal port, or those who were known to the heads of the community at Zanzibar; for we found at almost every place we visited, numbers considerably in excess of those he set down, and we met them as long-settled residents at many places omitted in his list, and were assured of their residence at many more. It is possible that they may at some of these places be late arrivals, or be included under large centres of trade entered in Dr. Kirk's list of 1870. But there can, I think, be no doubt that the aggregate number is much larger, and that they are more widely scattered than would be supposed from that Return.

Each individual is generally an independent trader or partner or managing clerk in a house of business, and few have families, so that their numbers in Zanzibar would represent in India a commercial community many fold more numerous.

Most of them belong to four or five of the great trading classes of Western India. We met a few representatives of other castes—a few goldsmiths (sonars), tailors (Guzerat dargis), servants, such as cooks, washermen, &c., and two bards (bhats), travelling separately, and testifying to the extent to which the love of African travel has of late years possessed some of the least movable of Indian races.

All these, however, were rare exceptions, and the Indians we met with were generally Bhattias, Lohanna Wantias, Khojas, Mehmons, or Bohras. The Bhattias are probably the most important by wealth and influence at Zanzibar, and with the Banians proper, or Johannas, who are comparatively few in numbers, form the Hindoo portion of the Indian community. The Bhattias are one of the very ancient, skilful, and important subdivisions of the Hindoo commercial castes, but from being a comparatively small caste, and more addicted to foreign than domestic commerce, they are not so well known to us in India as many castes of less importance, except in Bombay itself, and in Guzerat, Cutch, and Kattywar, where their red turbans, often with a peak in front, strike the stranger as differing from the ordinary head-dress of the Hindoos.

* *Vide* Administration Report, July 18, 1870.

Among their ranks have been found of late years some of the most active and intelligent of Hindoo reformers, as well as some of the most bigoted upholders of ancient abuses. They are all Vaishnavas, and the notorious "Maharajah case" dragged to light the worst peculiarities of a decaying superstition; but its frightful revelations did scanty justice to the courage and high principle of a few men whose exertions in the cause of truth and purity of life are likely to have a permanent influence on the moral history of India.

I have met with no rational explanation of the fact that, whilst the Bhattias in India as well as in Africa are most jealously observant of Hindoo rites and formalities in their most rigid form, while a visit to Europe entails absolute exclusion from all religious, social, and caste privileges, they have always been permitted to visit and reside in East Africa without incurring more penalty than a series of purgatorial observances of no great severity, and not entailing more than a few days' exclusion from the caste and social communion.

I have been told that a residence on an African island, like Zanzibar or Mozambique, is not, according to the Shastris, such a separation from the land of orthodox Hindooism as a residence on the mainland would be. But this distinction is certainly not now observed in practice. Another and perhaps more probable explanation is that the practice of visiting and trading with the East Coast of Africa had become habitual to this class before the extreme restrictions of the present Hindoo system were invented, and that an old-established and profitable exception was allowed to be made in favour of an influential caste. But none of these explanations satisfactorily account for the anomaly.

The Khojas, Mehmons, and Bohras are well known to all residents in West India as Mohammedan traders who are found everywhere, almost monopolizing by dint of frugal industry many most profitable branches of trade. In a West Indian market town or seaport the tinman, dealer in marine stores, locksmith or ironmonger, dealer in looking-glasses, furniture, glass or china, millinery and small drapery wares, and most of the pedlars are generally Bohras. The Khojahs and Mehmons are mostly occupied in foreign trade. Cutch and the Kattywar ports, especially Jamnugger, Surat, and Bombay, are their usual homes. The few Bohras who are engaged in agriculture are reckoned among the best cultivators in the finest cotton-producing

villages near Broach, and Khojas and Mehmons bear a similar character in Sind, Cutch, and Kattywar. All three classes are very reticent regarding their origin or religious tenets, partly from reserve, but very frequently from want of knowledge or interest in the subject, all their thoughts from their early youth being generally turned to business. All are sectaries, deemed more or less heretical by the orthodox division of Muslim. The Bohras and Khojas seem, in part at least, of Semitic or Persian descent; but they, as well as the Mehmons, are charged by more orthodox sects with various remnants of idolatrous and mystical worship. The history of the Khojas has been carefully investigated in the course of the remarkable trial in the High Court of Bombay, when the origin and tenets of the sect were traced with judicial precision by the counsel in discussing and by Sir Joseph Arnold in deciding on the claims of Agha Khan to be spiritual head of the sect and lineal representative of the "old man of the mountain."

On the African Coast and in Madagascar all these classes showed a tendency to the kinds of trade usually followed by them in India. They generally monopolize all that the Hindoo Bhattias and Banians do not possess of the trade in cloth and cotton goods, ironmongery, cutlery, china, and small wares. In Madagascar they assert that they have been, for at least a century, settled at Nosi Beh and other ports, and that they preceded the Hindoos on the African Coast.

At larger ports a few representatives of all castes will be found, but generally one or other caste will be found to preponderate at all the smaller ports. The Bhattias and Banians are most numerous at and near Zanzibar, the Khojas on the island and mainland of the equatorial regions, and the Bohras to the south in Madagascar, and to the north in Galla and Somali-land. Everywhere, wherever there is any foreign trade, it passes through the hands of some Indian trader; no produce can be collected for the European, American, or Indian market, but through him; no imports can be distributed to the natives of the country, but through his agency. At every port the shops which collect or distribute articles of commerce are kept almost exclusively by Indians. Throughout our whole circuit, from Zanzibar round by Mozambique and Madagascar, and up to Cape Guardafui, we did not, except at Johanna, meet half-a-dozen exceptions to the rule that every shopkeeper was an Indian.

We could converse everywhere with the whole body of retail traders and local merchants in Hindustani or Guzerati; and their accounts, at every shop, were kept in Guzerati or Cutchi by double entry, with the proverbial neatness and clearness of a Guzerat accountant.

Some of the large firms have been long established, and have a large capital; but in general, the career of the young Indian trader in Africa is very similar to that of the Marwarce adventurers in Central or Southern India. Arriving at his future scene of business with little beyond credentials to his fellow castemen, after perhaps a brief apprenticeship in some older firm he starts a shop of his own, with goods advanced on credit by some large house, and after a few years, when he has made a little money, generally returns home to marry, to make fresh business connexions, and then comes back to Africa to repeat, on a larger scale, the same process.

With rare exceptions, all these Indian traders are birds of passage. The houses they belong to may be of old standing, and we met a few old men who had been in Africa all their lives; but they were exceptions. The Hindoos never bring their wives or families to Africa, the Bohras and Khojas do, frequently; but even they seem to have as little idea of settling or adopting the country for their own as a young Englishman in Hong Kong.

Of all these races, it may be observed that they have been less affected than the upper classes of Indians in general by European education in India. All are so devoted to trade that the boy goes into the counting-house as soon as he can read and write; and in the case of the Khojas I am assured that the pontifical authority of Agha Khan has been actively exerted to prevent any of his followers from attending an English school. In Zanzibar itself the relation between the European or American house and the Banian very much resembles that with which we are familiar in India. The European merchant buys and sells with the aid and advice of a Banian, who sometimes stands to the foreign firm in a relation more like that of a partner than a mere broker, agent, or go-between.

Away from Zanzibar the Banian, or Hindi, is more of a retail dealer, bartering his import wares for country produce, which he sells wholesale at Zanzibar to the exporter. In the outports and country marts he does little wholesale business, except by making ad-

vances of import goods to adventurers going up the country, on engagement to be repaid by returns of up-country produce.

The Banians generally keep to the ports, or within a short journey of the coast, or navigable parts of large rivers. The trade with the far interior is almost exclusively in the hands of Arabs, or Arab half-castes, and Swahili, or coastmen, who push as rapidly as they can across the first 200 miles from the coast, halting little by the way. Livingstone tells of their having penetrated far beyond his farthest, into Cazembe's country; he had found them years before on the Upper Zambesi, and the Governor-General of Mozambique told me that when he was at Loanda, two or three years ago, two Zanzibar Arabs from Kilwa appeared in Angola, about the same time that some natives sent from Loanda reached Ibo, on the East Coast, taking two years to go and return.

I may remark, in passing, that the stock in trade which we usually found in the Banians' shops was as frequently of German or American as of English origin. The cotton fabrics were English, American, or German, with smaller quantities of Indian or French. The best hardware was English, but much, inferior in make, was of continental manufacture; coarse crockery, of German; brass and copper, of American make; beads, English and German (Venetian?); guns, old, of English make; new, of German or French; some as low as 10s. or 12s. each, in retail price.

Of the total extent of the trade which passes through Indian hands, it would be difficult to form any reliable estimate. Dr. Kirk shows that the Zanzibar Custom-house Returns are a very fallacious guide, nor will Indian or English Returns be a better index; for the German and American, the French, Arabian, Persian, and Malagash trade, which comes direct, as well as the English and Indian, passes through the same hands.*

Dr. Kirk was, however, good enough to show me the details of transactions of a single Indian house, whose affairs had been the subject of judicial investigation in his Court. The books showed a capital of about 434,000*l.*, invested in loans and mortgages in East Africa. Of this, about 60,000*l.* had been advanced in various ways to the Sultan and his family, a rather larger sum to Arabs in the interior of Africa, a somewhat smaller amount to Arabs in Zanzibar and on the

* *Vide* Administration Report for 1870.

coast ..but the total of advances and loans to Arabs and Natives of Zanzibar, all slave-owners, and most of them slave-dealers, was little less than 200,000*l*. This sum had been lent and advanced in various ways, by loans, advances and mortgages, on every kind of property, real and personal, and on various kinds of security, by advances of goods for trade, &c. Loans and advances to Europeans and Americans were set down at about 140,000*l*., and those to Indians in Africa at about 100,000*l*. These were African assets, and did not include stock in trade or the capital of the Indian corresponding firms, composed of members of the same family, and doing a very large business with Africa at Mandavie and Bombay; so that, as far as I could judge, the capital employed in African trade and banking, by this one family, must be reckoned by millions sterling.

Our Indian firms are said to be doing business on a similar scale, and Dr. Kirk calculates the British Indian capital now invested in Zanzibar Island alone at not less than 1,600,000*l*.

I am assured that few of the larger Arab estates in Zanzibar are unencumbered by mortgages in Indian capitalists, and that a large proportion are so deeply mortgaged as virtually to belong to the Indian mortgagee.

In a word, throughout the Zanzibar coast-line, extending along fourteen degrees of latitude, with numerous large and fertile islands, all banking and mercantile business passes through Indian hands. Hardly a loan can be negotiated, a mortgage effected, or a bill cashed without Indian agency; not an import cargo can be distributed, nor an export cargo collected, of which almost every bale does not go through Indian hands. The European or American, the Arab or Swahili may trade and profit, but only as an occasional link in the chain between producer and consumer, of which the Indian trader is the one invariable and most important link of all.

Thus, a vast commerce has grown up, or rather revived during the last fifty years on these coasts, which has been in a great measure recreated and silently monopolized by a few of the less prominent classes of Indian traders. I know nothing like it in the history of commerce, and it is difficult to convey to those at a distance an adequate idea of the extent or completeness of the monopoly. We wonder at the vast development of Greek commercial industry during the same period, but though their business

may be on a larger scale in individual transactions, nowhere have the Greeks the same sort of monopoly which the Indians enjoy on the East Coast of Africa.

I have spoken here much of the Zanzibar coast-line; but it must be remembered that the preponderating influence, if not monopoly, of the Indian trader is equally great, as far as the Portuguese possessions extend to the south, and on the north-west coast of Madagascar; northwards, it extends with rare intervals along all the shores of Africa, Arabia, Persian Gulf, and Beloochistan to the western frontiers of India. Along some 6000 miles of sea-coast in Africa and its islands, and nearly the same extent in Asia, the Indian trader is, if not the monopolist, the most influential, permanent, and all-pervading element of the commercial community. I doubt whether along the whole coast, from Delagoa Bay to Kurachee there are half-a-dozen ports known to commerce at which the Indian traders are not, as a body, better able to buy or sell a cargo than any other class, and at most of the great ports a cargo can only be sold or collected through them.

It may be asked, how is it possible that such a trade can have grown up so little noticed by the commercial world elsewhere? The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Indians engaged in it all belong to the commercial classes which less than any others in India have assimilated their methods of commerce to ours. The Parsees, and many other mercantile classes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, even when they have not adopted our habits, join our commercial associations, and, so to speak, make more or less common cause with the European merchant. But this has not been done by any of the classes who have absorbed the African trade; and our European merchants and officials, and Chambers of Commerce, know probably less of their proceedings than of any other class in the mercantile community.

Then, the European and American commerce to Africa has been almost a secret monopoly in a very few hands. The greatest pains have been taken to keep everything quiet, and though some of the houses traded on a great scale, and employed quite a fleet of merchant-vessels, the extent of their business was known to none but themselves, and was not fully realized by any but the most observant of their neighbours at Zanzibar.

It is some indirect benefit, from these investigations into East African slavery, that this Indian trade, so long and so carefully shrouded in secrecy, has been brought out into public view. There are manifestly serious evils connected with it which need restraint.

Sir Bartle Frere supplies a very lengthy memorandum on the Sultan of Zanzibar, the extent of his authority and the means by which he has obtained it, or rather his father, Seyyid Said, who, having acquired supreme power in Oman, extended his power in Arabia and Persia, and acquired a vast African dominion by very questionable means but we can only refer those to it who may feel a special interest in the matter. One extract from the concluding portion of it, however, we must make, and that is the weighty arguments alleged by Sir B. Frere against those who would have us withdraw from all attempts to stop the Slave-Trade, and to leave it alone to cure itself.

Specious arguments have been urged for withdrawing from all attempts to stop Slave-Trade, and "leaving it alone to cure itself;" and our cruisers have been charged with enhancing the sufferings of the slave by increasing the difficulties of the passage. I am satisfied that there is not a shadow of foundation for this argument. I never heard a single fact or argument which could justify the faintest hope that if slavery or Slave-Trade were let alone they would cure themselves in any number of ages. There is ample evidence to prove that the sufferings of the slave from overcrowding, the want of air, food, and water, are quite as great when there is no fear of capture. The same causes, greed for gain and callousness to human suffering, which render it necessary to impose legislative restrictions on emigrant ships, even when the emigrants are free and intelligent Europeans, impel the slave-trader to overcrowd and starve his victims, even when there is no fear of capture; and we saw one instance, and heard of many more, where the suffering and loss of life during the short and legal passage from Kilwa to Zanzibar might compare in horror with anything which has ever been written of the most desperate slave-running.

Again, a vast amount of nonsense has been talked about the impossibility of stopping Slave-Trade, because slavery is an ancient institution, interwoven with all the usages of Arab society, and the Arabic domestic slave is always well treated. It would be just as reasonable to permit domestic servants in England to be recruited by the murder of parents and the kidnapping of children, because domestic servitude is a time-honoured state of life, and the servants often fare as well as the masters and mistresses in England.

Slavery in Arabia or India was a state of life as essentially different from slavery in Zanzibar as from English apprenticeship.

The mode of acquiring and treating the slave was entirely different, and still more different was the general social feeling regarding the sale of a slave as an ordinary article of trade. An Arab Sheikh of the olden time might, under great pressure, sell his slave, as a lady might sell her jewels, or a nobleman part with his ancestral estate; but till corrupted by residence in a slave-trading community like Zanzibar, he would unhesitatingly condemn the modern East African system of slave-hunting and slave-trading.

It seems to be forgotten that the East African Slave-Trade in its present shape is the growth of the last half-century. A few slaves probably always went; but in their present numbers, and with the present horrors of original capture and conveyance, Slave-Trade has become possible only since piracy was suppressed; not only because it is chiefly the old pirate tribes among the Arabs who have, of late years, turned their energies to slave-trading, but because such valuable and portable property as a cargo of slaves would have presented unusual temptations to any pirates, so that it is only since the seas have been cleared of pirates that slave-trading on a great scale and as a branch of ordinary commerce has become possible.

Again, it has been urged that our attempts to suppress Slave-Trade "diminish the prestige of the ruler, which it should be our object to maintain." This is an excellent reason for carrying him with us, if he is inclined to co-operate; but if he refuses his aid, we could not do worse for him than by leaving him to continue a practice which saps every source of national prosperity, and condemns him and his people to remain in the ranks of barbarous and uncivilized states.

Somewhat more of an argument might be made out of some gradual limitation and progressive restriction of the trade. Something of the kind was more than once alluded

to by his Highness as a thing he might think about if it were proposed; but I never could get any definite statement of what might be

thought possible or reasonable, and none of the plans I have ever heard suggested would bear discussion.

In another document, in which Sir B. Frere passes in review the different Mission agencies at work in East Africa, there are two important paragraphs, which refer not only to the Church Missionary Society, but also to the facility for Missionary effort in East Africa. Finally, in a long despatch of the most exhaustive character, Sir B. Frere reviews the whole character and extent of the East African Slave-Trade, in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in the Hedjaz, in Abyssinia; he gives also a copious account of the Somali Slave-Trade carried on by land. We can only find room for those passages of it which controvert, in the most emphatic manner, recent attempts to charge exaggeration on those who witnessed before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1871. We trust we shall henceforth hear of them no more.

I observe in some recent publications a tendency to impute exaggeration to the informants on whose statements the Committee relied, and especially Dr. Livingstone and his companions, in reference more particularly to the mode in which slaves are obtained, the mortality attending their capture, and their sufferings on the journey down to the coast. I may mention, therefore, that I have made these points the subject of particular inquiry, and the result was to produce a strong conviction of the entire general accuracy of the statements referred to, and of those of Dr. Livingstone and his companions in particular.

We met with many persons, indeed, who, from length of residence on the East African coast, ought to have been well informed. They had no personal knowledge of the interior, but they assured us that they believed such cases as Dr. Livingstone mentioned to be exceptional, and that the bulk of slaves were obtained by less horrible means than intertribal warfare and the massacre of parents and elders.

But this view was not borne out by the evidence of slaves themselves, when not subjected to any influence which might induce them to invent or to conceal the truth. Occasional cases we met of slaves who had been sold for debt, or of children sold by parents and guardians from poverty, and to buy food, especially in times of general scarcity; and one case of a slave sold by himself is recorded by Livingstone, but, as a rule, there was a dreary uniformity in the circumstances attending the original loss of liberty, and the details fully confirmed the statements made by Livingstone. This was more particularly the case with children recently enslaved; some could or would remember little—a slave child, who has been for some time well treated, having often

apparently a rooted aversion to recall the scenes of earlier life: but whenever the child could be got to recount the history of its capture, the tale was almost invariably one of surprise, kidnapping, and generally of murder, always of indescribable suffering on the way down to the coast and on the dhow voyage; horrible as might be the similarity of the details they were generally told with a simplicity which was a guarantee for their truth.

As regards the sufferings of the slaves at sea there could be less question, British officers having been so frequently eye-witnesses of the tortures caused by over-crowding, starvation, thirst, and disease, and invariably describing the sufferings of the slave as not admitting of exaggeration.

But palliators or apologists for slavery frequently insinuate that the sufferings of the slave during the voyage are enhanced, by the means we take to effect his liberation, and that but for the dread of the British cruisers the slave would be conveyed with less risk to his life and health. Facts, however, by no means support this theory; overcrowding, starvation, and want of water are found to cause quite as much suffering during the open season and on the short voyage from Kilwa to Zanzibar, when the slaver has had nothing to fear from the cruiser, as they do during the close season and on the long voyage; as in the case of emigrant and coolie ships, the temptation of making a profit by overcrowding and under-feeding is irresistible, and when the cargo consists principally of children and women, all slaves, there is actually no check to the cupidity of the shipper; the profits of the trade, whether contraband or not, are so considerable that one lucky venture successfully run will cover the loss of three unsuccessful ones. Where this is the case it is

vain to argue that a little more outlay in giving more room, food, or water might give in the long-run more sure returns, if they were sometimes less on the single voyage. It is the gambling element, the high prize on

the single venture, which is the charm of the speculation, and calculations of prudence are as much thrown away on the shipper as considerations of humanity.

Upon the general condition of the Negro race and the means of raising Africa from her present state of degradation Sir B. Frere observes,—

The Slave-Trade is, in fact, but one symptom of those peculiarities in the constitution and condition of Africa which for ages past have left her so far below the rest of the Old World in all that pertains to civilization and the enjoyment of any but animal existence.

Elsewhere migrations, wars, and commercial intercourse have favoured a fusion of races, and the domination of people stronger and more vigorous, physically or intellectually, than their neighbours; but the negro race seems for ages past to have been shut up in the interior of Africa, under conditions which nearly excluded external civilizing influences. Peculiarly suited by physical constitution to the rich tropical country they inhabited, the negroes thrived and multiplied, till they came to be looked on by surrounding nations as a vast storehouse of brute force, which, if it had been more accessible, could have supplied the whole world with unskilled labour.

But, till within the last 400 years, this storehouse was hardly accessible to other nations, save by long and tedious land routes, of which the only route fairly practicable was by the Nile, through a people who, in those days, were peculiarly jealous of strangers, and able as well as willing to exclude them.

All this was changed when, in sailing round Africa, the Portuguese and other European nations found the negroes on the seaboard and on the East Coast in a fair way of being gradually civilized by contact with Indians and Arabs, who were then among the most civilized nations of the earth.

The first blow to the incipient civilization of Africa was given when the Portuguese drove out the Arabs and Indians from the East Coast, and, excluding strangers, condemned it, as far as their power went, to sterile isolation from that day to this.

But the evil work was completed when it was found that the labour of Africa was wanted in the West Indies and America, and when the Slave-Trade was in consequence established.

Ever since that trade was reduced to a system, civilization in Negro Africa has stood still or has receded; the demand was for muscle only, and to procure it everything relating to civilization or humanity was necessarily sacrificed.

No imagination could depict a life so hopelessly brutalizing and retrograde as that forced on a people who pass their time in habitual fear of the slave-hunter. I do not now refer to what passes after capture, the murders and atrocities attending the kidnapping and journey down the coast, or during the sea voyage, but to what is always present during the every-day life of the tribes from which the slaves are drawn. A very few narratives of what they experienced before capture, as told by a recently-caught adult slave, would satisfy the most sceptical that the descriptions of Livingstone and others give but a faint image of the degrading influences always at work among the tribes within reach of the slave-hunting grounds. The midnight sowings and reappings, the unceremonious marriages and births, which bring nothing but care and fear to the parents, the constant flittings and hidings, the concealment of anything worth taking, the life of constant terror and anxiety, are enough to sink the highest race to the level of brutes. Hearing such things, and knowing that they have continued, not for a thirty years' war, but for generations and ages, one wonders, not that the people are no better, but that they are still higher than brutes, or that they have not, at best, long since sunk to the level of Australian savages.

Yet more degrading is the reflex action of slave-hunting on the races, contact with whom under any other circumstances would help to civilize the negro. The degradation is sufficiently marked in the coast Arab, but is yet more noticeable in the Portuguese, in whom a few years of slaving leaves but little trace by which one could recognize a descendant of the "hero nation" of Prince Henry and King John.

Let it be remembered, then, that Negro Africa is now little, if at all, advanced

beyond the point she had reached four centuries ago; that her people are, in fact, as uncivilized as the rude tribes of Europe before letters were invented; that the stoppage of the Slave-Trade must be the first step towards raising her from her present

state of degradation; but that it cannot be effected, much less rendered permanent, unless other civilizing influences be brought to bear, not only on the negro, but on other races in contact with him.

The Report closes with the Treaty ratified by the Sultan of Zanzibar, so that Christians in England may fairly thank God and take courage. It is true that their labours for the regeneration of Africa are only about to commence, but fearful adversaries have been discomfited, much evil is scotched, if not killed, and for the future there is hope and blessed assurance in the gracious promise: "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth: it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."—Isaiah, lv. 10, 11.

MISSIONARY TRAVEL IN FOO-CHOW.

IN former issues of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" our readers have been furnished with journals of our excellent Missionary, the Rev. J. R. Wolfe. We feel assured that which we now present to them will be perused with much interest, suggestive as it is of much that is hopeful for the future of China. In our volume for 1866 (pages 51-7), there will be found an account of Fuh-Chau, and in those from 1867 to 1871 further journals from Mr. Wolfe. It may be sufficient thus to indicate them, so that those who wish to trace the progress of the work may do so the more readily.

I have just returned from a general visit to the out-stations in connexion with our Mission in the different parts of this prefecture, and, according to the promise in my last letter, I now send you a detailed account of this visit, and of the present state of each station. I started from Foo-Chow in an easterly direction as far as the town of Kuang-Taw, which is situated on the river Min, about thirty English miles from Foo-Chow. I then proceeded N. and N.W. through the Hien cities of Lieng-Kong, Lo-Nguong, Ning-Taik and Ku-Cheng, and returned from the West through the Hien cities of Ming-Chiang and Au-Kuang to Foo-Chow, having made a circuit of 1025 Chinese li, or 338 English miles. The weather was remarkably fine during the entire journey, and I was enabled most thoroughly to enjoy my visit to the different stations, and appreciate the magnificent scenery which abounds in this part of the country. Most of this, however, was quite familiar to me; but, though I felt quite at home among these mountains, they appeared to my eyes as fresh and as

beautiful as ever. These glorious mountains never appear monotonous, and the eye seems never wearied of looking up from these valleys to the lofty peaks, and down again from these summits to the deep and picturesque vales below. It is impossible from any mere description to convey to you any real impression of the wild grandeur of this scenery. I shall not therefore make an attempt. But, though the scenery is grand, and the view of it exciting, the travelling over these mountains by rough and slippery and broken pathways is very wearisome to the body, and a great hindrance to speedy and frequent communication with our different out-stations. Throughout this entire trip I was enabled each night, except two, to sleep at one or other of our Mission stations, and enjoy the company and conversation of dear native Christian brethren. On the whole, I have been cheered with the condition of the Lord's work throughout the country, and the future prospects are decidedly more encouraging than ever they have been. I believe there is a grand future in store for China, and the province of Fu-

kien bids fair to be among the first to receive the blessings of the Gospel of Christ. The kindly feeling which manifestly exists in the minds of the people generally towards us, and the object we have in view, indisputably proves that Christianity is gradually but surely gaining an influence among the masses. Of course I do not wish by this to convey the impression that there is no opposition. There are, alas! many adversaries who detest both us and our doctrines. But there is an open door, and wherever our Missions are established and our object understood, there most decidedly the people are friendly, and scarcely any opposition manifested. This was the impression left upon my mind from this visit through the country. The persecutions of late years have—there is reason to believe—been of very great advantage to the work of Missions in this province. They have not only tried the faith and sincerity of the Christians, and showed the heathen that there is a religion for which men are prepared to suffer; they have also attracted the attention of numbers to inquiry and examination respecting the religion of Jesus. This, too, I find is the impression on the minds of most of our catechists, and some of the most earnest of them have expressed themselves strongly to me on the benefits which have resulted from those persecutions. I was much pleased with the spirit of the majority of our catechists. I would mention especially Lo Tang, the catechist in charge of the important station at Lo-Nguong. There are, however, a few amongst them of whom I entertain fears and anxieties, but if ever I had any doubts as to the ability of a Chinese native agency to carry on successfully the work of Evangelization in China, these doubts would have been more than dissipated by what I have witnessed during this visit throughout our stations. These native agents have been necessarily, from the circumstances of our Mission here, left to depend a great deal during the last three years to their own resources, and the results in most cases have been anything but unsatisfactory.

I started from Foo-Chow on the 12th of February, and after a most tedious journey by boat down the Min, battling against wind and tide the greater part of the day, arrived at midnight within three miles of Ming-Ang-Teng, one of our Mission stations on the river. Our boatman protested that he could take us no farther because of the strong tide against us, so on this our whole company had

to disembark with very considerable difficulty, and find our way as best we could through rocks and hills and broken pathways to the town of Ming-Ang-Teng. Some of our company got separated in the darkness, and took different pathways. This caused a little excitement amongst my companions, and the loud sounds of their voices calling to each other awakened the echoes of the mountains and disturbed the peaceful slumbers of the surrounding villagers. This part of the country was well known to myself, and therefore I had very little difficulty in finding my way across the mountains. I arrived at Ming-Ang-Teng long before any of the Chinese, who all ultimately arrived safely at our little chapel in the heart of the town. On my arrival, I found the town in a great state of excitement. It happened to be the fifteenth night of the moon, commonly called by Europeans "the feast of lanterns." The whole town was in a perfect blaze of illumination. The principal streets were crowded with processions carrying flags and banners and lanterns in honour of the idols. This festival of the lanterns is universally observed among the Chinese of this place, and is made an occasion of much display by the wealthy and of excessive revelry and conviviality by all classes. Even the women, who are usually kept secluded in the privacy of their own homes, have on this evening very considerable licence granted them, and of which they are not slow to take advantage. They mingle freely with the crowds in the streets to view the brilliant show of lanterns. Some of them join in the processions, and others sit round the public tables in the open air. But their most favourite resort on this evening is the temple of the goddess "Mother," to which they throng in large numbers to invoke the blessing of a male offspring. They invariably bring away with them some relic of the goddess on this occasion, to be kept as a precious treasure, and devoutly worshipped for the rest of the year; and they believe that this will procure for them the favour of a male offspring, which every married woman in China so ardently desires. Of course they never pray nor wish for female children, and the advent of a little girl is looked upon as a misfortune rather than a blessing. Poor deluded creatures, how much they need the blessing of the Gospel of Christ! All classes of the Chinese are on this evening absolutely mad upon their idols, and large sums of money are expended by them upon idolatrous sacrifices, processions, and decorations.

Ming-Ang-Teng was on this evening, I found, no exception to the general rule of boisterous revelry and idolatrous excitement. Men and women and children crowded the narrow streets. The temples were filled with worshippers, and the entire population seemed given up for the time to the uncontrollable influence of the evil one. It is a terrible and a heart-sickening sight to see such large masses of human beings thus frantic with idolatry. It gives one some idea of the tremendous power which Satan has in a heathen land; and the thought at once rushes into the mind, that the Gospel, or whatever else people please to call it, which is capable of breaking down this power and setting the people free from its fearful grasp, must indeed be divine. Thank God there are a few even in this place who have been thus rescued by this "power of God," and who were enabled this evening to hold aloof from all the folly and madness of their countrymen. Soon after my arrival, the Christians, who had been expecting me, assembled at the chapel to welcome me. It was truly encouraging to me, independent of the satisfaction of again meeting old familiar faces, to kneel down with this little company and on the spot where, in years past, I had often knelt with them before, and enjoy with them again a short season of communion with our Father in Heaven. The din and tumult outside the little chapel was intense, but I trust inside, despite it all, we felt the deep and abiding peace of God in our souls. My companions and myself all felt very tired, and after some refreshment we were glad to retire for a few hours' rest and sleep. The crowds in the streets did not disperse till nearly daylight, but we soon fell asleep and were too weary to be disturbed by their fanatical orgies. On the following morning, before I had time to dress, the Christians again assembled, and after breakfast I had an interesting season of conversation with them.

I am sorry to have to report, respecting this little Mission station, that no progress whatever has been visible during the last three years. It is unnecessary now for me to relate the causes, which, as they appear to me, have retarded the progress of the work in this and a few other of the out-stations. I hope now, however, that fresh life and vigour may be breathed into this station, and that the blessing which once rested upon it, and which still, I would fain believe, hovers around it, may again be vouchsafed in full

measure. Most of those who had been baptized in connexion with this place are still with us. Out of the twenty-eight members two have died, whom we hope and trust are now members of the Church above; two have gone to live at other places, and whom we have reason to believe continue faithful; seven have been expelled from various causes. This leaves seventeen of those originally baptized still in full connexion with the Church. I am sure we shall have your prayers for the revival of the Lord's work at this out-station.

The next station which I visited in order was that in the important city of Lieng-Kong. I deeply regret to say that the two important intermediate stations between Lieng-Kong and Ming-Ang-Teng have been given up during my absence. I hope and trust we may see our way clear to reopen them shortly. At present, however, we lack the suitable men. I regret especially that Lau-Kie, one of those just mentioned, has been abandoned, as it was one of our most important stations with respect to its position as the centre of the very large population which the island contains. Independent of the difficulties which are to be again encountered in getting a footing there, it leaves a bad impression on the minds of the Chinese to withdraw from a position which we had once attained.

The usual route from Ming-Ang-Teng to Lieng-Kong is by boat to the town of Kuang-Tau, and from thence directly north over the mountains. I decided to go by land N.E. over the mountains behind Ming-Ang-Teng, leaving Kuang-Tau on the right, while the catechist and coolies preferred the ordinary and more convenient way by boat to Kuang-Tau. The morning was very fine, the air was pleasantly cool, and the scenery delightful, and everything around tended to raise one's spirits and make travelling very agreeable. The rough pathway, however, and the absence of a companion with whom to converse, rendered it very tiring and lonely after the first excitement caused by the grandeur and beauty of the scenery had passed away. The way lay through defiles among the hills, and by steep pathways over the mountains. Occasionally I had literally to climb up these latter—my bearers, with great difficulty, following with the Sedan. At other times, in order to avoid some deep ravine or towering Alp, we were compelled to make a circuitous course of more than a mile. And it was often aggravating, after a considerable time spent in travelling, to find oneself almost back again

at the same point, and with very little way made in the direct journey. Travelling in this part of the country has often reminded me of a ship at sea tacking against the wind, which, after having sailed several hundred miles, has only made a few miles in her direct course. Part of this route was quite new to me. This was the first time I travelled it. I was disappointed at not finding many villages. Though there are a good many large towns and villages between Ming-Ang-Teng and Kuang-Tau on both sides of the river, there are very few inside amongst the mountains along the path which I have been describing. The country between the two places just mentioned affords an important and interesting field for Missionary labour, and one which I hope and trust will soon be taken up by our Mission. But, alas! where are the suitable agents? Hundreds of most important stations are waiting to be occupied, but we have not the men. May the Lord of the harvest raise up the suitable men!

After a long day's travelling I arrived, very weary and tired, about night-fall, at our little chapel in the city of Lieng-Kong. The catechist Ting and the coolies arrived about an hour later. I have often, in former communications to the Secretaries, described this city, and the peculiar difficulties which it presents to our Missionary work. It is a comparatively wealthy place, and contains a great many gentry and literary men—the most obstructive and hostile classes in China. These have ever shown themselves opposed to our work, and in former years have tried hard to expel us from the city. It is a station which requires more care and judicious management and persevering effort than most others. It is one, too, I have no doubt, which will ultimately, by the grace of God, yield a more abundant harvest than others. At present, however, I regret to say that, humanly speaking, it looks very discouraging, and presents a very unsatisfactory aspect. The few converts, who, after years of anxious waiting, had been gathered in from this proud and hostile city, I found scattered; some dead, others expelled, and others again standing aloof. It was most discouraging to myself, after the years of anxious thought and labour which I had been permitted to spend upon this place, to find it in this condition, and that the work has to be commenced again *de novo* in this important city. I know you will earnestly pray for Lieng-Kong. This is why I have depicted it to you in its dark outlines, that it may draw out more prayer and plead-

ing for it at the Throne of Grace from all who are interested in our work in this vast empire. And if this is done for it, who can doubt but that Lieng-Kong will yet become a field which the Lord hath blessed? There is at present only one Christian connected with it. He was, I believe, the first convert, and is, so far as I can judge, a faithful and earnest follower of the Master. He has suffered much for the Lord Jesus in years gone by, and he says he has experienced too much of His love to forsake Him now. (See an account of him in one of my journals in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer.") The catechist Ling, who is stationed here now, is, I have reason to believe, a zealous man, and I hope and trust the Lord's work in this place may be revived, and many souls brought to the Saviour.

The next station I visited was Tang-Iong, which is about fourteen English miles N.W. of Lieng-Kong. I started from this latter city early in the morning, leaving it through the north gate, and at once entered on the main road or pathway which leads through the beautiful and extensive valley of Lieng-Kong. This valley is something in appearance like the picturesque valley of Foo-Chow, which has so often drawn forth the enthusiastic admiration of visitors. It is surrounded on all sides by high mountains, which form it into a sort of natural amphitheatre, and seem to shut it in from all intercourse with the outside world. Like Foo-Chow, it is amply watered by a river which runs through it, and which supplies with water the many canals which intersect the entire valley. It presented the appearance of a beautiful and well-cultivated garden, as I passed through it in the freshness of the morning. Plats of wheat and barley everywhere met the eye, whilst a very large variety of vegetables grew most luxuriantly around on every side. The tobacco-plant and sugar-cane also were to be seen in great abundance. At the north side of the vale a beautiful lake reposes between two considerable mountains, while the entire valley is skirted and enlivened with the habitations of a dense population of human beings. I should mention that the lake at certain seasons of the year becomes almost dry, and this detracts considerably from its beauty and utility to the inhabitants of the valley. A considerable part of the morning was occupied in travelling through this magnificent plain, and it was with somewhat of reluctance that we issued out at the north side of it to mount the steep and rugged footpath which leads over hill and dale to the important town of Tang-Iong.

The scenery from Lieng-Kong to Tang-Long all along the way is extremely interesting. Hill and dale follow each other in quick succession, and both are plentifully interspersed with trees of various kinds. They are also adorned with an abundance of flowering shrubs. The single-leaved camellia and the tea-oil shrub, a species of the camellia, are amongst those which most frequently meet the eye along the way. The dog-rose and a variety of azaleas are also plentiful. Here and there clumps of large trees stand out prominently on the landscape. Sometimes the summit of some very high hill is crowned with a cluster of these huge old trees. There they have stood for ages, and have served as landmarks to generations that have passed away. The present generation look upon them with superstitious reverence, and to cut them down or otherwise destroy or injure them would be considered a great calamity, or the precursor of some terrible misfortune. Whether or not these venerable old trees are, as the Chinese think, the cause or the source of prosperity and good fortune, I shall not stop to inquire, but there can be no question whatever that they add very considerably to the grace and charm and beauty of the landscape over which they are dotted. China is indeed a beautiful country, and it only requires the Gospel of Jesus Christ to make her people, too, a fine and a noble race.

We arrived at Tang-Long early in the evening. I was most cordially welcomed by many of the people of the town whom I had known years ago. The Christians, as soon as they had heard of my arrival, assembled at the little chapel, and we had a very pleasant and interesting meeting. Tang-Long is a busy town, and the centre of a very large population, and is well adapted as a Mission station for the surrounding country.

The work here, as in Ming-Ang-Teng, appears to have stood still, no progress having been made in the way of addition to the Church. It is satisfactory, however, to find that it has not gone back. None of the baptized have relapsed, and some of them, I have reason to believe, have made progress in the Christian life. The old man who was the first-fruits to Christ in this place is still alive. He is now very old, and I trust I can say with truth that he is looking forward with faith and peace to the end. The visits of the foreign Missionary to the out-stations are most important. They stir up the catechists and encourage both them and the converts to fresh efforts in the Christian life. There is a

good deal that is deadening and discouraging in the circumstances which surround both the converts and the catechists; and the visits of the Missionary, who will affectionately advise and encourage and sympathize, cannot fail to have a refreshing and enlivening result. Where this thorough sympathy with the native converts does not exist, nothing but disaster to the work in general, and destruction to the faith of individuals in particular, can follow. The Missionary or anybody else, who is determined to pick out faults among these converts, will have very little difficulty in finding many; but if such critics dwell only upon these, they will be doing a great injustice to the character of our converts, and a serious injury to their own faith in the work of Missions. Of course all our native Christians are not what they ought to be, nor what we would wish them to be, nor yet what we hope they will become; but nobody, I think, can deny that they are not what they once had been, and that they are something now that they never were before they joined themselves to Christ. This, unfortunately, has been too often overlooked, and those who attempt to measure men and women just brought out from the darkness of heathenism by the standard of a mature Christianity will be naturally disappointed and of course discouraged.

Many of our Christians here, no doubt, have very great defects, but it is only fair to say that they exhibit also very great excellencies. Let them be judged, then, honestly as a whole, and I am bold to say that our Foo-Chow Christians will compare favourably with even the converts to Christianity in Apostolic days. Their excellencies deserve to be admired as well as their defects to be deplored. We must remember that they are only babes in Christ, and that before they can walk alone we must expect them to have many a stumble. They must be tenderly and affectionately dealt with. Unkind suspicions, harsh judgments, and cold unsympathetic treatment of them will inevitably alienate their affections, and render the efforts of the Missionary lifeless and abortive. But while I urge that allowances be made for our converts, considering their peculiar circumstances and trials, there are some amongst them who would be an honour to any Church, and who need that no apologies be made on their behalf.

Tang-Long is capable of becoming a most important Mission station. It is situated in the centre of a beautiful and extensive valley

which is densely populated. It is the emporium of the surrounding villages. The next day I started for Lo-Nguong, which is about fifty Chinese li, or about seventeen English miles N.W. of Tang-Long. The scenery between these two places is of the same general character as that which I have endeavoured to describe of the country between Lieng-Kong and Tang-Long, only much more wild and romantic. The view, as we approach Lo-Nguong, is really grand and magnificent. The mountains rise wildly up as if they would defy the approach of man, and seem to cast a sort of melancholy shadow all round them, which in some mysterious way appears to communicate itself to the human spirit. I felt its sombre influence as I passed beneath the frown of these towering hills. But the sight of the city of Lo-Nguong stretching away in the distant valley, which suddenly burst upon the vision from an elevated ridge between these mountains, acted like magic in dispelling all my gloomy feelings, and my thoughts were at once occupied with the anticipated pleasure of meeting many dear converts whom I had myself in former years admitted into the Church, and of spending the approaching Sabbath with them in the house of God. I arrived at the city about 4 p.m. The old man, of whose conversion I wrote some years ago, met me at the west gate. He seemed greatly rejoiced at seeing me again; I was equally glad at seeing him. He followed me to the chapel within the city walls. I cannot tell you now all that I had to listen to very patiently from the dear old convert. The sorrows and troubles of years were freely poured into my ears. It seemed an evident relief to the poor old man's mind thus to unburden itself. And it was a privilege to myself to be permitted to be the means of administering some consolation to this old disciple. The falling away of his son seemed to be one of his greatest troubles. The persistent continuation of his wife in heathenism was another great trial which he seemed to feel very much. His son's faithlessness was to myself a very great sorrow, and cast a shade over the otherwise pleasant feelings which I experienced at being again among the dear Christians at Lo-Nguong. In the course of the evening many of the Christians came to welcome me, and I had some very pleasant conversation with some of them. I at once sent for the old man's son. He came about dusk. He expressed pleasure at seeing me back, and asked after the welfare of my wife and children; but

there was absent from his manner towards me the warmth and cordiality and confidence of former days, when we could both kneel down together and pour out our hearts before God. He looked, evidently, sad. I talked to him long and earnestly; I spoke of the happiness of former years when he and I went together through the neighbouring villages telling the people of the love of Jesus. I pointed to the fact that scores of those very villagers who then opposed us, and abused us with bad language, are now faithful followers of Jesus, and regular attendants at the house of God; while he, who was among the first to tell these very people of Christ, had gone back to the wickedness and folly of the world, and never came near the house of prayer. The retrospect was intensely painful to myself. He was reserved, looked pained, rose up, and with a sorrowful accent said, "Good bye, Sing-Sang," and took his departure. He did not visit me again during my stay at Lo-Nguong. His little son, however, is a daily attendant at our school, and regularly accompanies his grandfather to church on Sundays. I still have hopes of the young man, and pray God to give him renewed repentance, that he may be again a comfort to his aged father, and an assistance to the Church in this place. It must be understood here that he has not relapsed into idolatry. He worships no idol, nor takes part in any idolatrous custom; but his conduct is inconsistent, and he does not observe the Sabbath. Gambling is his great besetting sin. How many people at home in Christian lands indulge in this vice, and still, among many of their fellow-men, are looked upon as good Christians! But I trust our Chinese converts will ever be taught and retain higher and purer views of the Christian life. Another of the Lo-Nguong Christians whose conduct has not been what it ought to have been, and who had absented himself from the house of God for months, came of his own accord and told me all. I spoke to him for a long time. He was quite softened, and cried bitterly before he left. I trust they were tears of repentance which he shed, and that in future his character and conduct will correspond to his profession. Thus this first evening spent at Lo-Nguong was one of mixed feelings to myself—joy and sorrow, hopes and fears blending together. Joy and hope predominated, and the accounts which I received from the catechist Tang in the stillness of the night, when all had either departed or retired to rest, cheered and en-

couraged me very much. I lay down to rest, I trust with a joyful and a thankful heart for the glorious prospect which I believed I could see in the not very far distant day of this whole nation flocking into the Church of Christ. "Behold, they shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land Sinim." I had a quiet, comfortable night's rest, till the bright rays of the Sabbath morning's sun flashed into my little room and aroused me. Breakfast was soon ready, but ere I could sit down to it, the hall was filled with the Christians who flocked in from the country to Divine worship. With great difficulty I got through breakfast. The dear people evidently were over-excited with joy. One would persist in sitting close by me, and, while I was eating, whispered into my ear from time to time how he longed for my return, and how pleased he was to see me. Another would stand behind me and tell me of a dream which he had, and in which he saw me standing by his bedside. Others would interrupt and sorrowfully ask why I looked so careworn and thin in the face. Another ventured to say he knew the cause—viz. that I had to leave my young children behind in England, and that this was enough to make me sorrowful. Then a flood of inquiries from all sides about the dear children; if I left them with friends who would be kind to them and love them. Some time ago these poor people heard a rumour that I was not coming back again to China, and they immediately wrote a memorial to the Bishop in England to send me back again to them, and it was signed by themselves and, as they informed me, by all the Christians. This was the first I had heard of this memorial; but whether it was ever presented to the Bishop in England I cannot say. They seemed quite surprised that I had heard nothing about it. These and a thousand other little marks of attention and of welcome convinced me that these dear people were glad to see me, and I am not ashamed to say that I feel proud of their affection towards me. As they stood around me this Sabbath morning, like a flock of children looking for some words of recognition from me, I felt happy beyond expression at the assurance that our labours here have not been in vain. About 200 assembled in the church for morning service. The Rev. Wong read the prayers. I preached from the parable of the prodigal son. The devotion and the attention of this congregation was very great.

There was nothing to be desired in this respect. The harmony of the singing was sadly defective, but the heartiness with which the entire congregation joined in singing was deeply encouraging. I am sorry to say that there is no place for the women in the new church. There are about fifty women in connexion with this congregation, but as most of the members live out in the country their women cannot attend the church in the city, even if there was suitable accommodation for them in it. The catechist's wife is exerting herself among the women, but she has to ride several miles to visit them in their own villages. She has service for them now once a week in the village of Sing-Chuo, where about thirty of them meet together. The great, the pressing difficulty which now presents itself to us is how are we to meet the wants of the women in religious instruction. The men can and do walk long distances to church, but the women cannot do this with their crippled and deformed feet. We want a band of native female catechists, and until we can get these we can do very little for the instruction of the women. Is it not worth the Committee's while to consider some plan which would assist us in female education? Most of our catechists are single men, and this in a variety of ways is a great drawback to their usefulness. We have very few women in our Mission who are capable of teaching others, even if they had the time to devote themselves to such a work.

Most of the congregation remained for afternoon service, though many of them had miles to travel to their homes afterwards. The Rev. Wong again read, and I preached. Between the services I had a meeting for catechizing the children. Many of the adults attended and seemed to enjoy it much, and I have no doubt derived as much benefit from it, and probably more benefit, than from an ordinary sermon. Great praise is due to the faithful and well-tried catechist Tang, who has charge of this station, and nothing would rejoice me more than to see him ordained to the sacred office of the ministry. He is not a man of deep classical learning, but he is well acquainted with his Bible, and can read it in his own colloquial tongue. He is also not destitute of a fair knowledge of classic character. He is highly respected by the heathen gentlemen of the city, many of whom have presented him with complimentary scrolls *à la mode Chinois*. He is also loved and respected by the Christians, and he is a man of sound sense and good judgment. I

hope and trust the Lo-Nguong Christians will be able shortly to contribute considerably towards his salary as a clergyman. We are now making an effort to get all the Christians to feel their responsibility in self-support.

The following morning I started for the village of A-Chia, which is about seventeen or eighteen English miles west of Lo-Nguong. I arrived there before dark. The scenery along the way is very romantic and beautiful, of the same general characteristics as the country from Lieng-Kong to Lo-Nguong, only, if anything different, more wild and rugged. (See "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for an account of A-Chia when it was first opened as an out-station of the Society.)* The village is buried away amongst a series of very high mountains, which as you approach the village are covered with bamboos and a large variety of flowering bushes and gigantic trees. The village itself is, like the ordinary run of Chinese villages, badly built, badly drained, and intolerably filthy. If it be true that "cleanliness is next to godliness," then the Chinese are very far removed from godliness. Even with the Christians it is difficult to make them understand this, and to get them into habits of cleanliness about their houses. As the bamboo plant is very plentiful on these hills, the inhabitants of A-Chia manufacture a large quantity of paper, which they send to Lo-Nguong and Foo-Chow, which is from thence exported to all parts of the empire. Many of our Christians here are paper manufacturers, but not exclusively such, for they also till their fields and attend to all sorts of farming business. They make the paper at the season when there is not much work to be done in the fields, so that there need be no idle hands, and really no absolute distress. As soon as I had arrived, the greater number of the Christians came together to see me. They are very anxious to get their church built, and when I told them that the Christians in England had sent them sufficient help to finish it, accompanied with many kind messages and wishes for their welfare, they were delighted beyond measure, and have determined on sending a letter of thanks and acknowledgment, which I hope to translate and send you to be printed in one of the Society's periodicals, that all who subscribed towards the church may read it for themselves. They have selected a more appropriate site than the one they had at first

given, and I hope in a very short time to see the little church standing upon it, testifying to the Chinese Christians of the love and the sympathy of English Christians towards them. They have procured sufficient timber themselves, which is considerably more than the sum which they originally subscribed. The great part of the labour, too, they have undertaken to supply. I regret that greater progress has not been made in the way of additions to the Church, but as there has been no falling away, we must be thankful, and hope for better things to come. There are, however, several inquirers, and the prospect looks bright. The graduate who gave the site is still with us, attending all the services and prayer-meetings; and though he has not openly confessed his faith in Christ, he has made it known to his wife, who bids fair to outstrip him in the Christian race. Christianity is now well known amongst these mountaineers, and many villages round about have those in them who know and love the Saviour. The graduate has promised that as soon as the church is built, himself and his wife and children will openly join themselves to Christ by baptism. This morning, as I went through the village, many of the heathen rushed out to greet me, and expressed themselves very pleased to see me back again. We had a very large meeting, comparatively, in the evening. All the Christians were present, and I explained to them all that I had done in England to advocate the cause of Missions in China, and in particular all that I had said of them, and the ready help that was given me for them. They seemed very much amused and astonished with my account of the large meeting at Exeter Hall last year, and of my speech there in the evening. The dear friends in England who subscribed towards their contemplated church were commended to God at our prayer-meeting, and many blessings invoked upon them and their families. Next morning after breakfast I walked over the hills, west of A-Chia, accompanied by the catechist, to visit the little congregation at Sang-Kaik-Iong. I was warmly received, and a dinner was at once prepared for me by the Christians. The male members of this little band of Christians attend the services at A-Chia, but the women cannot walk so far. The catechist therefore comes as often as he can on Sunday evenings, and conducts service in the village. After visiting the houses of the Christians and holding service at one of them, we returned to A-Chia, and the same afternoon crossed over

* Vol. for 1867, p. 283.

the steep hills eastwards, and visited the Sieu-Hung Church. We arrived before dark, and as the Christians were expecting me, many of them came a long way over the mountain to meet me. For several minutes, there was nothing but greetings and congratulations on the part of the brethren on my safe arrival among them. Sieu-Hung is a small village situated high up among the mountains, about seven or eight English miles west of Lo-Nguong. The scenery all around is very grand and romantic, but the people are very poor, and their dwellings very wretched and filthy. The Gospel was carried to this village some years ago by one of the Lo-Nguong Christians, and very soon a little congregation was gathered out, and from their earnestness and zeal bid fair to increase into large numbers. During the last years, however, no additions have been made. They expressed themselves to me very much discouraged from causes which need not be mentioned here, but the recital of which pains me to the heart. It is, however, encouraging to find that none of the original members have left the Church. I hope and trust now that things look brighter, and that we may soon see additions to the numbers of disciples in all these regions. We need much of your earnest and constant prayers. In the evening, after supper, we had a very fair congregation in the little chapel, and on the whole I was encouraged. The interest which was once excited in some of the adjoining villages to this place has to a very great extent disappeared, especially in the once interesting village of Tong-a. There are still two or three here who have some desire after Christ.

Early next morning the Christians again assembled, and we had together a long consultation about future plans and proceedings. The morning sun shone out beautifully over these magnificent mountains, and very soon the hoar-frost, which covered like a grey mantle the valleys beneath, was dissipated by its heating rays. The ponds, too, and pools of water were covered with sheets of thin ice—an extraordinary rare thing in the region of Foo-Chow-Foo. After breakfast we returned to Lo-Nguong, and from thence proceeded direct north to the deeply-interesting villages of Ki-po and Sing-Chuo. These villages, with groups of others, are situated in a long, narrow vale between a range of mountains, and about four English miles north of Lo-Nguong. A meandering stream runs murmuring

through the heart of the valley, which is richly and beautifully cultivated with wheat, barley, rice, and a large variety of Chinese vegetables. It is also plentifully studded with the plum, the peach, the li-che, the quava, the ling-yian, the orange, and other fruit-trees, which add charm to the plain, and afford covering to the many birds which are heard warbling on their branches. It is a deeply-interesting view. But to me, as a Christian Missionary, there was something much more deeply interesting and important than mere natural scenery. Almost the entire village of Sing-Chuo turned out to welcome me. I was surrounded with about sixty or seventy Christians, who were either already baptized, or candidates preparing for baptism. On entering the village they conducted me to a large house, where I found upwards of twenty women assembled in a prayer-meeting conducted by Mrs. Lo-Tang, the wife of the Lo-Nguong catechist. It was deeply encouraging to me to witness the anxiety of the men for the instruction of their women in the Christian faith. After this I was led on to another house, which has been given up by the owners as a meeting-place for Christian worship. About three years and a half ago I baptized about sixteen individuals in this little village, and these have ever since been like the leaven working on the mass, till now nearly the whole is leavened with the light of Christian truth. This year it was determined that there should be no idolatrous procession to the village temple, and no offerings to the great idol. When the time arrived for this usual idolatrous carnival, a few of the heathen tried to carry out this time-honoured custom of their religion. Such, however, was the utter indifference manifested by all in the ceremony that it was a complete failure, and for the first time in the history of Sing-Chuo, an idolatrous service which at one time was bound up with its very existence, and the neglect of which, it was believed, would bring down inevitable calamity and dire misfortune, was suspended, never again, I hope and trust, to be resumed. Now, when I remember that four years ago, in this very place the Christians were threatened with death, and many of them received bodily injury because they refused to support or take part in this very ceremony, I cannot help exulting and exclaiming, "What hath God wrought?"

(To be continued.)

ON RECENT GOVERNMENT EXPEDITIONS TO FALABA AND TIMBO.

So much interest is just now concentrated upon Africa, that although we recently took up at considerable length, and with most profound interest, some of the questions affecting the welfare of the Negro race, we make no apology for recurring to the subject. Just as from time to time we see new planets "swimming into ken," so now Africa, after having been for so many years looked upon as a huge barracoon, in which slaves were stored up to be exported with every circumstance of brutality as they might be wanted, is coming forward among the nations of the earth and vindicating her claim to a position in their midst. In this we rejoice, and would gladly do all in our power to help her sons to that position to which by industry, by ability, by morality, by a true profession of Christianity they may become entitled. We cannot, and we will not, side with the doctrinaires and political economists, who would not for a moment scruple to encourage the extirpation of the negro by the introduction of alien races. Nor would we sympathize with that mistaken kindness which would foster and encourage evil institutions which have been at the root of the sufferings of Africa, because now, by the lapse of ages, they have become identified with the customs and with the feelings of the people. Such, for instance, are polygamy and domestic slavery. It is quite reasonable that the removal of them should be prudently conducted, and accomplished by the diffusion of light and truth instead of violent means. But he is no true friend of the negro race, be he European or be he African, who would extenuate either these or any kindred evils, and who would not exert all his influence to the uttermost for the removal of them. In such an effort, of course, the most influential agents must be the superior intellects amongst the negroes themselves. When they have once risen to the consciousness that every one who treads the soil of Africa ought to be a freeman as much as he who treads that of England or America, there will be hope for the future of Africa. There can be none so long as it continues to be "*the land where slaves dwell.*" It matters not that their taskmasters may be their own kith and kin. It matters not that the condition is one of immemorial usage. When the last negro apologist for domestic slavery dies out, and the intellects and the hearts of her ablest sons are set upon the liberty of their brethren, we shall hail with great joy the dawn of hope for Africa.

It is because we have this great question deeply at heart that we cannot sympathize with the recent utterance of Mr. Bright, who would have Englishmen withdraw from Africa, and merely frequent the coasts to trade with those who offered for the produce of the land. The result of such a proceeding would be, we feel well assured, a speedy return to the barbarism and ignorance which have during so many ages exerted a baleful influence throughout the continent. Whatever may be the innate powers of the negro race, and we entertain a high opinion of them, the extent of civilization is yet too circumscribed, and the number of enlightened Africans too small, to withdraw such fostering care as England can afford. We believe that, even in the interests of commerce, there is a fallacy in Mr. Bright's argument which would speedily manifest itself to the confusion of those who might be misled by it. For the development of commerce peace and security are needed: these are just the elements which never at any period of her history have had an existence in Africa. The conflicts which have crimsoned her soil with the blood of her sons may have been as inglorious and as unknown as "the battles of kites and crows" of which Milton speaks, but they have not been the less deadly and the less ruinous. In the days of the Oceanic Slave Trade they may have been aggravated by the stimulus given to avarice, but they were in full existence previously, and are still exercising injurious influence throughout the land. With commerce,

however, we have no concern except in so far as it may be subservient to the progress of Christianity and the regeneration of Africa. In this point of view, so far from withdrawing from the country, we fervently trust that there will still be preserved centres where the interests of religion and education may find a safe shelter, and from which enlightened men may be sent forth, when duly trained and fitted for their high responsibilities, as bearers of light to their countrymen now sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. How little commerce, apart from Christianity, is likely to promote the welfare of Africa may be gathered from the fact that at Bonny, where for a lengthened period European traders had carried on trade with the natives, human sacrifices were continually practised—not, perhaps, in their presence, but it is hard to imagine that it could have been without their knowledge. When people have goods to dispose of, they are not very forward or willing to offend their customers.

So far, therefore, for withdrawing from Africa, even while this most unfortunate Ashantee war is raging, our thoughts, quite apart from commercial speculations, and still further from any idea of territorial aggrandisement, would, for the weal of Africa and the glory of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, tend quite in the opposite direction. We would gladly, if we could, multiply the number of true Christian men, who from love to souls would go forth into that distracted land, and show her sons a more excellent way than they have yet learned. But if, as experience has taught us so far, the difficulties are so formidable as well nigh to be insurmountable by the foreigner, we turn to the sons of Africa, and would place before them a grand and by no means visionary object, upon which to expend the noblest energies they possess.

There is now in Africa a Native Church. Despite the insinuations of Mr. Pope Hennessy it has an existence, and numbers able and intelligent men amongst its members. It has, too, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, proved that it has within it the elements of a Missionary Church. The operations carried on up the river Niger testify not only to the power, but also to the willingness of Africans to exert themselves for the spiritual and moral regeneration of their race. But the Missionaries up the Niger are not the only representatives of Africa who might be ambassadors for Christ to their fellow-countrymen. We feel assured that in Sierra Leone, and in the ranks of the Native Church, others might be found well qualified for such a task. It is our conviction also that such efforts would be most conducive to an increase of spiritual life in the Church at Sierra Leone itself. When we look back into the history of the past we can discover an incident, not without wholesome instruction, although the cases are in all respects not exactly parallel. In the early days of Christianity there was founded on the shores of Africa a Church at Carthage. It was founded like that at Sierra Leone by foreigners. For a period it flourished. But it was not in Africa at any rate a Missionary Church. The tribes in the interior were untouched by its efforts. Its strength was consumed in internal dissensions and furious struggles, the memory of which has reached even to our own time. When its hour of trial came, its vitality was already exhausted; and not a memorial of it has survived in the land where it arose. We trust that such may not be the future of the Church in Sierra Leone; but that, on the contrary, from it there may be sounded out the Word of God, and that in every place its faith to Godward may be spread abroad.

But how is this to be accomplished? When Christianity was first promulgated it was at the period when the empire of Rome had extended itself through the habitable world. That power may have been more mighty in some places than in others, in some regions perhaps very imperfectly recognized; but still it was not without its influence in almost every spot where Christ was preached. It was under the influence of the peace and security which the arms of Rome had procured, in what was then the

civilized world, that Christianity won her earliest triumphs. There were serious dangers to be encountered by the messengers of the Churches; but in the main they went upon their Missions with reasonable confidence of safety and protection, through lands where some kind of law and order existed. Their lives were often in jeopardy from sudden tumults; but as we gather from the Acts of the Apostles, there was a certain extent of security for life and limb, and protection was often extended to them. There was at any rate peace among the nations through which they journeyed, and so far there was preparation for the Gospel of peace; for, as it is well known, it was when there was peace in the world, and the gates of war were closed, that the Son of Man came.

In order, therefore, that there should be a reasonable prospect of success for the ambassadors of Christ in Africa now, there should be a probability that there will be some amount of protection afforded them. If the land was at peace; if every man was eating of his vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and every one drinking the waters of his own cistern, they could go forth with joy and confidence. But the reverse is notoriously the case. The internal feuds among the tribes have ever been so deadly and so unceasing that there has been no peace and no security. "The highways have been unoccupied, and the travellers have walked through by-ways; there has been the noise of archers in the places of drawing water." Beyond the limits where British or some other foreign influence has extended, there have been constant hostilities and discordant interests, leading to constantly recurring outbreaks similar to those which have now affected us, and involved us in the present most unsatisfactory war. To England in large measure has been given the power once exercised by Imperial Rome. In many regions that influence is paramount, and order reigns in lands which have been for ages the prey of tumult and insecurity. In others that influence is not so great, but still it exists, and, judiciously exerted, exercises marked control. This is the case in Africa, and we are glad whenever we see it exerted beneficially. We would deprecate, as earnestly as Mr. Bright himself probably would, any attempt at risking the lives of Europeans in unhealthy regions in the interior of Africa, far from material support, and exposing them to risks which would have to be avenged by the sword. But without such attempts, from occasional Missions and official conferences much good may result, if only through the advantage accruing from personal intercourse and friendly negotiations. In this way very legitimate and useful relations may be established with tribes in the interior, and openings may be made for the entrance of the Gospel of Christ, with all its elevating and civilizing influences. The consciousness in the minds of native chieftains that the Missionaries are under the protection of the same power which has opened up communications with them, and from which they derive many benefits, is an advantage not to be despised. It is true that they still would have to go forward at their own risk among their heathen fellow-countrymen, but that risk is largely diminished, although the support they have is moral, and neither is nor will be material. Instead of going forth as men unknown and unaccredited, even from the languages they speak, and the manners and customs with which they are familiar, they have some guarantee for safety when dwelling among those who know whence such advantages are derived. It is, therefore, with considerable interest that we have perused accounts of efforts made by our Governors on the Western Coast of Africa to establish friendly relations with the tribes in the interior. These attempts have, at any rate recently, originated with Sir Arthur Kennedy, who seems to have been an enlightened and able administrator during his tenure of office. In the year 1871 he sent out a Mission, which was entrusted to a Mr. Blyden, a negro originally from America and Liberia, but who had taken refuge in Sierra Leone. In many respects Mr. Blyden seems to have dis-

charged his duties with considerable ability, although, as it will be apparent, we may not be able to coincide with some of the views which he has suggested. It had originally been intended that his first expedition to Falaba should set out from Port Loko on the Little Scarcies river in the Timni country. But here at the very outset there were difficulties arising from the unsettled state of the country, and it became necessary to adopt another route. Accordingly an attempt was made to reach Falaba by the Great Scarcies river. The expedition accordingly set out for Kambia, a town of some considerable importance on the Great Scarcies. Here all was likewise in confusion. The incidents are so characteristic of the lawlessness and anarchy arising out of the evils to which we have already adverted, that we reproduce the account of them. It would seem that about twenty-seven years ago a man named Bilâli, a native of the Kissey country, but at the time a slave among the Soosos, ran away from his master, Almany Alamineh, now residing at Kukuluh. Being a man of considerable energy of character, he founded a settlement between the Soosoo and Limba countries, to which fugitive slaves have ever since resorted. The accessions have been so numerous, that, as the Report expresses it, there has sprung up a powerful party, and among a large portion of the servile population there has been aroused "not only a devotion to the idea of liberty at any price, but a strong attachment to himself and a hatred for all who hold slaves." On the other hand, the Mohammedan slave-holding chieftains in the vicinity have formed a league against him, but are powerless to crush him. In Kambia itself, the chief men of which are Mohammedans, party feeling runs so high that nothing but the presence of European and Sierra Leone traders keeps it within bounds. From the foregoing recital it will be manifest that, notwithstanding what is urged on behalf of domestic slavery as almost an aboriginal custom in Africa, the negroes, when they can, revolt against it and flee from it. Such a fact, even if it stood alone, would demolish any amount of special pleading which might be urged in its behalf. There is not everywhere a Bilâli to raise the standard of revolt, and to interpose his power as a shield for the fugitive slave; but who will say that there is not everywhere the oppression and the innate love of freedom which would make the oppressed seek for liberty if he had the prospect and the power of obtaining it? The first demand made by the Mohammedan chiefs upon Mr. Blyden, as for the nonce the representative of the Queen of England, was that he would enlist the support of the British Government to crush Bilâli, and break up the asylum which he had founded. Upon this our quasi envoy remarks that there "must be concession on both sides!" The Soosoo and Timmany chiefs must agree to make no demands upon him in the future for the surrender of their fugitive slaves, and he, Bilâli, should agree to encourage no more slaves to resort to his asylum. It occurs to Mr. Blyden, however, that "this is a very difficult subject to be handled by a Government, all of whose dealings with uncivilized tribes are based upon anti-slavery principles." We should think so.

It may be well just to notice that it was at this place, Kambia, that Governor Hennesy, on a subsequent visit, was so delighted with the industry of the population.* As he could not, when at Kambia, have been ignorant of Bilâli, and of the relations in which the Soosoo and Timmany chiefs stood to slavery, which must have been brought under his notice from their over-eagerness to enlist British sympathy and support, his gratification can only be compared to that of a planter in Jamaica in the old days before Emancipation, or of a driver on a Virginian estate before the war of Secession. We quote a passage from a report made to the Church Missionary Society in 1865, by one of the

* "That this (the indisposition to take to agriculture) is not owing to any inherent faults in the negro race is shown by a visit to the interior. The whole of the country round Kambia is well tilled by a hard-working population, who may be seen leaving the town at daybreak every morning for the adjacent farms."—"Journal of the Society of Arts," p. 444.

Native Clergymen (the Rev. G. Nicol), whom Mr. Hennessy so deservedly extols. It is from the account of his visit made to Kambia that year, and will explain both the secret of the strength of Biláli, and of the pleasing spectacle afforded by Mohammedan task-masters and negro slaves, which so refreshed her Majesty's representative.

In the course of the week's journey, whilst on our way for Ma Lökkoh, we met with two unfortunate youths, tied most cruelly with ropes round the neck, and hands behind to their backs. Upon inquiring what they did, the leaders of the one whom we first met said that their prisoner had made his escape from their home and master, and, being discovered, they went to take him back; but the conductor of the other, having nothing in particular to say, his prisoner candidly answered, "I am not a slave, but they intend to make me one." He showed me that he came from Port Lökkoh to a town in this country; and when he knew that the people of the place had combined together to have him sold, he left them to go elsewhere. But they went after and caught him; and "now," he said, "they are carrying me whither I know not." He was unwilling, too, to go farther, and threw himself on my protection, which, when his leader saw, he pulled him so violently after him, that the unhappy man fell down

to the ground, and he was dragged along without the least pity. I was much moved at the sight, but seeing I have no authority to take him, or do anything to release the sufferer, I advised him to submit, and go with his leader, whom I begged to take him to the king, and desired him to exercise fellow-feeling, and treat him kindly. At my return, I spoke to the king about it; but he assured me he never knew anything about it. I doubt not he is sold. This existing evil, which is in constant practice by the natives, and even by a Sierra-Leone man here, too, who is in affinity with the king, whose sister he married, is another barrier to the progress of Christianity. Until the Lord be pleased to remove these obstructions, the Gospel among us will be retarded in its course. I pray the Lord to hasten His work, and make the time speedily to arrive when His Word shall have free course, run, and be glorified ("Church Missionary Record," 1865, p. 20).

We may hope that Mr. Hennessy contented himself with the distribution of swords and Korans without producing upon the minds of the Mohammedan chiefs at Kambia the impression left upon King Docemo at Lagos, under which (according to Mr. Hutchinson's letter to the *Record*) that potentate, living in British territory, proceeded to seize and deliver up escaped slaves. Such acts, however, we feel assured, will not meet with sanction or approval from the people of England.

It had been the object of Sir Arthur Kennedy to enlist the sympathies of the chieftains in the interior on the side of law and order by a distribution of stipends—in short, the payment of a species of black mail—if they would keep the roads open and facilitate the requirements of commerce. In discussing this subject Mr. Blyden reveals another source of the miseries of Africa. Whatever might be the wishes of the kings, they are surrounded by "refractory individuals" called "warriors, who are the chief sources and fomentors of disorder." According to him, they never lose an opportunity of pillaging the weak, and are ever ready to encourage confusion in the country, which gives them a chance of plunder. "Very often," he adds, "the king is helpless to control or check the predatory practices of these robbers, and is in consequence exposed to the censure of being unfaithful to his engagements." All this, translated into plain English, means that the interior of Africa is in a state of complete anarchy, in which might tyrannizes over right, and freedom and order are unknown.

The remedy which Mr. Blyden suggests is the stationing Government Agents, who, at the request of the chiefs, should arrest these "warriors," and send them to Freetown for imprisonment with or without hard labour. It might, however, happen that they would not go; and if they would not, where the king is helpless, we do not see how they are to be sent. This is, however, a political, not a religious, problem.

After a somewhat protracted stay in Kambia, Mr. Blyden proceeded to Kukuna, in the Soosoo country, E.N.E. of Kambia. Hardly any travellers were met with; and the

condition of the country through which the expedition passed was deplorable, the result "of a war which had lasted during a whole generation," kept up "by determined (Mohammedan) slave-holders in the vain hope of reducing to servitude a man to whom there is no equal in the country for military prowess, tact, and ability." He adds that every day the Soosoo power is growing weaker, and Bilâli's increasing in strength—slaves flocking to his standard every day. Mr. Blyden seems to have dealt judiciously with Almany Mumineh, the chieftain of Kukuna, whom he describes as reduced to extreme poverty by the war, plundered also by his own warriors. He pointed out to the king the miserable condition to which his people had been reduced during a war of thirty years, "during which they had not known one day of peace," and with a constant fear of invasion deterring them from all industrial pursuits. When Mumineh urged how hard it was to expect him to make peace with his own revolted slave, who was constantly decoying away not only his slaves but also his wives, and complained of the British Government for not helping him to reduce Bilâli, Mr. Blyden explained that it was hopeless (this was before the days of Mr. Pope Hennessy) to expect the British Government to assist him in recovering fugitive slaves; but that if he would cease from his aggressive pro-slavery policy, and make known his pacific resolutions so that trade would be no longer obstructed, no doubt the Governor would enter into treaty with him. In reply, Mumineh said that, if the Governor would go to Kambia, he would be willing to go thither to arrange his difficulties with Bilâli, and shake hands with him.

We have reproduced the substance of this despatch because it gives a lively idea of the deplorable condition of the interior of Africa, and the causes from which it arises; also because it suggests how British influence can be beneficially exerted. It also places before us what an opening there would be for men with the spirit and ability of Bishop Crowther to go among their countrymen, aided, as they would be, by the prestige of superior civilization and more exalted feelings. He would indeed be a benefactor to Africa, who, without the sword and without the Koran, would go forth, clad in the whole armour of God, and, with the message of peace and reconciliation on his lips, would preach and teach among them Jesus Christ. Even if a settled Mission could not be established, yet itinerancy might be quite practicable, and not without blessed results, at any rate as a preliminary measure. We commend the suggestion earnestly, not only to the Church Missionary Society, but more especially to the Native Church in Sierra Leone. Means we feel assured would not be wanting if the men would come forward and offer themselves with the same readiness and self-devotion which animated the early teachers of Christianity.

From Kukuna the expedition made its way to Ganjah, forty-five miles to the north-east, and about a hundred from Kambia, crossing the Great Scarcies river. The last town in the territory of Alumineh was Kufuna, which had once been a considerable place, but was reduced to insignificance, but is now being rapidly rebuilt. They were now beyond the reach of the Bilâli war. Ganjah is described as a town of moderate size, presided over by a Mohammedan named Seyyer Suri. The country between Kambia and Ganjah is said to be mostly rich prairie land, with luxuriant herbage and an ample supply of timber. Mr. Blyden describes it as well suited for the production of sugar-cane, coffee, ginger, and arrow-root. Ground-nuts, guinea-corn, beni-seed, and rice are cultivated in large quantities. Fruits and vegetables are abundant. He passed through prairies where thousands of cattle might easily feed and fatten. The people assured him that with little labour they could grow almost anything. But there were no markets. There was war, and there was slavery. Iron ore of the greatest purity is found throughout this region. Mr. Blyden suggests a railroad, and expatiates on the vast commercial results which would accrue. Such a scheme might be practicable if,

instead of slaves and warriors, there were schools and Missionaries; if, instead of bloodshed and anarchy, there were law and order; if, instead of Mohammedanism, there were Christianity.

No sooner were they freed from the fear of the Biláli war than the expedition in their further progress had to anticipate difficulties from the Hooboos, renegade Foulahs, who were in a state of chronic rebellion against the King of Timbo. From Ganjah the expedition proceeded to Sumata, a town about thirty-two miles to the eastward, at the source of the Great Scarcies, having on their right Sumaya, a town of great influence. About sixteen miles east of Sumata they crossed the Little Scarcies. The next halt was at Yembreh, where they were kindly received by the chief. The town was in great commotion, as a caravan which was proceeding to the coast had been attacked by a large body of Hooboos; several had been killed, the women captured, and all the goods plundered. The fight had lasted five days.

As a further instance of the evils under which Africa labours, and as a specimen of the mode in which what Mr. Pope Hennessy calls the "Mohammedan clergy" extend their religion, it may be convenient to give some account of the Hooboos. They are Mohammedans having some knowledge of letters; but, as Mr. Blyden says, they find no scope for their energies in their own country. They are nomadic in their habits, and their sole peaceful employment is breeding and growing cattle. Their allegiance is professedly due to the King of Timbo, but they are a terror to the country. For years past they have been endeavouring to get possession of the Soolimah country, of which Falaba is the capital, on account of its agricultural capacities and commercial importance—the trade from Mandingo, Seracoulie, and Sangara countries passing through it. For this end, the people of Falaba being pagans, they have been preaching a jihad,* and enlisting in what Mr. Blyden justly terms "their horrible service" all the zealous Mohammedan youth in the country. A regular system of brigandage and plunder has been organized against those whom they are pleased to term the enemies of Islam, accompanied "by deeds which disgrace humanity." The origin of these fanatics is thus described by Mr. Blyden:—

In the year 1854 an ambitious man of considerable learning, named Mohammed Juhe, a resident of the town of Lamiah, in the diwán of Ganimayo, unwilling to recognize the exclusive right of the Saeed-Yankeh family to the throne, succeeded in impressing a large number of people with the idea that he was a Waleeu.† He announced his purpose to form a separate community, to be devoted to the service of God, and to live more in accordance with the rigid precepts of the Koran. The Government of the day, under Alimami Omaru, at first contented itself with maintaining an attitude of simple

protest against the proceedings of Juhe—a protest, however, which, as he was supposed to be a Waleeu, was of the feeblest kind. And even when—after certain acts of violence which he committed upon Fulah towns—the Government openly and strongly repudiated his pretensions as a sacred teacher, it was difficult to convince the masses that Juhe was not moved from on high; and many, for a long time, could not decide whether he was a brigand or an insurgent—whether he was in command of a band of robbers or of religious partisans. In the meanwhile, he prosecuted his work with desperate energy, alleging against the Government neglect of the precepts of the Koran, and indifference to the traditions of the faith. He thus enjoyed the advantage of combining disaffection to an apparently negligent Government with active hatred of infidels. His enterprise would certainly have been nipped in the bud if the fanatical hatred of pagans entertained by the majority of the

† One called of God, and endowed with special gifts to exercise authority in ecclesiastical and sometimes political matters, inferior in official rank—according to the estimation of African Muslims—only to a prophet. Such men have, from time to time, I learn, arisen among the African Mohammedans, and have carried out important reforms in Church and State.

* "Jihad"—a religious war.

Fulahs had not, in a great degree, neutralized the sentiment of loyalty which was called to operate against a man who seemed to them the embodiment of one of the most potent principles of their faith—if a sentiment which had deep hold upon the masses had not been on the same side with certain convictions, or rather certain ostensible motives which influenced the disaffected few. Military expeditions sent against him, therefore, were unsuccessful. The doubt which the Government troops entertained as to his true character was thrown in his favour.

On the death of Jube, a few years ago, his son Abal, the present chief of the Hooboos, succeeded him. Inheriting the ambition, zeal, and energy of his father, he has persisted in refusing submission to the authorities at Timbo. He has established himself in a border district between Timbo and Falaba, claimed by both kingdoms, consisting of thick forests, some pasture grounds and precipitous highlands, on the almost inaccessible summits of which he has built his towns, and from which he makes sallies against Falaba and caravans passing that

way. He has raised the standard of warfare against pagans and all Muslims who do not agree with his predatory method of subjugating the pagans to the faith of Islam; and to carry out his notion of propagating the faith, he resorts to every possible measure to weaken and destroy pagan towns of influence, even when in his attacks he injures Muslims. Thus, in the warfare which, for several years, he has waged against Falaba, the capital of Soolima, the most powerful pagan State in this part of Africa, he has found it necessary to injure its traffic by plundering all traders, whether Muslims or pagans, whose intercourse with Falaba would add to the importance of the State. The Mandingoes and Seracoulies, the most active traders from the east, though Muslims, have often suffered from his crusading energy.

It is said that whenever he approaches to attack a town, his whole army engage in deliberate prayer, going through all the inclinations and prostrations in sight of the enemy, after which they make a most furious onset, charging often upon forces three times their number with irresistible effect.

Those who are conversant with the history of Mohammedanism and the nature of the tenets inculcated by the religion of the false prophet will be at no loss to understand how readily such fierce fanatics, during the space of a thousand years, have imposed the yoke of their creed upon the uncivilized and unenlightened tribes of Africa. The wonder is that the progress has not been greater, rather than that it has been so great. He must have strange ideas of Christianity in any form who would directly or indirectly attempt any measure which would sanction or encourage the extension of this false and ferocious creed.

From Yembereh, under the guidance of the king himself to insure their safety, the expedition proceeded to Dubayah, a town twelve miles farther east. Here they halted six days while news was being obtained concerning the Hooboos. Ten miles south-east from Dubayah they crossed another branch of the Little Scarcies flowing in a westerly direction, and, after travelling more than fifty miles through a hilly and dreary region, they entered the Soolima country. As this part was infested by the Hooboos, they pushed on rapidly till they reached Kamalafi, a Limba town, as Mr. Blyden describes it, "a fit retreat for robbers and banditti." The king is in league with Abal, the chief of the Hooboos: he was startled at their arrival, but received them kindly, and, assuring them that nothing would molest the expedition, sent his son to clear the road before them. From Kamalafi they went on to Bayendeyah, another Limba town, also in league with the Hooboos, where they were received with great coldness. No cola-nuts were presented to them in token of welcome, and no carriers could be procured, so that the baggage had to be left until help could be procured from the Falaba country. At length, "after a great deal of perplexity, suffering, and expense," the expedition reached Falaba on the fortieth day after leaving Kambia. At Falaba they were heartily welcomed, and received with all possible honour, although, as the king was in daily expectation of an attack from the Hooboos, he could not do much to make their sojourn agreeable.

It may be interesting here to present to our readers the views of Mr. Blyden as to

the general condition of the country which he had traversed. Proceeding as they do from a highly intelligent negro who has himself had ample access to culture in America, and who surveys his countrymen from the standpoint of a civilization, which curiously enough he sneers at, they will deservedly carry weight. After dwelling upon the extortions which were practised upon him by the chiefs, through whose territories he passed, he proceeds to say, "The people are as a rule besotted pagans, entirely at large even from the influence of Mohammedanism. Indolence has long been their habit. They live altogether by the labour of their slaves, and by extorting heavy taxes from the poor interior traders. The ordinary instincts of human nature which suggest plans for growth and improvement have not been developed in them. They have existed for ages under conditions incompatible with human progress. . . . They suffer from the usual evils which attend in any extensive system of slave-holding. All their work is done by slaves. Their agriculture is confined to the most fertile portions of land, and vast districts, becoming, under the deteriorating effects of their industry and negligent and unskilled labour, constantly larger, are wholly surrendered to nature and become wildernesses. . . . These tracts thus abandoned become the resorts of hordes of robbers from the many towns, who, too poor to keep slaves, and altogether averse from the restraints of settled labour, give themselves up to the precarious and atrocious practices of the wilderness. They are the common enemies of the peaceful and industrious people in the interior, and it would certainly not be interfering unduly in the domestic affairs of the country to employ energetic measures to suppress these robbers." He adds, moreover, "Any measures that will tend to promote and preserve peace in that country, unfetter the operations of trade and agriculture, give peace to thousands of homes which have never known it, deserve all the attention of a sound statesmanship and a true philanthropy."

The expedition returned by what is called the Port Lokko route through Koranko, a country to the west of Falaba, of which Caballa is the capital. Thence through the extensive Limbo country. Mr. Blyden describes the towns there as robber fastnesses built on difficult and scarcely-accessible highlands, and protected by the cover of thick forests. He says of the people that they are savage and inhospitable, addicted to robbery and freebooting, and are in league with the Hooboos. Without the active interference of the King of Falaba, it would have been almost impossible for the expedition to return.

Such are some of the most important facts contained in the original accounts of this most interesting expedition. They were addressed to Sir Arthur Kennedy, to Mr. Kendall (the Administrator who succeeded to office *ad interim* after Sir Arthur's departure), and to Mr. Pope Hennessy on his arrival in the colony. It is a curious circumstance, however it is to be accounted for, that from first to last they contain no allusion to Mohammedan learning or religion. Subsequently, however, in August, 1872, what is termed an Abstract of them was published "by authority," in which sundry such allusions are interpolated. We now hear of literary celebrities, of the easy grace and dignity, of the gravity and reserve of literary chieftains. With Fode Tarawally it appears that Mr. Blyden had discussed instructively some of the most important subjects of human inquiry, "and left delighted" to find so much literary cultivation and intellectual inquiry in a little town (Billeh) altogether secluded from European influence. Farther on we find comments upon the best mode of presenting Christianity: "Not by abstract teaching and preaching only is the land to be regenerated," but by exemplifying the life and habits of Christian communities. Somewhat forgetful of the Jihad of the Hooboos, he explains that it is by such lives and habits that the doctrines of Islam are exemplified in the unvarying practice of its followers. Why these points were not

brought under the notice of Sir Arthur Kennedy it may not be possible quite accurately to determine. There certainly was nothing in Sir Arthur's instructions upon such subjects, and they may have been a subsequent addition to please Mr. Pope Hennessy, whose interest in and sympathy with Mohammedanism is great. For in the subsequent instructions which Mr. Blyden received when setting out on his journey to the Timbo country, the object of the mission is described to be "to ascertain the articles of trade most in demand in their country, the proportion of the people who can read and write Arabic, the character of their educational and religious establishments." In obedience to such strongly-expressed wishes from his employer, Mr. Blyden reports, after his first five hours of travel, that, in the first town he came to, he met with two mosques, a school for teaching the Koran in every yard (!), and morning and evening the children of the faithful gathered around a blazing fire to be taught lessons of the unity of God and the mission of the prophet. Surprise is expressed that there is not even a Christian school here. The whole tenour of the report is to the same effect, filled with glowing eulogiums of Mohammedanism in most striking contrast with the profound silence observed upon such topics, or the indifference felt by Mr. Blyden towards them under the previous *régime*. We cannot pretend to say whether it was Mr. Blyden, who is an Arabic scholar, who inoculated Mr. Pope Hennessy, or Mr. Pope Hennessy who inoculated Mr. Blyden; but the result is most curious. There is, however, much in the second report worth reviewing; and we therefore propose now to give some account of this second expedition in quest of Arabic learning and Mohammedan religious establishments.

It was sent out in January with the object of reaching Timbo, the capital of Fulah Jaloo, a country to the north-east of Falaba. After receiving his instructions, Mr. Blyden parted from Mr. Pope Hennessy, who must have been in the condition of Telemachus when Mentor left him, and in a few hours reached Melacourie. From thence he proceeded to Moala, a town to the north-east, where he held a conference with a number of chiefs whose jurisdiction extended 150 miles inland nearly to Fulah. This place had been recently levelled to the dust in an internecine quarrel between two Mohammedan chieftains, brothers, named Maliki Boli and Bochari. Oddly enough he remarks that it was chosen for a Peace Congress, because of its desolate condition, which he terms an eloquent argument in favour of peace. We need not reproduce his grandiloquent description of the antagonistic chiefs. Over the assembly presided the Mohammedan doctor from Melacourie, with his manuscripts close to his side that he might decide "according to the law and to the testimony." Mr. Blyden also informs Mr. Pope Hennessy, who might not be aware of the fact, that the Koran is the great law book in Church and State. On the way to Lahyah, the expedition stopped at Fansiggah, "the great slave town of the King of Timbo." The slaves, we are told, were pagans; but their children are taught the Koran. Mr. Blyden was informed that it was optional for adults to attend prayers; how they do so while pagans we do not understand, but if they embrace Islam they are free. Thus he says they are brought under Mohammedan influence. It is easy to understand how, under the combined influence of slavery and freedom as the reward of conversion, "the Mohammedan clergy" stimulate the progress of Islam. At Lahyah Mr. Blyden found a flourishing town, and the town "alive with the recitation of Arabic classes" morning and evening. From this place he travelled N.N.E., crossing the Great Scarcies in a canoe, and the next day entered the Tambaka country, travelling for fifty miles to Sanyoyah through a waterless and almost uninhabited region. The people, who are much dreaded for their acts of robbery and murder, profess Paganism modified with Mohammedanism. From Sanyoyah the expedition travelled in a N.E. direction, travelling over a series of highlands for seven

days until they reached Timbo. The scenery among the hills of Nyegeyah, as they are called, is stated to be particularly interesting. On his arrival, as in duty bound, Mr. Blyden waited upon the king, and presented him with an Arabic letter from Mr. Pope Hennessy; "mingled emotions of surprise and gratification were depicted on his countenance." Why the official correspondence was carried on in Arabic is not very clear, as when the Treaty was signed it became necessary for Mr. Blyden, through his interpreter, to give the "Fulah equivalent for each Arabic word that all the officers present might thoroughly understand." Timbo is, Mr. Blyden says, comparatively a small town where little trade is done; but it is the seat of Government for the country. As a specimen of the mode in which Mohammedanism makes its way in Africa, we quote the following account of the mode of electing the king at Timbo, and his origin:—

The Imam, called Alimami or King, is elected for a term of years not fixed by law, and which may be protracted or short-lived according to his popularity; but he can be elected only from the ruling family, called Saeed-Yankeh. There is a popular element which always works in harmony with one or the other of the branches of the recognized monarchical machinery. The candidates are fixed upon by the leading men of each diwân, and the election decided by a majority of all.

The founder of the Saeed-Yankeh* was an Arab named Saeed, who came from the city of Medina about 150 years ago. Saeed, on arriving in this part of the country, found an aboriginal pagan tribe calling themselves Fulbe. (Pullo in the singular.) They had just expelled the Soosoos from the country and founded their capital. Saeed was so well pleased with the intelligence and martial qualities of the people that he settled among them, taught them the Mohammedan faith, and became their guide in ecclesiastical and political matters. After a residence of two years among them he married a Fulah woman, and became by her the father of a son whom he named Kikala. Kikala succeeded his father as teacher of the people. He also married a native woman, and became

the father of two sons, whom he called Maliki and Nahu. Other Arabs followed Saeed and intermarried with the natives, but his family retained political ascendancy. After the death of Kikala his two sons held the Government alternately—an understanding which has been transmitted to their descendants. There are, therefore, now in Futah Jallo two branches of the royal family, from among whom alone, as stated above, the Alimami may be elected. They are called the Suriyah and Alfayah families, from two of their progenitors, Suri and Alfa.

The Fulahs, Fellata, Fellani, or Fulbe emigrated from the northern part of Africa, about what time is uncertain. Some of them settled in Futah Toro, some in Futah Boondu, and some in Futah Jallo. The people of Timbo claim connexion with the tribes north of the Sahara, on the one hand, and the Arabs on the other; so that they are a mixed race, made up probably of the old Carthaginian and Arab elements grafted upon a negro stock. They are the Anglo-Saxons of the African continent—a composite race, in whom the self-ruling and colonizing instincts are prominently developed.

Mr. Blyden was struck with what he terms the Caucasian cast of features among the Fulahs, especially among the elder people; but in the children of "parents having all the physical traits of the Semitic family there recurs the inextinguishable negro physiognomy." They are no doubt what he describes a composite race—immigrants from the northern parts of Africa, and not pure negroes. The great aim of Mr. Pope Hennessy's agent was to bring about an alliance between the King of Timbo and the King of Falaba to crush the Hooboos. In this he is sanguine that he has succeeded, but it may still be open to doubt how far a Mohammedan chief is likely to unite with infidels to crush a Mohammedan chief such as we have already described, who is viewed by the masses as almost a prophet, and who is actively waging a Jihad. African Mohammedanism does seem in some important features to differ from the general practices and feelings of the creed, but this would be a startling deviation. One sentence in the Report is so singular that it is important to draw especial

* Yankeh is one of the aboriginal names of the Fulahs in this quarter.

attention to it. Whether the responsibility of it rests on the envoy exclusively, or that he imagined he was effectually carrying out the wishes of his employer, we cannot determine. As a result of his diplomacy he anticipates "that now that which years of hostile enterprises could not accomplish, viz., *the Mohammedanizing of Falaba* [the italics are ours], may be brought about through the pacific and ordinary channels of political and commercial relations." To the very uttermost of our power would we protest against the employment, or rather prostitution, of English power and influence for such an end. We trust that in some way or another attention may be called to it. Such diplomacy is to our minds a much more serious matter than the distribution of swords and Korans. It would be pleasant to be assured that Mr. Pope Hennessy disavows all such attempts at proselytism to Islam, and that they have proceeded merely from the reckless zeal of his subordinate. Still, the Report from which we quote is "Published by Authority." After such a statement it is useless to say that Mr. Blyden is enthusiastic on the subject of the religious observances which he witnessed: assuming the correctness of his account, it testifies to an amount of fanaticism little likely to enlist itself against more energetic disciples of the same faith in union with unbelievers. There is also a long report with a glowing description of the depth and extensive diffusion of Arabic learning in Timbo, which must be unparalleled throughout the whole rest of the Mohammedan world. Certainly we have never seen nor heard the like. So highly coloured is it that Mr. Blyden presents to us the aspect of that which counsel at the bar so much dread—a witness who proves too much. In illustrating his statements he makes a strange remark which may serve to show how random his talk is. He says that the "generality of students in colleges in other lands, after they have devoted years to the study of Greek and Latin, cannot be said to have learned those languages, but certain books written in those languages. Homer and Cicero may be familiar to many to whom Demosthenes and Horace are sealed books." Are they?

The following account of a very remarkable man may not be devoid of interest:—

One of the most remarkable characters who have influenced the history of the region of country between Timbuctoo and the West Coast was a native of Futih Toro, known as the Sheikh Omaru Al-Hajj. He is said to have been a Waleen, a man of extraordinary endowments, of commanding presence, and great personal influence. He was educated by the Sheikh Tijani, a Muslim missionary from Arabia. Having spent several years under the instruction of this distinguished teacher, visiting Mecca in the meanwhile, he became profoundly learned in the Arabic language. After the death of his master he went twice to Mecca on pilgrimage. On his return to his country, the second time, he undertook a series of proselytizing expeditions against the powerful pagan tribes on the east and south-east of Futih Toro. He conquered several powerful chiefs, and reduced their people to the faith of Islam. He banished paganism from Sego, and purified the practices of several Mohammedan districts which had become imbued with heathenish notions. He thus restored Jenne, Hamd-Allahi, and was on his way to Timbuctoo, about ten years ago, when, through

the treachery of the Arabs of that region, he was circumvented and killed at a town in Masina. One of his sons is now King of Sego; another rules over Hamd-Allahi;—two of the largest cities in Central Africa. Al-Hajj Omaru wrote many Arabic works in prose and poetry. His poems are recited and sung in every Mohammedan town and village, from Fulah-town in Sierra Leone to Kano. His memory is held in the greatest respect by all native students, and they attribute to him many extraordinary deeds, and see in his successful enterprises—literary and military—the proofs of direct divine guidance. This is not surprising. Wherever in history there takes place a new outbreak of religious life, it is almost always accompanied by reports of phenomena akin to miraculous. I met at Timbo, and other towns of Futih, several persons who knew the Sheikh, and who delighted to relate his wonderful exploits, and the marvellous things effected by the magic influence of his writings. Many a devout student carries about him relics of the Sheikh, for whose repose he offers continual prayer; and not a few make pilgrimages to Dingerawi, a country between

Futah and Sego, which Omaru wrested by arms from Tamba, a hostile pagan chief, who, some years ago, was a terror to travellers passing through his country. Dingerawi

was the last home of the Sheikh, and there his bereaved family now reside, on a spot which, it is said, he was led to select by an impressive dream.

We pass over some vague talk in which Mr. Blyden, who is himself one of those whom he terms "so-called civilized negroes,"—a term we should be sorry to apply to him, for we deem him civilized—indulges, contrasting the negroes of Fulah (who, by the way, on his own showing, can hardly be said to be negroes) with the negroes of Sierra Leone. The latter may not, perhaps, be all that their friends may wish them to be, and there may be some truth in what their enemies say to their prejudice; but still they have done enough to vindicate a claim to consideration and respect, and in many ways have made it manifest that the training which they have received has exalted them intellectually as well as morally and religiously. We prefer quoting the following, which are nearly the closing sentences of his Report:—

The Christian Church cannot afford to look with indifference upon so interesting a field of effort. The people need the Gospel. They need the intelligent and zealous Missionary—not only for his evangelical and spiritual labours, but for the literary benefits he may confer upon the country. He will aid in the improvement of the Mandingo and Fulah vernaculars, and thus remove the hindrances to the development of a purely native literature, and deliver the people from their entire dependence upon the Arabic language for the expression of the nobler feelings and the higher forms of thought—a depen-

dence which must give to the Mohammedan religion an insuperable advantage over every other.

The Church Missionary Society is, at this moment, availing itself of the labours of the Rev. Mr. Reichardt, now in England, in the preparation of a Fulah grammar; but no labours in this direction will be satisfactory or useful which are not carried on on the spot. To reduce the language to grammatical form, and to a consistent idiomatic orthography and orthoepy, is the pressing necessity; and this cannot be done by a foreign student in a foreign land.

With the sentiments herein expressed we mainly coincide, attaching, however, more value to Mr. Reichardt's labours than Mr. Blyden would seem disposed to attribute to them.

Readers who have followed us so far will, we trust, pardon us if, before we close this paper, we direct their earnest consideration to some important facts elicited in the *resumé* of these official journeys. Would it then be possible to exaggerate the deplorable condition of Africa therein presented? What have Paganism or Mohammedanism done for the country? Can any juggling with words represent domestic slavery to be aught else than the real source of the misery of the nations? Is not Mohammedan avarice and fanaticism intensifying the woes of Africa by slave-holding and religious wars?

To turn from such painful contemplation to the remedy. Can Mohammedanism supply it? For a thousand years they have been without rivals for political and religious power in the North of Africa. Mr. Blyden says, "The Fulahs boast that there are no pagans belonging to their tribe. They, however, yield precedence to the Mandingoes in the faith of Islam. The Alimami informed me that the tradition is that the Mandingoes received the Mohammedan religion during the Khalifate of Abu Bekr, the first Khalif, while the earliest knowledge of the true God was received in Futah Toro from Amru, the Commissioner of Omar, the second Khalif, whose exploits in North Africa are recorded by Gibbon." Who shall undertake to say what have been the sufferings of the negro, when by merciless fanatics Islam has been during such a period forced upon them at the point of the sword? We see from the Report this wild fanaticism at work still, and even in the limited sphere traversed by Mr. Blyden a Jihad raging. It may be readily conceded that the faith of Islam is purer

and more rational than the silly fetishism indigenous to and "racy of the soil," but can the substitution of one evil be a remedy for another? Clearly Mohammedanism, with the vantage-ground of the occupation of a thousand years, has done little for the material or moral progress of Africa; it has failed to exalt her among the scale of nations, or even to bring her into communion with them, unless the sale of her children into foreign bondage can be termed communion. Will even Mr. Pope Hennessy, as a devout Romanist, undertake to say that it has done aught for their spiritual welfare? Plainly then, there lies before the Church of Christ a work as mighty as that which has to be accomplished in China or in Central Asia. Protestant Christianity has done well in striking the manacles from the negro, and prohibiting the nations from trafficking in human flesh. Protestant Christianity has done well in lighting up in accessible places the knowledge of Him who is the true Light; out of whose light there is darkness. But it is folly to imagine that the work of Missions is achieved: it is hardly yet begun. Darkness still covers Africa, and thick darkness the people. The glory of the Lord has not yet risen upon them. It may be that it will not be the privilege of man to dispel this darkness. The Lord Himself may arise and cause His glory to shine upon the nations; but it is plainly our duty until then to work, and work in abundance lies before us and before our children. It is our fervent desire that the sons of Africa, upon whom the Lord has had mercy, may be stirred up to a consciousness of their responsibilities, and that from among them there may proceed preachers and teachers of Christ who shall be evangelists to their brethren. Freely they have received—may they in due season be led freely to give!

ON THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES.*

THE following remarks relate chiefly to Missionary work in India, though I believe they might be further illustrated and supported by a survey of the progress of Missions in other parts of the world. It may be more profitable to select some one aspect of the work, and to present it with comparative fulness, rather than to take a more discursive, but necessarily superficial, view.

And in deciding on this course I can fortunately select a topic which has of late years been emerging into very distinct prominence, and assuming more and more a central position, round which other parts of the work arrange themselves. I speak of THE GROWTH OF THE NATIVE CHURCH.

All Missionary Societies, I may say, are now agreed in regarding the development of a Native Church as a fundamental and regulative conception in the prosecution of their work.

The principle may be more or less distinctly grasped and consistently applied, yet it is generally admitted, and may be even said to have passed into an axiom, that the great end and aim of all Missionary work must be to establish a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending Native Church. And if this has come to be an admitted principle in the theory of Missions, it is also slowly, yet surely, winning its way in regulating our methods in the practical working of Missions.

I do not mean that a theory was arbitrarily invented and then reduced to practice. Rather the reverse has been the process. The results in various Mission-fields have forced upon Missionary Societies principles which, though inherent in Christianity, had

* A paper read at the Bath Congress, October 8, 1873, by the Rev. E. C. Stuart, Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, Church Missionary Society.

been too much neglected, and these principles have found their harmonious combination in a definite theory. And so in this as in other fields of human knowledge and human effort, true science has been built up by experience, and a right theory has in its turn become fruitful in directing enlightened effort.

Possibly it may appear to some that the Missionary work of the Church is a matter which scarcely admits of progress in the discovery of a right method. Have we not, it may be objected, in the inspired record of Apostolic labours, a sufficient and infallible directory for Missionary effort? Now, while giving the most unqualified assent to this statement, and while ready to reject any method not in harmony with Apostolic principles and practice, I should yet question the relevancy of the objection. For it assumes that the Bible is a formal code of rules and procedure, instead of being, as it really is, the record of transactions in which the underlying principles are embedded, and must be sought for to be found. In this particular question of the right method of Missionary work, as in many other practical questions, not excepting the constitution of the Church itself, there is need of careful discrimination, with close and accurate observation, and, consequently, room for what is equivalent to actual discovery. Besides, it must be remembered that in the long interval during which Missionary enterprise slumbered, the principles familiar in the first ages of the propagation of the faith had fallen into disuse. The practice of a later age, in the conversion of the barbarian nations of Europe, supplied examples to be avoided rather than imitated. The mixed methods of Romish Missions in Asia, as in the New World, afforded little worthy of reproduction, and were vitiated throughout by the ruling principle of extending the domination of the Papacy. One ought also, perhaps, to add that, in the case of our own Church, the fact of its being a State-established and endowed Church has not in itself been favourable to the development of true methods of Missionary work, which, of necessity, is carried on under circumstances so completely different. Whatever may be the advantages to the Church arising from its connexion with the State, or attaching to it as a national institution, it is obvious that this fuller development of the Church does not belong to its initial stage when it is as yet seeking an entrance into a country, or struggling for existence as the creed of a very small minority. It is, therefore, equally obvious that they whose ideas of ecclesiastical polity have been derived from its more advanced development in a settled Christian State will have much to learn, and also to unlearn, when they enter on strictly Missionary work.

These remarks may suffice to justify my position, that the true method of Missions may be matter of discovery to which the Church may be led by progressive experiments, conducted under Providential guidance, and in the light of Holy Scripture.

I proceed, then, to trace the actual course of development (I speak especially of India) in the method of Missionary work by which, as I have stated, all Missionary Societies have arrived at a substantial agreement with respect to the paramount importance of the Native Church as the appointed instrument for the ultimate achievement of India's evangelization.

The first years of Missionary work in India, after the revival of the evangelistic spirit in the beginning of this century, may be characterized as the period of individualism. The care of individual converts, rather than the care of churches, devolved on the Missionaries. The Gospel, which unites men into a society, begins by striking root in individual hearts. In those first arduous attempts, the few converts who had the courage to make an open profession were not seldom merged in the foreign Church, identifying themselves with their first teachers and fathers in Christ, rather than exhibiting anything of an independent life. A natural sympathy with the trials of their children in the common Faith led the Missionaries too often unduly to encourage such

dependence ; and misgivings as to the ability of the converts to stand alone, and perhaps, also, in some instances, an unconscious love of power, tended to perpetuate this imperfect development of the Christian life.

But, in remarking an absence of corporate Church life in the earlier stages of Missionary effort, I would guard against a possible misapprehension. Sweeping assertions have been made in disparagement of the teaching of Protestant Missionaries. They have been represented as preaching the Gospel as an abstract doctrine, and as being, for the most part, indifferent to building up the Church of Christ as something "concrete, social, and organic." Now, in whatever terms it may be thought proper to describe the preaching of those who have studied to give that distinctive prominence to the saving truths of the Gospel, which an Apostle expressed in his determination, "to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," I deny that it has been their practice to ignore the organic form, in which a belief in Christ must manifest itself. Missionaries may have failed to see the importance of organizing, from the very first, the Native Church, as an integral part of the one Body of Christ, in immediate dependence on its Divine Head, but I am most sure that the tenor of their preaching has ever been to insist on the true brotherhood of the Gospel in opposition to the unsocial bondage of caste, and to proclaim a real spiritual kingdom, and a living Christ its King.

The report of the recent Missionary Conference at Allahabad, attended by 105 Missionaries of nineteen different societies, affords abundant proof in the papers read, and the topics discussed, that the "common Christianity" which they are engaged in propagating is no "unreal Spiritualism,"* or "Christianity in a state of disembodied ghostliness," but rather that which is at once "concrete, social, and organic."

If the earlier attempts to impart an organic form to the growing community of converts were only partially successful, the explanation is to be found rather in the wrong lines on which they proceeded, than in the want of appreciation of the necessity for Church life and corporate union. The mistake was made of merging the converts in the ecclesiastical system to which the Missionary himself belonged, instead of uniting them into a Church with an organic life of its own. Local extension was aimed at rather than a vital reproduction.

One of the earliest plans adopted was the very natural one of employing converts as preachers of the faith they had embraced, under the designation of readers or catechists, who, with such special instruction as the Missionary could afford amidst other engagements, were to be sent forth into a harvest where the labourers indeed were few. Far be it from us to disparage the work of a class to which our Missions owe much. Yet there were obvious drawbacks in this system. The agents were often imperfectly instructed and poorly qualified, and they were not the agents of the Native Church, but the stipendiaries of the foreigner. This latter circumstance weakened greatly their influence with their heathen countrymen, and, perhaps still more disastrously, obscured to the apprehension of the Native Church its own obligations to extend the kingdom of Christ.

These inconveniences of the system were not lessened, with respect to the native agency in connexion with our own Church, when at a later period, on the extension of the Episcopate to India, a more complete education was provided for native candidates for Ordination, and the recognized *status* of episcopally ordained clergy accorded to the teachers of the Native Church. For, unhappily, the first result of the completion of the ecclesiastical edifice by the appointment of the Indian bishops was a more rigorous application of English precedents. As a conspicuous instance, take Bishop's College in Calcutta—at once a monument of the noble zeal which animated its founder, and of the

* See Letter of Bishop Douglas, *passim*.

failure of a system which lacked adaptation to the Oriental mind. When candidates for Holy Orders were required to pass substantially the same standard of examination, whatever their nationality, it will be readily understood how ill-suited to the special wants of the Mission-field such a training would be in the case of the majority of native pastors and evangelists, and how essential it was that a system of greater flexibility should be devised, if the Native Church was to be provided with teachers undenationalized in thought and feeling.

Again, with respect to the employment of the Native Clergy, the early experiments were also too much in the English groove. The relation of rector and curate seems to have been the analogy followed in arranging for the employment of Native Clergymen under the superintendence of the Foreign Missionary. And, doubtless, the guidance of an experienced Missionary was of great value to those who looked up to him as their spiritual father, and under such a system of superintendence many mistakes were avoided which might have proved a severe trial to the stability of a newly-formed Church. But there is another side of the account, and I have no hesitation in saying that, even under the best and wisest superintendence, the Native Minister, supported by a Foreign Society, and superintended by its representative, could not attain to that maturity of character which demands freedom of action for its development, and is chiefly strengthened by the burden of responsibility.

And if, even under the superintendence of a veteran, the system had its disadvantages, much more would these be increased in the case, which must frequently occur, of the superintendence devolving on a Missionary very much the junior of those over whom he had control. How painfully, in such a case, must the feeling of subjection to the foreigner rankle in the mind of the Native Brother! or, what was probably the more frequent result of this unhappy arrangement, how fatal to a healthy independence when the Native Minister acquiesced in this relation as a matter of course, looking upon his Missionary superior merely as one of the dominant race, whose orders he must submissively receive, and to whose every wish he must adapt himself!

I have been describing plans and modes of operation, happily for the most part obsolete, with respect to the Native Church, and I have begun with speaking of the Native Ministry, not at all as regarding these terms as convertible, but because as a matter of fact the attempt to develop the ministry preceded the attempt to organize the Church.

This, as it now seems, was one of those "errors in the prime digestion" which affect the whole system. In vain was it to expect a healthy growth till this should be amended. It was the failure and breakdown of the old system which led to the discovery of "a more excellent way." It began to be seen that to train and support a Native Ministry was not to develop a Native Church, and that the organic life of the Church requires much more for its development than the supply of an educated clergy. The importance of the lay element in this corporate life of the Church, and even in the administration of its affairs, began to be realized.

And here I would record the pre-eminent services to Missions of one who never himself laboured in the foreign field, but who, with a rare insight and sagacity, surveying all parts of the varied field of operations, seized upon the principles involved, and by a careful and painstaking induction elaborated a method scriptural in its principles, and thoroughly in harmony with the results of experience, embodying what was truly valuable in the labours of various unconnected workmen, while eliminating that which was one-sided or partial in their attempts.

Those who have studied the history of modern Missions will admit that these are not exaggerated terms in which to describe the labours in the Missionary cause of the

honoured and revered Henry Venn. I may support this opinion by the words of one of kindred spirit, who had special opportunities in India of observing the influence and effect of the principles which Mr. Venn so wisely upheld, and whose great powers were uniformly given to the furtherance of Missionary work—I refer to the late Archdeacon Pratt, who was in the habit of speaking of Mr. Venn as “the real inventor of ideas for the organization of the Native Church.”

The distinctive value of the Native Pastorate cannot be better stated than in Mr. Venn’s own words, in a letter to the Bishop of Jamaica.

“It may be said,” he wrote, “to have been only lately discovered in the science of Missions that when the Missionary is of another and superior race than his converts, he must not attempt to be their *pastor*. Though they will be bound to him by natural attachment, and by a sense of the benefits received from him, yet, if he continues to act as their pastor, they will not form a vigorous Native Church, but, as a general rule, they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progressive attainments. The same congregation, under competent Native Pastors, may become more self-reliant, and their religion would be of a more manly, home character.”

This view of the necessity of a Native Pastorate, and the reasons for it, gathered from an intimate knowledge of the Mission-field amongst both African and Oriental races, led at once to a corporate organization of the Native Church, as the one secure basis on which the pastorate can properly rest; or, in other words, an advance was made to the idea of a corporate Church, independent in its organization, of which the Native pastorate, and eventually an indigenous episcopate, is a natural and indispensable function and development.

These ideas, simple and elementary as they may seem, must not on that account be despised. In this, as in many other fields of human effort, the progress of discovery has been a return to first principles, and a rejection of complex contrivances in favour of simpler and more immediate methods.

How far, then, have these ideas proved successful, and stood the test of practical application? Let the marked contrast between the statistics of the Mission Churches in India of the last fifteen years, in which these ideas have begun to be systematically applied, with those of the previous period, be the answer.

I must not here enter into the details and figures of such a comparative analysis, and can only emphatically state the resulting impression on my own mind during more than twenty years of familiarity with the condition and progress of Missions in India—an impression which is that of many of my Missionary brethren—that, through the growth and development of the Native Church, Missionary work in India is rapidly passing into an entirely new phase, full of hope for the future.

Let me now describe what is meant by the organization of the Native Church on a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending basis; and then briefly indicate how such an independent organization disposes of difficulties that have often impeded Missionary work, and adds new forces for its successful prosecution.

The association of converts to the Christian faith into an outward and visible Church being an essential part of our religion, the duty of joining in all things necessary for its support clearly devolves upon every member of the same. This duty we seek to enforce upon our converts, by all the arguments abundantly supplied in Holy Scripture. Not only must Christians be careful to assemble themselves together, but they must endeavour to maintain the public ordinances of religion for themselves. Contributions, therefore, must be made for building chapels or churches, and for the support of the ministry. No offering is to be despised if made according to the ability which God has given; and so the very poorest is encouraged to give *something*—though it were but the

weekly handful of rice. And it is remarkable what a considerable amount is now yearly raised, chiefly by the aggregate of very small sums, from a very poor community. In 1872, the last year of which we have full statistics, the 114,000 Native Christians of the Church of England Missions in India contributed 4500*l*. In 1850 their number was 57,000, which had increased in 1861 to 80,472. Thus in twenty years the congregations have nearly doubled. Their contributions have increased in a much greater ratio.

A community which is thus developing the principle of self-support earns the right of self-government; and indeed the exercise of the *privilege* is one of the most powerful incentives to the discharge of the *duty*.

The unit of self-government is the *punchayet* or elected committee of head men of the individual congregation, merging by its chosen representatives, lay and clerical, into the Church Council of the district, and this again into the Provincial Council, or Synod. So long as any part of the funds administered by these bodies is supplied by the foreign society, it properly claims to be represented in the council by one or more of its Missionaries, either as taking part in the deliberations, or as having a suspensive veto on its decisions. But in every case we impress on all concerned that this interference of the foreigner is only provisional, and that the Native Church should aim at achieving complete independence in self-government by, as speedily as may be, realizing complete independence in self-support.

But another function of the Church, as planted in any heathen land, remains—not to be developed *subsequently* to the others, but rather contemporaneously, and from the very first seeking to manifest itself as inseparable from true vitality. For if the Church exists for the edification of the body of Christ, and for this end must advance in self-support and self-government, so also it has another function, and one which assimilates it most closely to its Divine Master. It exists not for itself alone—it must live for others—it must evangelize those that are without. The Church, which is self-supporting and self-governing, must also, to fulfil the divine ideal, be *self-extending*. Its work in the world is *aggressive*.

The evangelization of India, then, is a dispensation of the Gospel committed to her own sons—a responsibility in the discharge of which the foreigner may aid and co-operate, but from which he cannot, and would not, exonerate them. I think the testimony of Missionaries in various parts of the field will bear me out in saying that an appeal to our native converts, based on such principles, for voluntary effort in the direct work of evangelization, has not generally been made in vain.

I must content myself with a bare enumeration of some of the more important results of the independent organization of the Native Church which I have attempted to sketch.

1. It sets free the Missionary for a wider range of evangelistic labour amongst the heathen, by releasing him from the pastoral care of the native converts.

2. It economizes the Society's funds, and so enables it to take up new fields in "the regions beyond." The grants it makes to the Native Church are made on the principle of a grant-in-aid, and so are susceptible of gradual reduction with the development of the resources of the Native Church.

3. The relation of the Missionary Society to the native clergy is thus adjusted. So long as they are in direct connexion with the Society, many troublesome questions will arise as to rank and pay, which are at once solved when the native becomes the pastors of a Church organized on an independent basis, and only aided, where necessary, by the foreign Society. Scope is thus also afforded for the free exercise of native talent and powers of influence.

4. The principle of regarding Ordination as the link between the Native Church and its teachers further proves a regulative idea in training candidates for the ministry. A more practical direction is given to the training when it is viewed in immediate connexion with the native congregation, and the selection of suitable candidates is promoted.

5. With respect to the evangelists who may be sent forth in connexion with the Native Church, it is a great gain that they thus appear before their heathen countrymen, not as the propagators of an alien creed, and the agents of the foreigner, but as the representatives of a community already existing amongst them, and ready to welcome all who embrace the truths, to the reality of which it witnesses.

While I thus uphold the paramount importance of the Native Church as a main factor in the problem of the evangelization of India—and would place this before us as the *euthanasia* of a Mission—I would still plead for unrelaxed—nay, for much more strenuous efforts on the part of the Church at home. For greatly as God has blessed the feeble efforts already made to the ingathering of converts and the building of them up into living Native Churches, yet what are these but a few points of light in the vast spaces of darkness? Taking the total number of Native Christians in India connected with the various Protestant Missions at 240,000, this gives but one in a thousand of the whole population.

Moreover, the strong tendency in India is for religious belief to become a matter of caste or race distinction, and so Christianity itself is ever in danger of losing its aggressive spirit. The native converts must be stimulated by our example to realize their supreme obligations to spread the Gospel leaven, introduced by us, amongst their countrymen, until the whole is leavened.

How disastrous might be the example of indifference, were we to slacken our efforts and narrow our work, just as the growth of the Native Church begins to afford us a solid and advantageous basis of operations, and supplies us with a fresh incentive as being itself the pledge of victory!

MISSIONARY TRAVEL IN FOO-CHOW.

(Continued from page 352).

AFTER dinner, which was liberally provided for our whole company by the Christians of Sing-Chuo, the Lo-Nguong catechist and myself, accompanied by two of the Sing-Chuo Christians, visited the village of Siong-Nang, where there are a few Christian families. I was enabled to preach to a very large congregation of heathen men and women, assembled in the large Tieng-Chang, or open enclosure, to listen to the message of God's love. The catechist spoke after me, and many of the people promised to come the following Sabbath to hear the word of God. After this we visited other places. On one occasion during these visits I met, at the house of one of our members, a company of women, and to them for a long time both the catechist and myself endeavoured to expound the way of salvation. They listened most respectfully to all that we had to say,

and I cannot help feeling that our words will not have been spoken in vain to such attentive listeners. After a hard day's work we returned to Sing-Chuo. After tea we had a very large and important prayer-meeting. The large place in which we were assembled could not contain half of those who came together, so that all about the doors and the Tieng-Chang were crowded with people. I am glad to say we have now a school in this village, and the people have themselves earnestly requested that no book but the Bible and Christian books may be taught in it, "for," said they, "our children cannot afford to remain at school longer than two or three years, and we are anxious that this short time should be entirely devoted to Christian learning, so that they may be able at least to read the Word of God in the colloquial." I considered this a most wise

determination on the part of this people, and of course I allowed them to do as they asked. There is very little use in trying to cram children, who can remain only such a short time at school, with a number of classic characters whose meanings they do not comprehend, and which consequently could be of no use to them in after-life in enabling them to read a book. I wish the common-sense displayed in this request of these villagers was more attended to by us foreign Missionaries.

Early next morning I started from Sing-Chuo for the village of Lang-Kau, about nine English miles directly north of Lo-Nguong. Many of the Christians of Sing-Chuo escorted me to the end of their village, and as they took leave of me it was pleasant to hear them wishing God's blessing to accompany me on my journey, and to listen to their requests as they shouted after me, "Sing-Sang, you will not forget to pray for Sing-Chuo and for us?" And I would now be the medium of shouting this request across the vast expanse of ocean to you,— "Christians of England, you will not forget to pray for Sing-Chuo and for us?" I was accompanied across the lovely valley by the catechist at Sieu-Hung, who is a native of Sing-Chuo, and the first that I baptized there about four years ago. He occupied my attention for miles, relating some of his sermons and discourses to his little charge at Sieu-Hung, which amused and interested me exceedingly. The morning was very beautiful. A sharp frost (at least sharp for this part of the world) lay on the ground, and the morning sun shone out gloriously, and seemed to send a thrill of life and pleasure through the whole of nature. The beauty and magnificence of the scenery all around, and the warbling of the many singing-birds on hill and dale as we passed along, made me almost forget that I was in a heathen land, where God was dishonoured and foul idolatry and iniquity prevailed. Truly Heber's words that "Every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," are fully realized here. Man is vile and ignorant and degraded even in China; and in too many instances one would be almost led to doubt, from the humiliating and degraded condition which he presents, whether he had ever the stamp of God upon him. We travelled on till we came to the north side of this delightful vale, and stopped at the village called Tong-Kong, at the base of the high mountain, at the top of which is situated the village of Lang-Kau. Here,

at Tong-Kong, there are a few Christian families, and I was glad to have the pleasure and opportunity of remaining awhile with them. They walk every Sunday to the Lo-Nguong chapel. One of the little fellows whom I catechised at Lo-Nguong on the previous Sunday, and at whose lively answers I was so much pleased, surprised me at this village by coming out to meet me, and conducted me into his father's house. He took down his Testament and Prayer-book, and said, "These are the books I want my mother to learn." He repeated the Lord's Prayer by heart. His mother also had learned it, and some of the Ten Commandments. If we had sufficient teachers, the entire population could be reached, and, by the grace of God, a large harvest of souls gathered into His Church. "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He would send more labourers into His harvest." After taking some tea at Tong-Kong, we commenced our weary climb up the mountain to Lang-Kau. The Sieu-Hung catechist accompanied me half-way up. I prevailed upon him to return, as there was no object to be gained by his accompanying me farther. He did so, but first gave a thousand cautions to my bearers to be careful lest they should let me fall and be precipitated down the yawning ravines. I was quite amused with his solicitude, as well as with the answer he received from my bearers. They looked indignant and said, "Of course we will take every care of our own,"—meaning that I was as dear to them as one of their own family. I did not, however, trust myself to their care over these frightful precipices. I preferred walking—no doubt to their great satisfaction. This mountain is very steep, and from the summit there is one of the most magnificent views in the world. The whole valley of Lo-Nguong and Sing-Chio, and many other valleys running away in all directions between the mountains, are all at once presented to the eye. The natives declare that, on certain days when the atmosphere is clear, the blessed city of Foo-Chow can be seen from the high peak to the right of the spot on which I stood as they spoke to me. They declared, furthermore, that at the base of this peak there exists a large cave, in which resides the spirit which controls the mountain, and respecting which tradition has handed down many wonderful and remarkable stories. I was almost tempted to have a peep at this extraordinary cave, but the evident horror with which the Chinese looked upon such a proposition showed one the terror with which this place

was invested in their eyes. The difficulty and labour, however, in getting up to it had more influence in keeping me from gratifying my curiosity than all the wild stories told by the Chinese about the nature and character of the spirit which resides in it. As we reached the top of the mountain, we met several men carrying shrimps to sell to the villages on the mountain. On entering into conversation with them, I found that they had a tolerably fair idea of the Christian religion, and it convinced me that the Christians in the various villages were not idle in making known their religion, and that a knowledge of Christ as the Saviour was widespread in this part of the country. I thanked God and took courage. As we went along we met another man, who shouted out to his fellows before we approached him, "Here comes the head of the religion!" I spoke to him and told him that Jesus was the Head of the religion; that I was only one of His servants who went about in His name, offering His salvation to the Chinese "without money and without price." He listened, and both he and his companions had an opportunity of hearing about Jesus and His love. They went on their way down the mountain, apparently well pleased with what they had heard.

We arrived about noon at the village of Lang-Kau. In order to appreciate fully what I am about to say in connexion with this village, you must first open the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for December, 1870, page 381, and read my account of my first visit to this place. I have described it there as situated in a valley. This is perfectly correct, notwithstanding that it is on the top of the mountain. It is surrounded by peaks on every side which constitutes its position—a valley on the top of a mountain. The scenery is very wild and grand, and the people say that during the hottest nights in summer they require warm covering. When I left China, three years ago, there were none baptized at this place; now there are over forty, and about fifty or sixty candidates for baptism. There are only three houses now in the village who have not some of their families connected with the Christian Church. They have had many difficulties and trials from their Roman Catholic neighbours, but by the grace of God they have kept on their way, and they bid fair to continue in the way that they have commenced. They are excessively poor, yet they have subscribed towards building a church about fifty dollars in cash,

and over two hundred days' labour in addition. They have also, I believe, subscribed last year fourteen dollars to the Native Church Fund. Of course this does not sound much, but you must remember that one dollar to these villages is as much as ten pounds to people at home. They can manage to live upon one dollar fifty cents. per month. After dinner I accompanied the catechist, who is one of the Ming-Ang-Teng Christians, on a visit to some of the villages on the mountain. We crossed over the peaks to the right of Lang-Kau, and, after considerable climbing up hills and down steep precipices, we arrived at the village of Ling-Iong. It is impossible to give you any adequate idea of the wild grandeur of this place. As we descended the valley in which Ling-Iong is situated, a certain awe and sense of loneliness crept over me, and I felt I could be an idolater of some genius or spirit if I had not known the great God and Father of us all. I was not, therefore, surprised to meet at every turn the shrine of some idol or other whose spirit is supposed to exercise an influence, either for good or evil, over the destinies of these human beings who inhabit these lonely and almost enchanted dells. We passed the house of a Christian perched up on the side of the hill, and, notwithstanding his shouts and motions of his body for us to come up, we had to decline the pleasure in consequence of the difficulty of elevation which lay between him above and ourselves below. No doubt the poor fellow was much disappointed.

The first house to which we came at the entrance of the valley was that of one of the Christians. This was my first visit to this place, and had not seen these Christians before, but they welcomed me as warmly as if I had been an old friend. We soon assembled a fair number together, and held a pleasant, and I trust a very profitable, prayer-meeting. It was pleasant to hear the voice of singing from Christian lips in a spot like this. The words and tune of the fine "Old Hundredth" had a peculiar charm as they were sounded forth from the lips of the Chinese, while their echoes seemed to linger among the mountains in this lonely and sequestered spot. After the hymn I read the third chapter of St. John and engaged in prayer. The family and all who were present listened most attentively to the exposition of the Gospel. After this we proceeded farther up this valley, and visited the houses of several others of the Christians, and read and prayed with them also. After a very pleasant afternoon spent in this valley of

Ling-Iong we returned to Lang-Kau in time for tea. Here the Christians had killed a chicken, and given it to my servant to prepare it for my supper. It was ready when we returned, and as I was very hungry after my exertions over the mountain, I appreciated this gift of a chicken very much indeed. After tea the Christians assembled together, half of them in the room which serves as a chapel—for it could hold no more—the rest in the open yard outside the door. We commenced with a hymn and prayer; afterwards I expounded the parable of the Prodigal Son. There was many a loud and hearty assent as I applied the subject to themselves. They were the lost son, at one time feeding upon the husks of idolatry and sin, but that now they were the “found one,” over which the angels and their Father who is in heaven rejoiceth. It was to me a deeply interesting and pleasant meeting, and I retired to rest full of encouragement and hope. I was pleased, too, at the evident improvement which I think the catechist has made in his knowledge of the Scriptures, and with the influence which he exercises over this little congregation. His being a single man, however, is a great drawback to his usefulness, especially where there are so many women to be taught. Though the women are not at all secluded in their houses here, but mix freely like ordinary beings, yet it would be considered unbecoming to receive the visits of the catechist even for religious instruction. I know, however, one of our single catechists who can move freely among the women in the village where he is stationed without provoking the slightest remark. But this is quite an exception to the general rule; very few have been able to gain the confidence and affection of the people to the extent that this dear brother has done. Yet even here caution is to be exercised. Next morning after breakfast I started on my way to the city of Ning-Taik. If we experienced difficulty the previous day in our ascent up the mountain on the Lo-Nguong side, we felt greater difficulty this morning in our descent on the Ning-Taik side. After two or three hours spent in travelling down the side of this mountain, we arrived at the large village of Ni-Tu, at the northern base on the sea-shore. The view from the side as we descend is literally enchanting. Lofty peaks and yawning chasms meet the eye on every side. Trees and flowering shrubs are scattered plentifully all around, while the deep blue sea placidly reposes beneath us, and, like a silvery expanse, spreading away in the distance and

glittering in the morning sun. Such a sight is rarely seen elsewhere. The village of Ni-Tu is a very important one, and the centre of a large population which is scattered along the shore. There are about ten Christians residing here, but the difficulty of climbing up the mountain to Lang-Kau and the long distance to Ning-Taik render it difficult for the men and impossible for the women to attend a place of Christian worship. I am happy to say I have been able to make arrangements by which regular service shall be held in this village, and with the view ultimately of opening it as one of our regular out-stations. While I was staying at Ni-Tu I unexpectedly met our landlord at Ning-Taik. He had come here, he told me, to preach to some of his friends who reside in this village. I was glad to see this. He was formerly one of our most bitter foes. I hope and trust that he is now, not only a friend, but also a brother beloved in the Lord. I do not, however, yet know much about him, and cannot speak from personal experience of his zeal or faith. He accompanied me back to Ning-Taik. We travelled for hours along the sea-shore, with the hills towering up high on our left, and the sea spreading out away on our right. In other countries, and under different circumstances, such a journey through so glorious a scene would be an absolute luxury. Here, however, the pathways are so slippery and rugged, and positively dangerous, that one is in constant terror of being suddenly precipitated to the bottom of some fearful ravine. This possibility, of course, tends to make a traveller rather cautious, and renders it impossible for him to enjoy or admire the “sublime and beautiful” exhibitions of Nature as they are spread out before him on either side. These horrible apologies for roads destroy all poetry, and the unhappy traveller is doomed to go on his way in fear and trembling, with his eyes fixed on the ground beneath him in order to pick his footsteps over the dangerous way. A few hours brought us into the Ning-Taik valley, where we were again at our ease, and at liberty to gaze unrestricted on the noble mountains which encircle the city of “peace and virtue,” which is the translation of the two characters Ning and Taik. Swan Hill Peak particularly attracted our notice. It rises like a giant above its fellows, and has earned for itself its beautiful name by the frequency with which it attracts pure white snow on its summit. It is now many years ago since I first visited Ning-Taik, and as I approached it then from the south I had the

first view of the city from the top of Swan Mountain. I was the first Protestant Missionary that had ever visited it, and my impressions, as I sat upon the peak and looked down upon the city beneath me, were gloomy enough when I thought of the darkness and ignorance of the thousands within its walls, and the utter weakness and inefficiency of the instrumentality which sought their enlightenment and salvation. I am sure I most earnestly prayed then on that spot that the Great Father of all would enlighten them, and bless the instrumentality about to be used for bringing them to a saving knowledge of Jesus. That prayer I have not seen answered, though at present there appears some signs that the prayers and labours of God's servants for this place are not left unnoticed by God. There have been a few baptized, and there are two or three hopeful inquirers. We arrived early in the evening at our little chapel outside the city walls. After dinner I started at once with the catechist to visit the families of converts and inquirers who resided in the city. I was pleased with what I witnessed. The conduct and character of this beloved brother cheered and encouraged me very much. He had often cheered me years ago, when cast down with difficulties, and it was a real pleasure to meet him again and visit with him in the city of Ning-Taik. He had a long tale of sorrow to tell me, and I was grieved when he told me the quarter from which it had come, but I believe it did him good. We had a fair gathering in the evening, and on the whole I was not discouraged. We want a suitable place very badly in this important city. Now, as there are signs of awakening here, greater efforts must be made. Help us by your prayers. We must have more men from home.

The next day, about twelve a.m., we started for the deeply-interesting highlands of Sa-Hiong. For an account of my first visit to Sa-Hiong, see the "Intelligencer" for December, 1870, and January, 1871. The scenery between Ning-Taik and Sa-Hiong, for its wild grandeur, baffles all description and surpasses anything that we had yet seen during our present journey. About half-way on the road to Sa-Hiong, we rested at the house of one of the Christians—the man who met me on the same spot with his two sons three years ago, when I first visited this place, and one of the first who was baptized at the village called Stonestown (see "Intelligencer," December, 1870, and

January, 1871). The name of the place at which we rested, and where this Christian lives, is Liang-Moi. I was glad to find that, since my first visit to this place, through the influence of this man, twenty have been brought to Christ in this little village. Not one in this place can read or write except Cheng-Seng, the first Christian here, and his little son, who is now about ten years of age. The father, Cheng-Seng, is now one of our students, and the only one left in the village to read morning and evening prayers is this little boy. These twenty Christians come together morning and evening, and this child reads a hymn which they all join in singing. He then reads a few verses of the colloquial Testament, and some one of them engages in prayer. Sometimes, however, the little boy reads some of the prayers out of our Prayer-book. He is a bright little fellow, and I hope one day to see him carrying on the work which his father has commenced.

Having taken some refreshment, we collected the Christians together and had a prayer-meeting. There were seventeen present. At another small village about two miles farther in among the hills, called Ko-langsang, i.e. "Mount of Olives," there are five Christians, who come regularly on the Sabbath to Liang-Moi to join with the Christians there in worshipping God. Occasionally the male portion of them travel to Ning-Taik or to Stonestown for Sabbath worship. They are also visited now and again by the catechists from the last-mentioned places. It is interesting and encouraging to see how the Gospel is penetrating to these out-of-the-way places. It is discouraging, however, to note that the cities, the centres of wealth and influence, seem so dead and indifferent to the message of salvation, and yield so little fruit to the efforts of the Gospel labourers. After prayer-meeting we started from Liang-Moi and commenced our ascent up the mountain towards Sa-Hiong. It took us about two hours to ascend step by step to the top. Here I stood, enraptured for some time with the wild and magnificent glories of nature as they were presented in the scene around me. The mind was at once carried upwards in thought, and an involuntary exclamation of praise to the Great Creator burst forth from the lips of both the catechist and myself. But it was getting late, and we had a long distance yet to travel to the village of Stonestown. So we pressed on, and, just before dark, arrived at the house of one of the Christians about a mile out of Stonestown.

Every member of this large family has been brought to Christ. The father and two of his stalwart sons came out to meet us, and by main force took me out of the Sedan, and my entire company and myself into the house, and literally *compelled* us all to partake of some food which they had prepared ready for our arrival. The attentions of the lady of the house were entirely devoted to my comfort for the time. She frequently pressed me to partake of the food which she had prepared. There was no foolish shyness displayed by this Christian matron, and I could not help admiring her simple manners and unconscious dignity as she moved about the house attending to her business. She spoke to me as if she had known me for years, and said she had often prayed for me to come back again. It was quite dark before we could tear ourselves away from this family. In the meanwhile, many of the Christians came out with flambeaux to meet us and escort us into the village. We were warmly welcomed by all the Christians, and many of the heathens also came to show their friendship. We had the room soon filled, and before they all left we had a prayer-meeting, in which hearty thankfulness and praise to God were expressed for my safe return by the dear Christians and catechist. I was deeply touched by all this, and also when they told how that they had continually held a special prayer-meeting on my behalf. It was impossible not to feel encouraged by all this. There are now in this place a very large number of Christians and inquirers, and I hope and trust the day is not far distant when this entire village and many other villages around will give up their idols and come and turn to the Lord their God. The next morning (Sunday) all the Christians assembled for worship. The place was not able to hold all who came. There were about sixty Christians and a number of heathen. I preached on the parable of the Prodigal Son. All listened with the deepest attention, and I am more than convinced that the Spirit of God was in the midst of us this morning. One man, an inquirer, wept bitterly the whole time. While I was expounding the parable he seemed really touched. After service I spoke to him. He told me he had been a great sinner, that the case of the prodigal was his, and that he wept at the thoughts of his sins, and was also affected by the love of God in saving such sinners as himself. I was very much encouraged at this proof

of the working of the Spirit amongst us, for who else could convince of sin? who else could take of the love of Christ and show it as it was manifested to this poor man? The world may talk as it please, the Spirit is working with us, and the Lord is with our armies. This man is now an earnest candidate for baptism. There were several women present at morning service. I baptized the infant daughter of one of the Christians. After service I went, accompanied by some of the Christians, to preach in the Great Ancestral Hall, in the heart of the village. A very large number of the villagers came to listen, and on the very spot where, exactly three years previously, I preached for the first time to the people of Stonestown, I again was permitted to offer them salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ. Many of those who were present and who heard me the first time eight years ago have accepted the Saviour, and are now members of the Church. Many more were present who also had heard me then, but still persist in remaining in their heathen state. Others who were present, and who heard the first message, have passed to their account, apparently unaffected by what they had heard. Amongst these latter are the two old patriarchs of the village who so politely invited me into the hall three years ago, and placed me between themselves in the place of honour, and who decided that the doctrines which I came to preach were good, and gave their consent to our teaching in the village. But these two old men never seemed to take any personal interest in Christianity, and they died apparently as dark and as hopeless as if they had never heard about the Saviour. I mentioned this to the people on this occasion, and dwelt for some time on the circumstances, and warned them to delay no longer, lest they too should be called away without receiving the gift which was sent them by God without money and without price. I think my address produced some effect on the people. Many joined in our evening service. After evening service many of the Christians remained, and we all joined for about two hours in singing hymns. There were four women who seemed to enjoy this exercise very much. Amongst the men who remained was the man who seemed so deeply affected at the morning service, and he seemed thoroughly to enter into the singing. I spent a very pleasant day, and was greatly cheered. The catechist Chuo, who has charge of this place, is a truly good man, full of faith and labours for Christ.

He is loved in a very remarkable degree by the Christians here, and the heathen have the greatest confidence in him. Very few men can do what he does. I visited with him this morning several companies of women at their own houses, and I was surprised indeed at the way he was received, and the confidence which his presence seemed to inspire in these women. None other of our catechists can visit the women with the same ease. Indeed, in most other places our catechists can scarcely have any opportunity, except in the chapel publicly, of teaching the women. This station is the last of those which I visited under my own immediate care; but on this occasion I went on west, and visited all the stations in connexion with this Mission. The Ku-Cheng district is under the care of Mr. Mahood; I need not, therefore, enter into detail in describing the stations in the Ku-Cheng district, as no doubt Mr. Mahood will have sent you full accounts of them. I can only say, in a general way, that, on the whole, I was encouraged with the progress of the work in the Ku-Cheng district, though the success is not so marked as that in the Lo-Nguong district. It took me several days after I left Stonestown to go through the Ku-Cheng district. The scenery all through the country is of the same general character—rugged mountains, grand and picturesque.

Sang-Long, one of the principal stations in this district, is capable of becoming a very important Mission, and at present there appear some signs of life and interest in connexion with it. The catechist stationed here is one of the Lo-Nguong Christians whom I baptized several years ago, and is a very decided and zealous man and a devoted labourer. During my visit to England, his wife, who was a most devoted Christian, died. I give here a short account of her triumphant death as I received it from her husband, who seemed most devoted to her. Her husband and herself and their two children were baptized by myself at Lo-Nguong. She selected as her baptismal name Sing-ai, i.e. "Loving Heart." Very soon after this she was taken ill, and continued very sick and weak for a long time. She suffered a great deal, and her heathen father and mother and brothers tried to induce her to give up Christianity, and return to the idols. They represented her sickness as a punishment from the gods for her apostacy. But the more they tried to persuade her to give up Christ, the more she seemed to cling to Him,

and her faith gained fresh strength every day. At length her relations denounced her, and would not come to see her. This was a sore trial to her. She said she wished them to come in the hopes of bringing them to Jesus. She implored her father and mother to come and see her. They did so, and she most earnestly implored them to give up their opposition and come to Christ for salvation. The parents' hearts melted, and gave up all opposition to her, but they could not be induced to become Christians themselves. Her time now drew near. She called her husband and told him that she was convinced she was near the end. The husband wept bitterly. She said, "Don't cry, but bless God that I am so happy." She then exhorted her father and mother to believe in Jesus. She asked her husband to bring some of the Christians to see her. They came to her bedside and asked what she wanted. She replied, "I only wish to say that I am going, and want to ask you never, never give up the Lord Jesus Christ. He has made me very happy. I want you to press Him to your heart and never give Him up." After this she became speechless, and when the Christians came to see her, she would clasp her hands and point upwards. Next day it pleased God to give her the use of speech again. She called her husband, and said to him, "I am very happy; I now can see my precious Saviour, and I long to be with Him. I expect to be with Him this very day." She then asked her husband to go and tell the catechist and his wife how happy she felt, and to thank them for all their kindness to her. A few minutes before her death, which took place that very afternoon, as she anticipated, she called for her two children. Their father brought them to her bedside. She said a few kind affectionate words to her little ones, and blessed them in the name of the Lord. She tried to encourage her weeping husband with loving words, and then asked him to kneel down and pray with her. He did so, and while the words of prayer were poured forth, and no doubt winged to heaven, her blessed spirit departed to be for ever with the Lord.

"Amen, so let it be;

Life from the dead is in that word:

"Tis Immortality."

Such is the simple account of this triumphant death, as it was related to me by the husband, from whose lips I wrote it down in my pocket-book. She was one of the Lo-Nguong Christians. There are many more, I

have no doubt, of equal faith and interest amongst them, and I notice this especially to show you that our labours here have not been in vain. Pray for us that the word of God may grow, and run and be glorified. Such a case is worth all the trouble and all the money you expend upon this Mission. Such a case, too, puts to shame all objectors, and gives the Missionary a joy which rises above all paltry annoyances and foolish insinuations as to the character of this work.

P.S.—This letter has been delayed from unforeseen circumstances, and another trip over the same route has been made by me since I wrote the first pages of it. My second visit has been more interesting, if possible, than the one I have described above, and the number of inquirers have greatly increased. Those who left us at the time of the persecution seem now to be all returning. Pray for us much, and send us more men from home who will help in this work.

REVIEWS.

THE MISSIONARY WORLD, AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF INFORMATION, &C., RELATING TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES, AND OF ALL DENOMINATIONS. *London*: E. Stock, 1872.

UNDER HIS BANNER: PAPERS ON THE MISSIONARY WORK OF MODERN TIMES. By the Rev. H. W. TUCKER, M.A., Assistant-Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. *London*: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

CHURCH MISSIONARY ATLAS. Fifth Edition. *London*: Church Missionary Society, 1873.

THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE CHURCH. By W. H. STOWELL, D.D., late President of Rotherham College. *London*: Snow and Co., 1873.

HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS TO THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., LL.D., &c. *Boston*: 1872.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. JOHN JAMES WEITBRECHT. By his Widow. New Edition. *London*: Nisbet, 1873.

It would be impossible to deny the fact that there is very much to make the soul of any spiritually-minded Christian very faint within him when he mentally makes a survey of the present condition of Christendom, so much is there prevalent contrary to the truth as it is in Jesus, and in derogation of His Word. Some Churches are so buried beneath superstition and idolatry that it is hardly possible to recognize them as really having any title to call themselves Christian. Whatever residuum of true doctrine there may continue in them is so obscured and made of none effect by human inventions, that it seems hardly capable of exercising any more salutary influence than the surrounding Paganism. Others, again, are disfigured with foolish ritualism and childish mummery that provokes alternately to smiles and tears. There are yet others which are honeycombed with rationalism and infidelity. They stand forth with all their former show and seeming, but in the interior they are crumbling away with rottenness. It is in such dreary times that the soul of the believer falls back upon the gracious word which was given for the encouragement of the soul of the prophet in Horeb, "Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel which have not bowed the knee unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." An indication that there are such gracious ones may be gathered from the unquestionable interest manifested in so many quarters in Missionary work. That interest no doubt would be far greater and more

wonderful if the whole Church of Christ with one accord were intent upon obedience to the command of her Master first and foremost ; but the mournful things at which we have glanced forbid such a possibility. We must be content that there are many, some of whom do not follow with us, who have latterly, in an astonishing manner, displayed lively concern for the souls of their brethren, and have striven after their fashion to bring them to Christ. The result has been an interest in Missionary topics, and a desire for Missionary information which scepticism cannot check, and scoffing does not prevail against. To satisfy this craving, there is springing up in all quarters Missionary literature, and a goodly row of interesting volumes may be gathered upon shelves, which a few years back would have been barren of such adornment. We have recently noticed some such books dealing with special Missions. We now propose to bring under the notice of our readers some which have recently been published, dealing with Missions in a more comprehensive manner.

The first on our list professes to be published in the interests of Christian Missions generally, without regard to sect or party. It comes before the public, recommended by the Secretaries of the Wesleyan, the London, and the Baptist Missionary Societies. There will be found in it a large amount of valuable information of a most miscellaneous character, which will be most acceptable to those who wish to obtain information as to what is going on in Missionary fields not occupied by the Church Missionary Society. Whatever may have been the original intention of the book, it is most unmistakeable that the compiler belongs to the Methodist body ; but we are not at all disposed to quarrel with this. It is an advantage occasionally to view the Mission-field from the standpoint of our Nonconformist brethren when a catholic spirit is conspicuous in their statements. So far as our survey has extended, what is reported concerning Church Societies is fairly enough put, but very little is stated. Such defects, however, can be very readily supplied by Churchmen, who are familiar with the workings of their own Societies, and are aware that the Church of England has Missions in China, and that in the Madras Presidency some success has been vouchsafed to the efforts made in Tinnevely and Travancore. As a record of the exertions put forth by the Wesleyan Methodists, both at home and abroad, and as an account of the leading men of that body, the volume is of especial value. Many anecdotes will be found in it illustrative of the power of the Gospel in heathen lands which will be found very profitable.

When we pass from the "Missionary World" to "Under His Banner," we find ourselves transported completely into another sphere. Whatever was lacking in the one is more than abundantly supplied in the other. The efforts of the Wesleyans and other Dissenting bodies are not wholly ignored. There is occasional reference to them, as for instance in the accounts of Madagascar and Hawaii. But we never were more impressed of the importance of endeavouring to ascertain the whole truth, if we would arrive at right conclusions, than by the perusal of the two books under review. Each professes to give "a sketch of Missionary work as carried on both by our own Church, and by other bodies," to borrow a phrase from Mr. Tucker ; but without the complement supplied by the one to the other, the information derived from one alone would be very partial and incomplete. When the two books are taken in conjunction, a tolerably sufficient view may be formed, although the work of the Church Missionary Society does not come out in much prominence ; but this, too, may be readily supplemented, as we shall presently show. As we did not quarrel with our Dissenting friends for the stress which they laid upon their own exertions, so we do not with Mr. Tucker for the almost exclusive importance which he attaches to the operations of his section of the Church of England. On the contrary, we feel much indebted to him

for the very readable account which he has given of them. We find ourselves throughout the volume in the company of bishops and deans; and it is very pleasant to find so many of them engaged in the work of evangelizing the heathen. We do not pretend to say that there are not errors which we have noted, and statements to which we would demur; but with all such abatement there is much useful information presented in a very acceptable form.

As a specimen of these mistakes, we should be curious to know the authority which Mr. Tucker has for the statement (p. 17), that "the Malabar congregations on the coast were absorbed into the Church of Rome, and the churches of the interior regained their independence." The latter part of this sentence is to us unintelligible, and the former part incorrect. The statement contained in it should have been made with considerable limitations, and there should have been the recognition of a still-existing Syrian Church defying Romish supremacy. Again, even in so brief a summary, Mr. Tucker should not have passed so delicately over the frightful persecutions inflicted by the Portuguese Jesuits on the Malabar Christians, and the brutal cruelties by which they were forced into the fold of Rome. From Mr. Tucker's statement it would seem as though it was "after the expulsion of the Portuguese from India that the Syrian Churches were absorbed into Rome." Those who wish to be informed upon the subject will gather from Mr. Whitehouse's interesting volume, which we have so recently noticed, that, before they left the country, fire and the sword had been the instruments employed by them in what Mr. Tucker calls absorption; the absorption was disagreeably interrupted by the arrival of the Dutch.

Further on, at page 22, we come across another curious blunder. We are told that "Scott, the commentator, was a Baptist." Our impression hitherto has always been that he was a clergyman of the Church of England.* Perhaps, if another edition of his book is called for, Mr. Tucker will favour the public with some authority for this hitherto unknown fact in the great commentator's history. The brief notice of Henry Martyn is cold and unsympathizing. Of him he says that Martyn left no mark worthy to be compared with the result of Carey's labours. Time counts for something in such work, and it is not easy in less than six years to accomplish the work to which Carey and his colleagues devoted a long lifetime.

There are several views enunciated in Mr. Tucker's volume with which we are not prepared to coincide. There is, for instance, that taken of the vexed question of the Madagascar Mission. We will, however, content ourselves with observing that those who wish to see under what different aspects the same question may appear when viewed through different media, may contrast the accounts given of this Madagascar matter in the two volumes now before us. There is, however, one statement in Mr. Tucker's account, although it comes to us fortified by the high authority of a bishop of the South African Church, from which we feel constrained to record our entire dissent. It is as follows:—"The scruples I once entertained about teaching on the field, or rather supposed field, of other Missionary bodies, has of late years been largely modified, for when thousands and tens of thousands are perishing for lack of knowledge, and are without a teacher, it is quite idle for Missionary bodies to claim territorial boundaries, and so between them to try and shut out the English Church from approaching the masses of

* If Mr. Tucker is not, as he apparently is not, acquainted with Scott's "Force of Truth," we would earnestly recommend it to his notice. He will see from it to what "an excessive degree" Scott had been originally prejudiced against Dissenters, and how those prejudices were overcome. There never was a period of his life, we believe, when Mr. Scott was not outwardly a member, and throughout his manhood a minister, of the Church of England, however ignorant he may in the outset of his career have been of her true doctrines, and indeed of Christianity itself, until God enlightened him.

heathenism that yet lie around them. At all events, our fellow Christians of other denominations act so freely on this principle in regard to our parishes at home, that they cannot be surprised at our doing the like in regard to the assumed territorial boundaries which they have marked out for themselves in South Africa." To our apprehension, this savours of what we may term, without serious offence, the post-apostolic in contradiction to the apostolic spirit. It was not the rule by which St. Paul guided himself. The Bishop of Grahamstown may be able or not to prove himself in other respects a successor of the great Missionary apostle; but it would not be easy in this respect to recognize his resemblance to St. Paul. He is quite ready to preach the Gospel where Christ is already named. The apostle was not. It may be perhaps an easier task, but is hardly, to our minds, so honourable as would have been a closer imitation of the pattern given by inspiration. There are further positions maintained in the concluding portion of Mr. Tucker's volume, which do not commend themselves to us; but it is not our wish to deal with his interesting book controversially. We prefer receiving it as containing the opinions of a High Churchman, and after making all needful deductions, we are glad to find that there is still much which we can be glad of, and that he has been able to adduce many bright examples of devotion to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ from among the section of the Church of Christ which he more peculiarly represents. We earnestly pray that the Missionary spirit may be yet more abundantly poured upon it in answer to prayer, as upon ourselves. The stern realities of Missionary work honestly attempted, would be, we feel assured, the best corrective for much evil that we deplore in the condition of the Church at home.

We have said that in both of the volumes upon whose merits we have been dwelling there is comparatively little mention of the work of the Church Missionary Society. That, however, which is lacking in them is, we think, admirably supplied in the "Church Missionary Atlas," of which a fifth edition, much improved, has just been issued. In small compass, it embraces a large mass of facts which, even so compressed, tell their own most significant tale. It suffices to refer to it to show how important a part our beloved Society has played in Protestant effort at the evangelization of the world. We would, however, wish to call the attention of those who are already acquainted with the "Atlas," to this re-issue. It abounds with fresh maps, most beautifully executed, so that it is now a most valuable companion-volume for all the other publications of the Society, and indeed will be most useful for all readers of Missionary narratives. We cannot doubt that it will meet with even more extensive circulation than did its predecessors. It certainly deserves it, admirable in many respects as they were.

One other noticeable book we have placed at the head of this article. It is a volume by Dr. Stowell, a Nonconformist, an eminent man in his day and generation. It is a very valuable synopsis of the duty of Missionary work, its principles, claims, and present aspects. We have been so much pleased with the perusal of it that we could not refrain from bringing it under the notice of our readers. Except in that part which relates to the labours of the London Missionary Society, which are related with much modesty and propriety, it would not be easy to discover who or what the author was, except that he was—a Christian. It is a reprint of a book issued some years ago, under the title, "Missionary Church," but we are very glad to welcome it in its present form. Many most profitable thoughts will be suggested by the perusal of it, which may awaken zeal, and encourage to fresh and persevering effort.

In the two handsome volumes forwarded to us from America we have a full and most interesting account of the American Board of Foreign Missions to the Oriental

Churches. The object of these Missions was the conversion of the Mohammedans of Western Asia to Christianity; but the deliberate judgment of those who undertook them was that "we may not hope for the conversion of the Mohammedans unless true Christianity be exemplified before them by the Oriental Churches. To them the Native Christians represent the Christian religion, and they see that they are no better than themselves. They think them worse; and, therefore, the Moslem believes the Koran to be more excellent than the Bible." Under this conviction their plan for the conversion of the Mohammedans necessarily involved first a Mission to the Oriental Churches. The views of these Churches on the Trinity, and the divine and human nature of Christ, are declared to be not unscriptural; but their views of the way of salvation through the Son, and of the work of the Holy Spirit, sadly pervert it. The consequence has been a sacramental system of religion, which has produced upon the votaries the most soul-deadening results. It is computed that within the Turkish empire, and in Persia, there are twelve millions of these Oriental Christians found in all the provinces; they constitute more than a third part of the population of Constantinople. It was in 1819 that the first Missionaries to these Oriental Churches were sent forth from Boston. Jerusalem was the first scene of the labours of the Missionaries; but the discouragements were great. The population was compared by them "to the contents of the sheet which Peter saw let down from heaven by the four corners." In 1844 they transferred themselves to Beirût, where some of their number had already established the "Syria Mission."

Our space would not permit us to give anything like an adequate *résumé* of the history of these Missions, which have been in active operation for more than fifty years with most beneficial results, not only in the way of conversion, but also by the dissemination of much truth amongst those who are most unwilling to receive it, and to be influenced by it. These beneficial results may be briefly summed up as follows. The Christian religion is not now viewed by the Mohammedans as wholly a system of idolatry—the light in which they once regarded it—nor are professing Christians supposed to be as void of morality as once they seemed. There has consequently been a sensible quenching of the flame of Moslem bigotry. The Bible has gained ground and the Koran has lost ground as a controlling influence. Among the Oriental Christians, excommunication—once a most terrible weapon—is now regarded with contempt. More Bible is taught among them, and less tradition. The preaching is more of Christ and less of the saints. The adoration of pictures has greatly lessened. There is more education; the Scriptures are widely circulated, and the priests are better educated. Among the Armenians there has been a mental, moral, and social revolution, such as is not likely to be arrested, and such as there has not been from the days of Gregory, "the Illuminator," until now. It is a curious instance of how extensively the convulsions of Europe affect these instances that the American Missionaries report that, since the Franco-German war, "native merchants say that their children must learn English or German instead of French, and that the power of Romanism, so long upheld by French consuls, is sensibly weakened." Meanwhile, the testimony of Hagop Effendi, the civil head of the Protestants in Turkey, is his strong conviction of "the prodigious extent to which the country (Turkey) at large is leavened by Protestant truth." Nay, an Armenian Bishop of Amasia himself swept his churches of their gold and silver images, crosses, and vestments, and appropriated the proceeds to the erection of school-houses and of teachers. There was an appeal made to the Patriarch at Constantinople, but his sympathies were with the Bishop; and the remonstrants got for answer that they were "to preach the Gospel." Very much of course still remains to be done; but the record of what has been effected is well told in these interesting volumes, which we have much pleasure in bringing under

the notice of our readers. It is gratifying, too, to be able thus to take an occasion of expressing our hearty sympathy with these faithful labourers, and with the evangelical work of the great country which has sent them forth.

We may close these notices of Missionary publications with a brief reference to the new and condensed edition of Mr. Weitbrecht's life, so well known to the students of Missionary literature. It was undertaken in compliance with an expressed wish of Mr. Venn; and, by judicious curtailment, is now presented in a less expensive but very neat form. We need not dwell upon the merits of a book so well known. It may be an additional inducement to purchasers to know that the sale of the volume will be advantageous to the family of Mr. Weitbrecht.

JAPANESE SUPERSTITION.

A SUPERSTITION of the Japanese is, that the best way to propitiate the gods is to make the round of a specified number of temples, devoid of clothing, and when the snow is on the ground.

A man named Okuno went through this dreadful penance, and very barely escaped death. He was an officer in the service of an uncle of the present Emperor, who took part with the Tycoon. When the Tycoon fell, of course Okuno's master fell with him, and his retainers had to support themselves as best they could. In his distress Okuno's relatives advised him to visit the vast number of Shinto shrines in Yedo, and to send substitutes to the distant shrines of Hakone and Nikko, and they contributed to enable him to do this.

It was winter when he set out. At each shrine he offered prayers, and poured cold water upon his naked person before the god. He kept an accurate account of each douche he poured over himself in the course of the fifty days he spent in his pilgrimage from shrine to shrine; it amounted in all to 10,000. Having fasted sometimes for seven days, eating absolutely nothing, and only sustaining life by drinking water, he would go in great weakness, so great that he required a friend or two to hold him up as he crawled slowly along; and, standing before the door of the shrine, there poured bucketful after bucketful of water, cold as ice, over his head until his skin turned black, and his emaciated body was scarcely able to keep from falling. When his bamboo tallies were all used up, his friends would help him to go to some house, or seat him by a charcoal brazier to restore the vitality of his poor, almost frozen, body. Occasionally he was too weak to perform his vow to appear at a set time at some shrine, and was obliged to postpone it to another day. Thus, after going to 500 shrines, great and small, and through all this penance, he went back to his family. No compassionate answer had been given to his earnest prayers and intercessions. Some of his friends undertook to ascertain why the gods were so unresponsive. Thus it was ascertained that he had failed to be at this or that shrine at the time promised in his vows. This was pronounced to be the probable cause of his failure to get relief; so he resolved to be at certain shrines at the promised time, by visiting them again. This he did, and again went home; but with no better success than before. The gods had given him no answer; and he told his friends that it was no use—he could visit no more shrines. He had spent their own and his money for naught; he had starved himself to a skeleton and almost destroyed his own life, but not one comforting response had he met with from any of the gods. It was useless; he would do no more, whatever might be his fate. Ultimately he was employed by the American Missionaries and baptized.